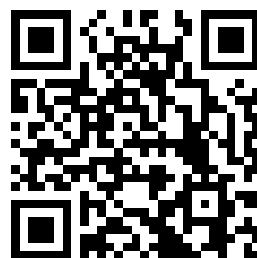


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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
POPISH  
TREASONS  
AND  
USURPATIONS.





THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ROMISH

Treasons & Usurpations:

Together with  
A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT  
Of many gross  
CORRUPTIONS and IMPOSTURES

In the  
CHURCH of ROME,

Highly dishonourable and injurious to

Christian Religion.

To which is Prefixt  
A Large PREFACE to the ROMANISTS.

---

Carefully Collected out of a great number of their own approved Authors,

By HENRY FOULIS, B.D.

Late Fellow of *Lincoln-Colledge* in *Oxford*.

---

S. Joh. 18. 36.

*Jesus answered, My Kingdom is not of this world.*

S. Luke 12. 14.

*Who made me a Ruler over you?*

---

L O N D O N :

Printed by J. C. for Tho. Bassett, at the George neer Cliffords Inne  
in Fleet-street 1671.





# THE TABLE.

		Page
<b>A</b>		
A	<p>Drian II commands the murther of Michael the Emperour 182</p> <p>Albert. Emperour murther'd 301</p> <p>The Oath of Allegiance, vid. Oath.</p> <p>Cardinal Allens bad Principles 70,71</p> <p>His actions against Queen Elizabeth 454,455,456</p> <p>Francis Duke of Anjou, his death 502</p> <p>Suspected by poyson Ibid.</p> <p>Causes the Guillard to rejoyce Ibid.</p> <p>Don Juan d' Aquila lands in Ireland with Spanish forces 658,&amp;c.</p> <p>L'Auspespine the French Ambassador in England, plots the murder of Queen Elizabeth 450</p>	
<b>B</b>		
B	<p>Abington's treasons against Queen Elizabeth 445,446</p> <p>Baldwin II Emperour of Constantinople deposed 279</p> <p>Fran. Baroncello his pranks at Rome 306</p> <p>Cardinal Baronius bad Principles 78</p>	
	<p>The Barricadoes 523</p> <p>Pierre Barriere his plots against the King 589</p> <p>Becket, vid. Thomas</p> <p>Cardinal Bellarmine's bad Principles 68,69</p> <p>Berengarius murther'd 192</p> <p>John of Bilboa, his imposture 360,361</p> <p>Birket constituted Archpriest of England 720</p> <p>Blois, the Assembly of the States-General meet there 527</p> <p>The D. of Guise rules all there ibid.</p> <p>Boniface VIII Pope, his life and actions 282,&amp;c.</p> <p>Cardinal Bourbon declar'd King 562</p> <p>Bow at the name of the Pope and Virgin Mary 40</p> <p>Richard Bristow's bad Principles 62,66</p>	
	<b>C</b>	
	<p>Ælestin V Pope 282,283</p> <p>Alphonso Carillo Archbishop of Toledo, chief of the Rebels against Henry IV King of Castile and Leon 337, 338,&amp;c.</p> <p>Catherine Queen of Navar deprived 343,344</p> <p>Robert Cecil threatned in a Letter from the Romanists 707,708</p>	
	*	
		Charles

# The TABLE.

	Page		Page
Charles III le Gros, Emperour depos'd	185	Donald V King of Scotland imprisoned	183
First dated his Letters from the year of Christ	186	Duffe King of Scotland murder'd	208, 209, 210
Charles III le simple King of France deposed	203, 204	Duncan King of Scotland murder'd	215
Carlos I King of Spain chose Emperour, & called Charles V	353	E	
His going from Spain into Germany opposed by the Spaniards	353, 354	Ediſt, vid. Union	
Chaſtel ſtabs the King	596	Edmund King of England murder'd	205
Childerick II King of France and his Queen murdered	160	Edmund Ironſide King of England murder'd	214
Childerick III, King of France, deposed	165, 166	Edward King of England, ſir-named the Martyr	206, 207
His Subjects absolv'd from their Oaths of Allegiance by Pope Zachary	Ibid.	Edward II King of England, his depoſing and murder	309, 310
Clement VIII thanks the Irish for their Rebellion	651	Edward VI, inſurrections in the North and Weſt againſt him	408, 409
Sends a Letter to Tyrone the Rebel	655	Queen Elizabeth leaves out the word HEAD, and is ſtiled onely Supreme Governour	400
Fryar Clement kills Henry III of France	547	Her Vindication	410, 411, &c. to 423
The Prince of Conde poiſoned	521	Her commendations by Forraigners	411
Conradino King of Naples beheaded	281	Defended from cruelty in putting ſome Romiſh Priests to death	413, 414, 416
Constantines Donation a meer cheat	117, 118, &c.	Declared in a Bull of Pope Pius V, Excommunicated, Deprived and Depoſed	419
Constantine V Emperour of Conſtantinople murdered	169, 170	Her mildneſs and mercy towards Romiſh Priests	419, 420, 421, 422, 423
The Covenant, vid. League		Who were put to death for Treasons, not for Religion	Ibid.
Council of Sixteen, vid. Paris		Depoſed by Pope Paul IV	
Culene King of Scotland murder'd	211	Her murder deſigned by Pius V	426
D		Her Subjects absolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance by his Bull	427 to 431
D Andalo in a Chain under the Popes Table	307	Inſurrections in the North againſt her Government	432
Deodato Duke of Venice his eyes put out	183	Attempts to kill her	445, 446
Deſmond's Plots againſt Ireland, and Articles with Francis I. King of France	385, 386	Several plots againſt her	675, 676, &c.
Proclaim'd Traitor	390	Empire, its troubles by the Papal arrogancie	303
His death	392	England not ſubject to the Papal Power	233, 234
Devils abuſed	27, 28	Equivocation	190
The Devil confeſs'd his ſins, and loved the Maſs	28	Ex-	
Pray'd for that his ſins might be forgiven	136		
S. Dominick his iying ſtorieſ	5		

# The TABLE.

	Page		Page
Exorcisms used by the Roma-		Gregory I against a Universal	
nists to inveigle the ignorant		Bishop	154
people	446, 447, 448, 449	Commendeth the murder of	
St. Ericus IX King of Swedland		Mauricius	155, 156
kill'd	252	Calls himself servant of ser-	
Erick VI King of Denmark be-		vants	156
headed	279	Delivers Trajans soul out of	
Erick VII murdered	ibid.	Hell	157
Ethus King of Scotland impris-		Gregory VII his power	218,
son'd	183		219, &c.
Exorcisms cheating	27	Deposed by a Synod at Worms	
			220
		By another at Brixen	226
		Dyeth, and is Sainted	227
		Gregory XIII his explication of	
		Pius V his Bull against Queen	
		Elizabeth	435, 436
		Jac. Gretser his bad Principles	
			69
		Guelfs their story	270
		Guifards several designs against	
		the House of Navar, as the	
		chief of that of Bourbon	488,
			489, 490
		Their under-plottings against	
		Henry III of France	494, 495,
			496 to 502
		Their designs against the House	
		of Bourbon	502
		And to make themselves next	
		Heirs of the Kingdom	502,
			503, &c.
		Look upon Cardinal Bourbon as	
		first Prince of the Blood, rather	
		than the King of Navar	507
		Duke of Guise holds a Treaty or	
		Conventicle with some Spanish	
		Commissioners and others, and	
		the agreement at that Cabal	505
		Has a meeting of the Chieftains	
		of the House of Lorrain at	
		Nancy	520
		Presents several propositions to	
		the King	ibid.
		Comes to Paris, has the acclama-	
		tions of the people	522
		The Queen-Mother sent to treat	
		with him	524
		His insolent demands	524
		Refuses to swear Allegiance to	
		the King, and plots to take a-	
		way his life	528
		Is kill'd at Blois	ibid.
		Cardinal of Guise kill'd by the	
		Kings	

## F

Fabritio, Duke of Venice his	
eyes put out	183
Felton condemned for Treason,	
not for Religion	419
Esteemed as a Martyr by the	
Romanists	433
Florence, wicked designs against	
it by the Pope	331, 332, &c.
Folly of Heathens	1, 2
Formosus Pope his troubles	196,
	197
His body drag'd out of the grave,	
and his fingers cut off	197, 198
France, the holy League and Co-	
venant there	483
More stirrs there upon the deaths	
of the Guises	529
The people's Declaration	530
S. Francis his childish stories	2,
	3, 4
Frederick I Barbarossa his trou-	
bles	254, &c.
Frederick II Emperour troubled	
and depos'd	266

## G

Galla, Duke of Venice, his	
eyes put out	183
Father Garnet his life	696 to 707
The story of his straw	704, 705
Gerberg a Nun drown'd in a	
Wine-vessel	178
Gibbelines their story	270
Giovanni, Duke of Venice, ba-	
nish'd	183
Men held for Gods	1, 2
God abused and blasphemed	29, 30
Gradenico, Duke of Venice,	
murder'd	183

# The TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>Kings order</i>	ibid.	<i>His Apology undertook by Wil-</i>	
<i>Gunpowder-Treason, vid. Treason</i>		<i>liam Thomas</i>	407
H		<i>Hen. III K. of France, his troubles</i>	
<b>L</b> ong Hair of great value	167	<i>from the Leaguers, Book the 8th</i>	
Hare, occasion'd the taking		<i>He steals privately out of Paris</i>	524
of Rome	187	<i>submits to the D. of Guise</i>	525
Harencaran punishment, what		<i>closes in with the King of Na-</i>	
	256, 257	<i>var</i>	540
Heaven abused with lyes	29, 30	<i>His Name dash'd out of all Prag-</i>	
Henry II King of England, his		<i>er books</i>	ibid.
troubles by Thomas a Becket		<i>A Monitory Bull sent out against</i>	
	235, 236, &c.	<i>him by Sixtus V</i>	540, 541, 542, 543
<i>His grief and penance for</i>		<i>Is murdred by Frjor Clem.</i>	547
<i>Beckets murther</i>	247, 248	<i>The Action rejoiced at, and vin-</i>	
Henry IV King of Castile and		<i>dicated by the Covenanters</i>	548
Leon, his miseries by his proud		<i>and the Chieftains of Rome</i>	
& rebellious Nobility	337, &c.		549, 550, 551, &c.
<i>They make a League against</i>		Henry IV King of France his	
<i>him</i>	ibid.	<i>troubles</i>	lib 8. cap. 7.
<i>Designe to kill him</i>	340	<i>Declared Heretick, and de-</i>	
Henry IV Emperour his troubles		<i>prived of his Dominions, by</i>	
and deposition	218, 219, &c.	<i>Gregory XIV</i>	577
Deprived	220, 224, 225	<i>Murdred by Ravaiillac</i>	640 to 643
<i>His strange Humility and Sub-</i>		Hildebrand, vid. Gregory VII	
<i>mission</i>	222	Hugonots, the Grandees of them	
Crown'd at Rome	226	<i>massacred in one day</i>	416
Depos'd by his son	228, 229	<i>The action commended and ap-</i>	
<i>His poverty and death</i>	229	<i>plauded publickly</i>	416, 417
<i>His body denyed burial</i>	229,	Hungary, bloody actions there	308
	230	Orf. Hypato, Duke of Venice	
Henrician Heresie, what	230	<i>slain</i>	183
Henry V Emperour kisseth the		I	
<i>Popes Toe</i>	ibid.	<b>J</b> ames VI K of Scotland, plots	
Henry VI Emperour how Crown'd		<i>against him by the Romanists</i>	
	262	<i>366, 367, 368, 369, 370, &amp;c.</i>	
Henry VII Emperour his death		<i>Designes against his taking the</i>	
	301, 302	<i>Crown of England</i>	676, 677, 678
Henry, Son to John d'Albret		<i>Imposes the Oath of Allegiance,</i>	
King of Navar, Excommuni-		<i>&amp; defends it</i>	709, 710, 711, &c.
cated and declared Deprived		Jesuits foolish stories of their	
by Pope Leo X	346	<i>Founder and Order</i>	5, 6
Henry King of Navar protests		<i>They have two Consciences</i>	45
against the Declaration and		Jesus Christ, childish stories of	
Excommunication of Pope Six-		<i>him</i>	16, &c. 29.
tus V	512, 513	<i>Marryed to several</i>	16, 22
Hen. VIII King of England, Su-		<i>Not so much worship'd as were</i>	
preme Head of the Church, de-		<i>others</i>	17
clar'd deprived of his Domi-		Ignatius Loyola, his lying sto-	
nions	399, 400, 401, 402, &c.	<i>ries</i>	5, 6
Paul III's Bull against him	404,	Images, troubles about them	163,
	405		164
<i>Rebellions in the North against</i>		Ingratitude	229
<i>him</i>	406	<i>The Spanish Invasion</i>	451 to 459
		<i>The</i>	

# The TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>The Spanish Royal Standard</i>	453, 454	<i>Hold his Stirrop</i>	ibid.
<i>Joane Pope</i>	180	<i>Carry up water for the Popes hands</i>	ibid.
<i>John King of England his troubles</i>	274	<i>Carry up his meat</i>	ibid.
<i>Joh. K. of Navar deprived</i>	343, 344	<i>Carry the Rope on their shoulders</i>	ibid.
<i>Ireland, troubles there against Q. Elizabeth</i>	384, 385, 386, 387 to 397	<i>May be deposed by the Pope</i>	41, 42, &c.
<i>Articles between Francis I K. of France, &amp; the Earl of Desmond for the conquering it</i>	385, 386	<i>May be deposed by Bishops, though poor</i>	53
<i>A Rebellion raised there by Tiron</i>	648, 649	<i>Compar'd to Asses</i>	38 to Dogs 43
<i>The Irish send a slanderous Letter to the Pope against Queen Elizabeth</i>	649	<i>May be deposed by their Subjects</i>	86, 87, &c.
<i>They are thanked for their Rebellion by the Pope</i>	651	<i>May be kill'd by their Subjects</i>	95, 96, &c.
<i>Defended by the Divines of Salamanca and Valladolid</i>	667, 668, &c.	<i>For how many Causes Kings may be depos'd</i>	107, 108, &c.
<i>Irene murders her son Constantine</i>	169	<i>Their murder defended by a B. D. of the Sorbonne</i>	503
<i>Donna Isabella, Sister to Hen. IV K. of Castile invited to accept the Government, refuses, declared Princess of the Asturias, and lawful Heir to the Kingdom of Castile and Leon</i>	341	L	
<i>Succeeds in the Kingdom</i>	342	<i>Lambert Emperour slain</i>	190
<i>Julio II Pope, deprives John d' Albret, K. of Navar, and gives his Kingdom and Dominions to Ferdinand II K. of Arragon</i>	344	<i>Holy League and Covenant in France, the introduction to it</i>	483, 484, 485, 486 to 494
<i>Of a Warlike disposition</i>	347, 348	<i>The Articles of the Holy League</i>	494, 495, 496, 497
<i>Interdicts Lewis XII, absolves his Subjects; gives his Kingdom to any that will take it; takes away the Title of MOST CHRISTIAN from the French, and confers it on the King of England: ibid. the first Pope that wore a long beard</i>	350	<i>The Leaguers sollicite their cause at Rome with Pope Gregory XIII</i>	506
<i>Holy Junta of Spain against Charles V</i>	357, 358, 361, &c.	<i>Their Declaration drawn up in the name of Cardinal Bourbon, whom they call first Prince of the Bloud</i>	507, 508
<i>Justinian II Emperour of Constantinople, his troubles</i>	161, 162	<i>Their Council of Sixteen at Paris, vid. Paris</i>	
<i>His Nose</i>	162	<i>Some Preachers set on work by them to bespatter the King and his actions</i>	518, 519
K		<i>Their insolences against King Henry III after the death of the Guises</i>	529, 534
<i>Kennith III King of Scotland murder'd</i>	211	<i>Their Holy Union</i>	535
<i>Kings are but Asses</i>	38	<i>They send Messengers to the Pope with private instructions to a</i>	536
<i>Must kiss the Popes Feet</i>	ibid.	<i>Card. Bourbon declared King by the Leaguers</i>	562, 563, &c.
<i>Lead the Popes Horse</i>	ibid.	<i>Leo III Emperour troubled about images</i>	163, 264
		<i>L. Lessius bad Principles</i>	74, 75
		<i>Lewis le Debonnaire Emperour depos'd</i>	170, 171, &c. 177
		<i>Lewis IV his eyes pull'd out</i>	189
		<i>Lewis VII of France Interdicted</i>	254
		**	
		<i>Lewis</i>	



# The TABLE.

	Page		Page
Lewis IV <i>Emperour, his troubles</i>	303, 304	& de Pazzi	332
Lewis XII of France <i>Interdicted</i>	347	Lorenzo <i>wounded, but escapes</i>	ibid.
<i>Calls a Council at Pisa to depose</i>	349	Michael <i>Emperour of Constantinople</i>	182
Pope Julio	349	Miracles <i>lying and forged</i>	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, &c. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, &c. 134, 135, 184, 199, 207, 247, 266
Roderigo Lopez <i>his treasons against Queen Elizabeth</i>	461, 462, 463	Monegarion, <i>Duke of Venice, his eyes put out</i>	183
<i>Designes to poyson her</i>	ibid.	Cardinal Montalto <i>his Letter to the General Council of the holy Union about the murder of Hen. III</i>	549, 550, 551, &c.
Loretto's <i>Chappel and flying story</i>	23	N	
Luidolph <i>his humble submission</i>	194	Naples <i>its troubles</i>	330
Those of Lyons <i>joyn with the Leaguers</i>	537	John Nichols, <i>an account of him</i>	434
<i>Their Declaration</i>	ibid.	O	
<i>The form of their Oath</i>	533	Oaths of <i>Allegiance</i>	60
M		<i>Endeavour'd to be in France</i>	57, 58, 59
The Office of Majordom [Maire du Palais] <i>first set up by Clotaire the I</i>	165	Opposed in England	73, 74, 75, 76, 77
One Landregefile <i>first chosen to that Office</i>	ibid.	First framed	709, 710
Ebroin <i>the first that advanc'd that Office</i>	ibid.	The Pope <i>sends out two Breves against the taking this Oath</i>	716, 717, 718
Malcolme King of Scotland <i>murdered</i>	208	Pope Urban VIII's <i>Breve against it</i>	725
Malcolme II King of Scotland <i>murdered</i>	214	Obelerio <i>Duke of Venice cut in pieces</i>	183
Gregory Martin's <i>Pamphlet against Queen Elizabeth</i>	437	Orders in Religion, & the stories of their Founders	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Virgin Mary <i>abused with lying stories</i>	4, 5, 7, 8, &c. 21, 29	Oxford, a Priest <i>pretends to cure diseases there in 1663.</i>	p. 447
<i>Her kissing and marrying</i>	8, 9	Otho IV <i>Emperor deposed</i>	265
<i>Her kindness to whores</i>	9	P	
<i>Equal to Christ himself</i>	11, 12	Paris, a Council of Sixteen <i>appointed there to act for the League</i>	515
<i>Her blood better then Christs blood</i>	13	<i>Their designe of surprizal of Bologna discovered to the King by Poulain</i>	516
<i>How hurried into Heaven</i>	14	<i>Their designs to seize on the K. and kill him, discovered by Poulain</i>	516, 517, 518, 521, 522
<i>We must bow at the Name of the Virgin Mary</i>	40	<i>They break the Kings Great Seal and make another</i>	539
Queen Mary of England <i>in her 5 years Raign put above 260 to death for Religion</i>	418	<i>A new Oath injoyned</i>	ibid.
Mauritius <i>Emp. murder'd</i>	153, &c.	Is <i>beseged by Henry IV</i>	565
The D. of Mayenne <i>goes to Paris, is made Head of the Leaguers</i>	538, 539	Its <i>Famine relieved by the Duke of Parma</i>	575
<i>Refuses peace, is proclaimed Traitor &amp; all his adherents</i>	539	Teild-	
Medici, the wicked designs of the Pope upon that Family	331		
Giuliano <i>murdered by Bandini</i>			

# The TABLE.

	Page
<i>Teilled to the King</i>	590
<i>William Parry Dr. of Laws, his several attempts, and treasons against Q. Elizabeth</i>	437, &c.
<i>Incouraged to kill the the Queen</i>	439, 440
<i>Executed in the Palace-yard</i>	442
<i>Father Parsons, vid. Persons</i>	
<i>Partitiano Duke of Venice thrust into a Monastery</i>	183
<i>Pope Paul V, his quarrels with the Venetians</i>	619 to 639
<i>Pepin made King</i>	165, 166
<i>The first Christian King that was Anointed</i>	168
<i>Cardinal Perron his bad Princi- ples</i>	57, 59, 84, 85
<i>Fa. Parsons bad Principles</i>	75, 76, 77, 90, 91, 93, 94, 101
<i>His life</i>	679 to 688
<i>Philip the Emperor murder'd</i>	263
<i>Philip I King of France Excom- municated</i>	232
<i>Philip IV le Bell King of France his troubles by Pope Boniface VIII</i>	282, &c.
<i>Pius V, his Bull against Q. Eli- zabeth</i>	427 to 436
<i>Its interpretation granted by Pope Gregory XIII</i>	435, 436
<i>Pope, his Power and Authority</i>	31, 32, &c.
<i>Extravagant Titles given him</i>	33
<i>The Pope is God</i>	34
<i>Can create something out of no- thing</i>	ibid.
<i>Above all power in Heaven or Earth</i>	35
<i>We must bow at the name of the Pope</i>	40
<i>Pope to be obeyed rather then Christ or God</i>	ibid.
<i>Pope can depose Emperors and Kings, and dispose of their Dominions</i>	41, 42, &c.
<i>Can absolve Subjects from their Allegiance to their Kings</i>	82, 83, &c.
<i>Great strivings to be Pope</i>	131, 132, &c.
<i>The manner of their Elections</i>	ibid. 141
<i>Formerly chose by Emperors</i>	139, 179, 180, 198, 201, 202, 216, 217

	Page
<i>Whether there be really a true Pope?</i>	142, 143, &c.
<i>Their Ties kist</i>	38, 162, 167, 230, 260
<i>Us'd to adore the Emperors</i>	170
<i>Their horses led by Kings and Emperors</i>	38, 181, 252, 253, 259
<i>Their succession not agreed on</i>	195, 196, 197, &c. 116, 117
<i>Of 18 years old</i>	200
<i>Of 10 or 12 years old</i>	216
<i>The changing of their names</i>	208
<i>Popes stirrop held</i>	227, 252, 253, 255, 259, 260, 299
<i>Despise the Imperial Power</i>	253
<i>Schism amongst them, and re- flections upon some of their a- ctions</i>	323, 324, &c.
<i>Declares it lawful for Subjects to fight against their King, if an Heretick</i>	507
<i>Nicholas Poulain taken into the Council of Sixteen</i>	516
<i>Discovers all their designs to the King</i>	516, 517, 518, &c.
<i>Flees from Paris to the King</i>	525

## R

<b>T</b> <i>He Reformation (of the Church of England) de- fended</i>	412, 413
<i>Reliques false and spurious</i>	14, 15, 24, 25
<i>Nicol. de Renzo his pranks at Rome</i>	305, 306
<i>William Reynolds, an account of him</i>	560
<i>Richard II King of England, his deposing &amp; death</i>	312, 113, 314
<i>Charles Ridicove, a Fryar sent to kill the King</i>	597
<i>Rodolph declared Emperour a- gainst Henry IV</i>	223 slain 226
<i>Robert Rodolpho sent into Eng- land by Pope Pius V, to stir up rebellions against Q. Eliza- beth</i>	426, 427
<i>Roger King of Naples shot to death</i>	252
<i>Rome taken by the occasion of an Hare</i>	187
<i>Swears Allegiance to the Empe- rour</i>	188
<i>Odd Tumults there</i>	305, 306 8

# The TABLE.

	Page		Page
<b>S</b>		<i>His designs against Ireland</i>	383
<i>Saints, sottish, beastly and unchristian</i>	18, 19, 20	<i>Fran. Suarez bad Principles</i>	61
<i>Counterfeit, that never were</i>	20, 21	<i>Subjects of themselves may depose Kings</i>	86, 87, &c.
<i>Sanders bad Principles</i>	62, 66, 67, 83	<i>May kill their King</i>	95, 96, &c.
<i>Scotland, plots there by the Romanists against King James VI</i>	366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, &c.	<i>Suercherus II King of Swedland murdered</i>	252
<i>Scripture basely abused</i>	3, 5, 6, 32, 33, 35, 39	<i>Suercherus III kill'd</i>	Ibid.
<i>Segovia, tumults there begun upon the Emperour Charles V's leaving Spain</i>	355	<i>Suintila K. of Spain depos'd</i>	158, 159
<i>Simony</i>	143, 144, 151	<i>Supremacie, an interpretation of the Oath</i>	400, 401
<i>The Council of Sixteen, vid. Paris</i>		<b>T</b>	
<i>Sixtus V Pope, his Bull against K. of Navar, and Prince of Conde</i>		<i>Thomas à Becket his troubling Henry II</i>	235, &c.
<i>Very furious against Queen Elizabeth</i>	454	<i>Declar'd perjured and a Traytor</i>	238
<i>Deprives the Queen of her Dominions, and absolves her Subjects from Allegiance</i>	ibid.	<i>Further accus'd</i>	244
<i>Soarez, vid. Suarez.</i>		<i>The Bishops complain against him</i>	240, 241
<i>Sorbonne-Colledge their bad Principles</i>	73	<i>His Horse-bridle held by the King</i>	246
<i>When built</i>	99	<i>He is murder'd</i>	Ibid.
<i>They make a secret Decree that Princes may be depos'd, &amp;c.</i>	519	<i>William Thomas defends King Henry VIII</i>	407
<i>They decree that the people of France are freed from the Oath of Allegiance and Obedience to Hen. III, and may fight against him</i>	530, 531	<i>Tir-Oen rebel to Q. Elizabeth in Ireland</i>	393
<i>They send to Sixtus V for a ratification of this Decree</i>	532, 533, 534	<i>Pardon'd, and rebels again</i>	394
<i>They conclude that Prayers are not to be made for the King, and the word Henry to be dash'd out of their Prayer-books</i>	537	<i>Raises a Rebellion in Ireland, lib. 9. c. 3.</i>	
<i>Spain's rebellious League against Charles V</i>	351	<i>Proclaim'd Traytor by Mount-joy Lord Deputy</i>	653
<i>Or the holy Junta or Assembly</i>	357	<i>Submits, and delivers himself up</i>	665
<i>Or Communality</i>	355	<i>Tradenico D. of Venice murder'd</i>	183
<i>Tumults there upon Charles V's departure for Germany</i>	355, 356, 357	<i>Traians soul deliver'd out of Hell</i>	157
<i>The Spanish Invasion, vid. Invasion</i>		<i>Traytors, how punish'd</i>	256, 261, 262
<i>Squire's designe to kill Q. Elizabeth</i>		<i>Gunpowder-Treason</i>	689 to 695
<i>Stapletons bad Principles</i>	44	<i>The Council of Trent not free</i>	425
<i>Stephanus Pope strangled</i>	197	<b>V</b>	
<i>Thomas Stukely his ambition for a Kingdom</i>	387	<i>Valentia, troubles in that Kingdom</i>	359, 360
<b>F I</b>		<i>Venetians, their insolences to their Dukes</i>	183
		<i>Dog-trick to get off their Interdict</i>	307
		<i>Quarrels between them and Pope Paul V</i>	619 to 639
		<b>V</b>	
		<i>Verstegan his life</i>	415
		<i>Vitalis Michele II D. of Venice kill'd</i>	253
		<i>Virgin Mary, vid. Mary</i>	
		<i>Edit of Union (or July) a peace made by it</i>	525
		<i>The Heads of it</i>	526
		<i>Pope Urban VIII sends a Breve against taking the Oath of Allegiance</i>	725
		<b>W</b>	
		<i>William I K. of Naples imprison'd</i>	252
		<i>Willian's designe to kill Q. Eliz.</i>	463, 464
		<i>Witches</i>	208, 209, 215
		<b>X</b>	
		<i>Ximenes Cardinal, his life, actions</i>	251, 252
		<b>Y</b>	
		<i>York designs to kill Q. Elizabeth</i>	463, 464
		<b>Z</b>	
		<i>Zachary Pope absolves Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance</i>	166
		<b>N I S.</b>	



# THE P R E F A C E.

*Gentlemen,*



Am apt to fancy, that at the first sight of these Papers, I shall be loaded with your severest Censures, condemn'd as the worst of Hereticks, nay, and branded as the greatest of Lyers and Slanderers. And all this, because I onely tell you, what the Pope and his boldest Champions would have you to believe; because I tell you what grand Authority his Holiness hath, what great power and jurisdiction lyeth in your selves, what bloody

actions have been done to maintain these priviledges; and as a Preparative to all, have afforded you the Glories, Commendations, and Prerogatives of your Religion, from Brutes and Blocks, Fools, and Devils themselves; with suchlike odd Arguments, as some of your Graver Wits have troubled themselves, confirm'd their Religion, and pleased us with.

But, My Masters, I may assure my self of a mitigation of your Fury, when you have seriously considered, that here I say nothing but what is asserted and vindicated by your own Authors, approved of by your own Authority, and agreeable to the Sentiments and Doctrine of the Pope himself. From whence will follow, that with what ill will or names you prosecute me for these Collections, you must do the same to his Holiness, and the greatest Assertors of his Religion; I being but the Compiler or Transcriber of their words and actions, which used to be your Patterns and Examples to live by: and now to turn tail, to oppose and contradict the Pope and his Learned Doctors, not to believe in his infallible Documents, might renew a Dispute about your disagreements, or that there might be two contradictory Truths; this may be true at *Rome*, and yet the quite contrary also true in *England*; as Father *Coton* and other Jesuits affirm'd at *Paris*. In short, thus to withstand the Pope, would shew your selves no good

## The P R E F A C E.

sons of his Church, though it might good subjects to your King ; which is a great part of a good Christian.

But by way of Apology for my self, I must add, that your own Writers occasioned and provoked these Collections ; that their slanders engaged me to a Vindication, and this Retort : and I think Duty and Truth obligeth me to justify my Mother the Church of *England*, as well as they theirs of *Rome*. And to deny us this favour, would be a Restraint beyond all Story : for if your stake upon them the liberty to oppose and defame our Church, it would be strange, if you would not allow us in *England* to vindicate her. And by the *by*, it had been well, if they had not so much troubled themselves in opposing our *Oath of Allegiance*, and clamouring against the Magistrates for requiring it (which yet is more talk'd of then done) seeing these Papers will shew, both from Principles and actions, that some mens Doctrines are so dangerous and pernicious, that the strictest Oaths are scarce strong enough for them ; and that this especially is favourable enough, considering the occasion of its making, and the seditious Principles of some people.

'Tis said, that those of ill names are half hang'd ; and the poor woman that durst not kill her Landlords ill-lucky Dog, got her designe by crying out he was Mad, whereby the Neighbours presently knockt him on the head. And thus it fares with our Religion. Of all names, nothing more odious then a *Traitor*, and the *Romanists* will scarce have any to be such, but those of the Reformed Church ; which Charge they lay so heavy upon us, and with such often Repetitions, that most of their Gentry (who in this and other things are apt to be Priest-rid) now use it as the onely Argument to bespatter the Church of *England* ; and I fancie, have got some Profelytes by the strength of these Reproaches.

But I would have them to remember once for all, that every one in *England* is not of the Church of *England* [ and for other Churches, at this time, I shall not concern my self ] and for ought that I know, our *Presbyterian* and *Independant* are as great enemies to our Church as the *Romanist*.

Certain I am, the Papists ought to be cautious in their Accusations against these mischievous *Non-Conformists* also, lest at the same time they do but condemn themselves : and I (a) with there were no reason for such a supposition ; yet it is too true, that at the same time that the former were Rebels against the King in *England*, the *Romanist* was as active in *Ireland*, despising and vilifying his Majesty through his Viceroy (then Marquess of *Ormond*) as much as those did the King in *England*. And though here the *Presbyterians* imprison'd the King, renounced him by their *Non-Address*, and by their other villanies set up the Scaffold ; and the *Independants*, and other Phanaticks struck off the Head : yet will the *Irish-Romanists* gain small honour by this Objection, seeing they did as much as lay in their power to act the same to their Viceroy, by fighting against him, excommunicating him, combining to take away his life, or to deliver him up to the *Independant* Army ; by trayterously offering themselves and Kingdom to the command of Forreigners, as *Lorraine*, the *French*, the *Spaniard*, nay the Pope himself. Not to insist here how grateful the Kings Murther was to several *Romanists*, and how for-

a — Urinam  
eorum non-  
nulli qui  
rectissime  
damnant, non  
pessimè imi-  
tarentur. Bp.  
Sanderson de  
jurament.  
Præl. 7. & 3.

## The PREFACE.

formerly they have gloried in the Murther of other Princes.

Yet will their Writers take the confidence to declare their innocence and loyalty to the face of the whole world; and thereby not onely seem to quit and clear themselves, but at the same time bespatter and asperse, what in them lyeth, us wicked Hereticks, as they are apt to call us.

*Pedro de Ribadeneyra*, a Jesuit of no small Sanctity and credit amongst them (being a Disciple and acquaintance of their Founder *Ignatius*) though as arrant a Railer as the best of them, would gladly perswade the world that (a) *Lying, Perjury, Deceit, Flattery, Hypocrisie, Tyranny, Sedition, Destruction, Murther*, and what not? is nothing but the fruit and result of our Religion: upon which the man wonders how we dare intitle it to God or Christ; but never remembers the treasonable Principles of himself and his Brethren, with the Practices of his Church.

a Hoc [i.e. E. Evangelium] mentiri docet, hoc pejurare, hoc fingere, hoc dissimulare, hoc adulare, hoc Hypocritas

esse, hoc Principes ovium pellem induere, & nihilominus laniare, occidere, sanguinem profundere, & more luporum gregem dominicum devorare. Quantas, Deus bone! seditiones, quantas turbas & tumultus novum hoc vestrum Evangelium, ab eo tempore quo primum emerit, in mundo excitavit? Quot Civitates evertit, destruxit & solo adquevit? quot Provincias vastavit, quot Regna depredatum est, quantum deniq; innocentis sanguinis profundere non dubitavit? dicat hoc *Gallia*, dicat *Belgium*, dicat *Scotia*, dicat etiam vestra hæc *Anglia*: Siquidem omnis illa tyrannis, barbaries, crudelitas, & scævicia, quæ hodie apud vos obrinet, aliud nihil sunt, quam vestri Evangelii fructus. Quibus ita constitutis, Evangelium adhuc vestrum, Deo attribuire, & ad illum referre audetis? Potestne blasphemia major ista reperiri? *Pet. Ribad. Appendix sive Lib. 4. ad Nicol. Sander. de Schismate Angl. cap. 17. You may see the same also in his Spanish Hist. Ecclesiastica del Schisma del Reyno de Inglaterra, lib. 3. cap. 17.*

*Jacobus Gretser*, another of the same stamp, will have our Religion not onely to be the off-spring, but also the (b) Mother of War and Sedition; to deny which, he looketh upon as a grand piece of Impudence. And (c) *Leonardus Lessius*, of the same Order, but disguised under the false name of *Guilielmus Singletonus*, is much of the same opinion; and we need not doubt but these men speak the sentiment of their whole Order.

b Scdam vestram Mariæ & Bellona esse filiam & parentem, clarior est quam ut sine impudentia negare possis: loquar

c *Gallia & utraq; Germania, Anglia, Scotia, Jac. Gretf. Apol. pro vita Ignat. Loyola, lib. 3. pag. 475.*

c — Ubiq; seditiones & tumultus prætextu Religionis movent, ubiq; iugum Principum quantum possunt excutunt, & sibi omnem gubernationem vindicant. *Discussio Decreti Magui Concilii Laterani. pag. 129.*

But to come neerer home. No sooner was King *James* settled in the Kingdom here, but the *English Romanists* drew up a (d) *Supplication* to his Majesty and the Parliament, in which they do not a little vaunt of the loyalty of their Religion, in these words: — *The Catholick Subject is (if any other) the Glory, strength and perpetuity of the Kingdom, because he principally seeking Heaven in this world (and will not for the world be diverted) cannot be treacherous or disloyal, or undutiful to your Highness; but in every service and distress occurring, valiant, resolute and most faithful*: and all these fair words were to the same King and Parliament, whose destruction they intended, and had at that time contrived it.

d 1604. pag. 7

Towards the latter end of the said King *James* his Reign, Prince *Charles* was sent a wooing into *Spain*; at which time, the *Romanists* were fill'd with hopes (though upon no certain grounds) of the Conversion of the Prince, a Free Toleration of their Religion, or rather that the whole Kingdom would be at their Devotion. As a preparative to this grand Expectation, Father *Pateson* drew up a Book under the Title of *Jernusalem and Babel, or The Image*

## The PREFACE.

a Pag 347. E-  
ditionis Lond.  
1653.

b Pag. 491.

c Pag. 560.

of both Churches (collected mostly out of the Answers to *Anti-coton* and *Brerely*.) This Treatise he dedicateth to the Prince; the main designe being to vindicate the Popish Loyalty, and to declare the Protestants to be absolute Rebels. For proof of which, he boldly affirms — (a) *Now it is manifest, that in the short space of her Reign, [viz. of Queen Mary of England] which was not much above five years, she had more open Rebellions and Insurrections made against her, from such of her Subjects as were not well-affected unto her Religion, then Queen Elizabeth had from Catholicks in full forty and five, &c.* And to testifie farther what loyal people they were to Queen Elizabeth, let Pope, Spain, or any other confederate against her never so much, thus the same Penman taketh upon him the confidence to testifie, — (b) *Among so many Priests as by that time there were both in England and beyond the Seas, and in so long a time as this pretended Confederacie was in framing, when Spies and Intelligences were many, and well paid by the State; was there so much as one Priest nominated and accused to have been so corrupted, or induced any way by these Princes or their Ministers, to practice ought to the prejudice of their Country & was there any one apprehended or convicted of such a Treason? was there ever any subject of England call'd in Question, for entertaining Priests that were sought after upon that account? In a word, when the Spanish Armado was under sail for England, was there so much as one Priest or Seminary-man found or known to be in it? Or at any time since discover'd to have been employ'd in that service?* And lastly, thus the same man characterizes the two Religions: The — (c) *Catholicks seek onely by way of Petition, Supplication, Prayer and humble Remonstrating of their sufferances; the other, viz. Protestants, seek chiefly by Fire and Sword, and Cannon-Bullet, and by thundring of Ordnance.* —

With these Arguments or Weapons did *Pateson* endeavour to force the Prince from his Religion; but they were too weak and blunt against such a noble and knowing Champion: yet when he was in Spain, he is there assaulted again, and that by no less man then *Zacharias Boverius*, the old *Cappuchine*, who wrote a Folio Book, call'd *Orthodoxa Consultatio*, and dedicated it to the said Prince; where he endeavours by might and main to bring a disliking in Prince *Charles* to the Church of England, by hinting to him the Divisions of it; as if, forsooth, the *Romanists* agreed in all things. He would also perswade him to turn *Romanist*; one of his encouragements being, that the Pope can (d) *Depose Kings*: a very excellent complementive Argument, to convert a man out of his Rights and Dominions. But this (e) *Doctrine Boverius* had taught in his former Writings; from which his *Orthodoxa Consultatio* (if a man may be a Plagiary to himself) is stoln for the nonce.

d Ortho. Cor.  
sult. part 2.  
Reg. 6. p. 286.  
e Cæterum si  
Reges se oves  
esse aggre-  
rent, ac lupo-  
rum more Ec-  
clesiasticum

potestatem invadant: sciant profecto eam potestatem Pontifici totius Ecclesie Pastori à Christo esse collatam, quæ vero Pastori adversus Lupos gregis vastatores ipso naturali jure permixta est: nimirum ut Lupos à grege arceant. Id enim postulat commissæ sibi à Christo Dominici gregis cura, quæ Ecclesie conservationi sedulo invigilare debet, ut Lupos gregem invadentes expellat, ac modis omnibus Ecclesiasticæ Reipub. utilitati atq; incolumitati consulat. Præstat namq; Principem à grege expelli, quam gregem totum corrumpere. *Zach. Bover. Demonstrationes Symbolorum veræ & falsæ Religionis, Tom. 2. Art. 5. pag. 150.*

Dr. Benjamin Carrier having plaid the Turn-coat, would gladly perswade King James to change too, undertaking to make him believe,

## The PREFACE.

believe, that true Policie would really oblige his Majestie to it :

thus—(a) *The first reason of my hope that Catholick Religion should be most available for the honour and securitie of your Majesty and your Children, is taken from the consideration of your Subjects, which can be kept in obedience to God and to their King by no other Religion, i.e. then Popery.* But somewhat after he confesseth that there may be some few *Romish* Traytors, but with this difference — (b) *It is certain there be Traytors against God and Man of all Religions; and Catholicks, as they are the best Subjects, so when they fall to it, they are the worst Traytors.* But if we look upon Examples, or consider Reasons, the Catholick is the onelie Religion, which as it doth duely subordinate Kings unto God, so doth it effectually binde Subjects to perform all lawful obedience unto their Kings.

<sup>a</sup> Letter to King James. vid. Dr. George Hakewell's Answer to it, pag. 94. B. C.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. pag. 102; 103.

Another Runaway, viz. Dr. Thomas Bailly, is very zealous for the loyalty of the *Romanists*; and yet at the same time, bravely tells us, what good Subjects the *Romanists* were to Oliver Cromwell, whereas the other people of England were against him: but take his own words — (c) *Where should a man finde better Subjects? [i.e. then Romanists] and yet these are the men who have been tra-*

*duced all along as inconsistent with politick Government. And why should the same loyaltie be suspected at any time still to remain within the same breasts; since that their Religion, Laws (both Civil and Ecclesiastical) Custom, Provision for the future, present Practice, Oaths and Protestations all along, evermore obliging them to such Obedience: especiallie whereas at this present, all other Sorts and Sects of Christian Religion (excepting those who are for all Sorts and Sects) appear against this (d) present Govern-*

*ment, like Aries, Scorpio, Leo, Sagittarius, &c. as if they would all and everie one of them wound each part and member of this bodie politick; the Roman Catholicks, like Pilces (the emblem of the Fisherman) are contented to remain quiet under foot. A little after he renews the former comparison betwixt Queen Mary's and Queen Elizabeth's Reign, thus; — (e) It is most notoriouslie e-*

*vident, that there were more open Rebellions during the five years of her short Government, then during the four and fortie years of her late Majesties after-Reign.*

<sup>c</sup> Dr. Bailly's life of Bishop Fisher, p. 179.

<sup>d</sup> 1655.

<sup>e</sup> Id. pag. 183. 184.

But Bailie need not talk much of Loyalty, either to Kings or Queens, since nothing liketh him so much as a *Proteſtor*, whom he hopes (considering his vertuous actions) will be no small friend to the Loyal *Romanists*; and so alluding to Henry VIII his Cromwell, he goeth on and tells us of his hopeful Oliver — (f) *And who knows but that it [i.e. the Restoration of the Roman Religion] may be effected by the same NAME?* And then observing that the then Pope, Innocent X, had as part of his Arms a Dove with an Olive-branch in her mouth, he thus proceeds with his Worshipful hopes and comparisons between that Olive and his Oliver.

<sup>f</sup> Id. pag. 260.

(g) *Oliva vera is not so hard to be Constru'd Oliverus, as that it may not be believed, that a Prophet, rather then a Herald, gave the Common Father of Christendom, the now Pope of Rome (Innocent the Tenth) such Ensignes of his Nobilitie (viz. a Dove holding an Olive-branch in her mouth) since it falls short in nothing of being both a Propheſie, and fulfilled, but onely his (h) Highness running into her Arms, whose Emblem of Innocence bears him alreadie in her mouth.*

<sup>g</sup> Id. pag. 260. 261.

<sup>h</sup> Oliver Cromwell.

Thus



## The PREFACE.

Thus you see his hopes of *Cromwell*: yet the same man can  
a His end to Controversie, in his Epistle or Preface. (a) tell the world, that the Beheading, Banishment, and other Miseries of our late Kings, was a just judgement of God upon them, because they were not of the Popes Religion. But a great deal more might be said of this man; but enough at this time, if not too much.

One tells us that the effects of Protestant Religion in all Countries is (b) *Licentious Libertie, Rebellion, and other horrid Vices*; and this is argued to the Lady to have a care of our Religion, and to imbrace that of *Rome*, as if they were all good people, and never taught Rebellion: yet it may be he will not allow the deposing of Kings to be Rebellion or Treason.  
b W. W. The Catholick Doctrine of Transubstant. pag. 115.

Another desiring of the bloody and murdering *Rump*, or the Remnant of the wicked long Parliament, that the Papists might have a freedom or liberty for their Religion, amongst others is pleas'd to give this encouraging Reason. — (c) *I am confident they will neither be such fools, as to forfeit their Libertie, nor so ungrateful to forget them that gave it; since out of all our Histories not one Example can be assigned, that they ever offer'd to move the least sedition, in a time when they enjoyed but half the Liberties of Free-born Englishmen.* And it is a wonder to see how  
c The Christian Moderator, part 2. p. 7

this man doth magnifie the *Rump*, and (d) declareth that most of the *Romanists* who seem'd to be of the old Kings side, onely fled to his Garrisons for shelter, and not to take up Arms to offend the Parliament. I shall here say no more of him, but that he calls the *Rump* the (e) *Renowned Parliament*, for delivering us from the Tyranny and Oppression of the Prelates. And indeed, our Reverend Bishops and their Clergy were the onely men that the *Romanists* stood in aw of, the Ignorant Phanatick wanting Learning to cope with such penmen.  
d Id. p. 12, 29.  
e Id. pag. 32.

But to come yet neerer our present time; since the happy Restauration of his Majesty, there came into the World a Book under the Title of *Philanax Anglicus*: who was the Author of it, I know not; but this I can tell the Reader, that be who he will, he was an arrant Plagiary, it being all stoln out of *Pateson's Image of both Churches*. The Publisher calls himself *Thomas Bellamy*, but upon enquiry there is no such man found; but (f) *Camden* will tell him of two of that name; *Jerome Bellamy* hang'd for Treason; and his Brother hang'd himself, to avoid publick Execution.  
f Anna. anno 1586.

This pretended Fair-friend would make the world believe that — (g) *It is plain that in the poor five years of her [viz. Queen Maries] Reign, there was de facto more open and violent Opposition and Rebellion made by her own Subjects, then Queen Elizabeth had in fortie five years, or any Prince before or since the Wickliffian Doctrine.* Thus what one boldly affirmeth, others as ignorantly believe; which is too common with such people, whose designe is not so much to search out the truth, as to expose another party.  
g Phil. Angl. pag. 71.

Well, the same Pamphleter proceedeth to tell us, that, — (h) *If we mark well, we shall find that in this last Century of years, there hath been more Princes Deposed and Murthered for their Religion by these Protestants of Integrity, then have been in all others since Christ's time, by the Popes Excommunication, or the attempt and means of Roman Catholicks.* — (i) *By all which it is plain*  
h Id. pag. 93.  
i Id. pag. 98.

## The PREFACE.

plain that Rome is so far from being the Author and Fountain of these Rebel-Doctrines, that all Loyalty is in the Reputation of these Protestants of Integrity, Popery. For he would make you believe of the Romanists, that they — (a) are to fight onely with Prayers; Arms against Princes have no warrant. Quis est Judex, si Rex transgreditur Conditiones Regni? solus Deus: Who is Judge if the King transgresseth the Conditions of his Kingdom? onely God. Navar. Cunerus, and all the Catholick Doctors that ever I have seen, agree perfectly in this same sentence. a Id. pag. 104.

But who so bold as blinde Bayard? And therefore whence must these Treasonable Doctrines, Opinions and Practices come? he will tell you, and hopeth you will as freely credit him. —

(b) From Rome it cannot be, for its Doctrines with the Opinions and Practices of all its Doctors are ---- quite contrarie; and all that is said against that Church, in this particular, is meer Calumnie. b Id. pag. 110.

And so much for this shameless Libel, which is since well Answer'd by the Reverend Dr. Peter du Moulin, the Learned Son of a Learned Father.

T. C. or be who it will, that was the Author of *Labyrinthus Cantuariensis*, will by no means allow the Romanists to hold any disloyal Assertions. His words are ---- (c) Neither doth Mr. Fisher, or any of his Profession allow or use any such nets as the Relator [viz. Archbishop Laud] mentions; that is, they neither practice nor hold it lawful to dissolve Oaths of Allegiance, to depose and kill Kings, to blow up states for the establishing of Quod volumus, &c. But I would know of the Author, for what things they do allow them? And in another place he thus undertakes to Apologize for the Popes. ---- (d) Nor did the Popes ever attempt, or so much as pretend to bring the Emperours under them in Civil Affairs; which is another aspersion the Bishop layeth upon them. Gregory VIII and Innocent III, were indeed very prudent men, and worthy Champions of the Church, to assert her just Liberties; but they never endeavour'd to subject the Emperour to themselves in Temporal matters. c Preface.  
d Labyrinth. Cant. p. 226.  
e 7.

And Mr. Serjeant, according to his usual way, will thus in a few Idle words vindicate the Popes. ---- (e) Nay but the Court of Rome trod upon Crowns and Scepters. An Hyperbole fetcht from the Horns of the Moon: When? where? what Crowns and Scepters? e J. S. Answer to Dr. Pierce's Sermon, pag. 116.

Another who undertook to answer the said Sermon, would gladly thus cleer the Romanists. ---- (f) We Catholicks declare Kings to be free from any Coercive power from their own Laws and Subjects, to which they are not bound civiliter, but naturaliter onely: for if once a Coactive power be allowed, Ex coactione sequitur saltem paritas & summitatis divisio, as the Civilian speaks: and Kings once compell'd by their Subjects, are no more Scripture-Kings, Gods Kings; Titular, Popular, Kings onely. For Gods Kings, saith Otho Frisigenis, being above all Laws, are reserved to the Divine judgement hereafter; they may not be punished by the secular Laws. ---- (g) As for Catholicks, and their fidelitie in Kings, none speak it more, none advise or practice it more, in all secular obediences, then the Roman Pastours, and the Catholicks in their Communion. --- (h) Tea, so far is this Sea Apostolick from frequent practices of that nature upon Kings [viz. to depose them] f The Primitive Rule before the Reformation, in the Afternoons Exhortation, pag. 18.  
g Id. pag. 20.  
h Id. pag. 22.  
i 23.

of

## The PREFACE.

of which the Reformed Churches are so guilty, that it is evident more Rebellions have been rais'd against Princes for Religion, onely in this last Reformed age, in a few Protestant Countries, then have been rais'd by Catholicks, for any cause whatever, in seven Ages before throughout all Christendom. And whereas this Indirect Power of the See Apostolick is so much traduced, as derogatorie from the Rights of Kings; the Histories of this last confused Age do manifest, that even this Power is and hath been rather a Fortrefs to Princes against their Rebellious Subjects. Yet he is unwilling to speak too plain; and therefore tells us, that as for the Popes Indirect Power over Kings in Ordine ad Spiritualia, to Censure and Deprive Kings, I leave that Question to be decided by the two Supreme Powers [viz. Pope and King] when occasion shall be for it. And then probably our Author will declare for the Pope, as some Priests did in Queen Elizabeths time, anno 1582.

Id. pag. 22.

Lastly, for in these assertions a man might be endless, one in his Animadversions upon Dr. Bates and his *Elenchus Motuum*, in which the Doctor is sometimes partial or faulty; this (a) Animadverter, I say, will by all means have it to be an old and false Calumny to think that the *Romanists* were not always the best Subjects. But words are cheap; and why did he not Answer my positive proofs against it as well as make (b) use of my Book to shew the villany of our *Non-conformists*, and by them to insinuate a discredit of our Church of England to those beyond Seas, who through ignorance may suppose the Presbyterians to be true sons of our Church?

a Elenchus  
Elenchi, pag.  
17, 20, 21.

b Id. pag. 25.

But what they cannot answer, some make it prudence to pass by with silence; and then the Gentile *Romanist*, who seldom troubles himself with reading any thing but what makes for himself, faileth not to vapour that his Champion hath got the day; putting most of his confidence in the Title-page, seldom or never examining the honesty or exactness of the Writer. Thus self-interest perswades, and then assures him of the Conquest; so that with him, to write against the Church of England, is the same to confute and confound.

c Three Con-  
vers. of Engl.  
part 2. pag.  
581, 582.

Thus we see how they would cunningly bear the people in hand, what peaceable men they are, what good subjects they are; and always make a noise of their Obedience and Loyalty, as a main Argument to perswade our Kings to embrace their Religion. But as for us of the Church of England, alas! we are nothing but Traytors and Rebels; Treachery and Sedition being the chief Articles of our Faith whilst at Rome nothing is taught but peace and loyalty. And if we must believe Father Parsons, we must thus know the difference of the two Religions: for with the *Romanists* out of England, ---- (c) *All Modestie, Gravitie, Learning, Pietie, Devotion, Peace, Concord, Unitie and Charitie was carryed away. And in the new Gospelling Ship, came in all the contrary vices; namely of Sedition, Diviſion, Pride, Temerity, Curiosity, Novelties, Sensuality, Impiety and Atheism.* But,

Juu. Sat. 2.

*Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?*

————— *Who can with patience bear  
A Guizard blame a Scottish Covenanteer?*

The

## The PREFACE.

The *Ostrich*, with great pains and ostentation of his Feathers, endeavours to make a great flight, yet cannot get an inch higher from the ground; like the lying Hypocrite, whose goodly shews and cheats will little avail him. The *Jesuits* tell us, that the Founder of their Order, *Ignatius Loyola*, imitated the Devil, using all his tricks, sleights, cheats and cunning, to convert Souls, as the other did in perverting of them: And I wish some of his Disciples had not made use of Falsities to inveigle and abuse their Profelytes.

*Jo. Pet. Mas-  
seim, in vita  
Ignat. l. 3. c. 11*

All is not Gold that glisters, nor all good Ware that is commended by a fair-Tongued Sales-man; and when you see a Religious face, suspect a knavish heart. Our *English* Fugitives made the people at *Rome* believe, that in *Queen Elizabeth's* days, there was no Church or Bishop standing in *England*, but that the people heard their Ministers in Woods and Fields amongst Trees and Brute Beasts. The *Spaniards* were made believe, that here they worshipt the Devil. When [1623. 5 of November, according to the *Roman* account] the Chamber fell at *Black-fryers*, killing by its fall almost an hundred, with Father *Drury* the Jesuit their Preacher; some had the impudence to print beyond Seas, as if the story had been a judgement of God upon some Protestant Hereticks in *Holborn*. How oft have they printed the lye about the Nags-head Consecration; and belyed Bishop *Morton*, as if heacknowledged the truth of it in a Speech in Parliament? We need not tell what Tales they have publish'd of the Deaths of *Beza*, *Calvin*, *Luther*, *Henry VIII*, *Queen Elizabeth*: nay, some had the confidence to give out, that King (a) *James* was turn'd *Romanist*, and had sent to the Pope about it. And to conclude this, no less man then *Monsieur de la Milletiere* hath, without question, truly placed King *Charles* the Martyr in Heaven, but had a great deal of Assurance, when he could hint and insinuate to us, as if the said King dyed in the (b) *Roman* Religion. And as for his affirming that none can go to (c) Heaven but of the *Roman* Church, I believe it like the former stories, and so joyn it with them; and so he might have spared his pains in dedicating them to King *Charles II*.

*Sir Geo. Paul's  
life of Arch-  
bishop Whit-  
gift, p. 79.  
116.*

*a Vid. Pur-  
chas Pilgri-  
mage, l. 9. c. 3.  
pag. 831. Edit.  
1614.*

*b La victoire  
de la verité,  
Epist. au Roy  
de la Gr. Brit.  
p. 78, 79, 80.  
c Second Di-  
scours de Poli-  
tick, p. 37.*

But, Gentlemen, to take off these slanders from my Mother the Church of *England* (the freest from establish'd blemishes of any in the World) and as we say, to set the Saddle upon the right Horse, was this Treatise by way of a retort undertaken. And for my so doing, I need no other Apology, then the words of your own (d) Mr. *John Brerely*, or as some think *Anderton*; thus.

*d Protestants  
Apol. Preface  
to the Rea-  
der, 7.*

— Being therefore thus provoked, or rather urged, it will not, I hope, seem offensive to the Discreet and Sober [*Romanist*] against whose confess'd loyalty I hereby intend nothing, if I but a little examine, not what I can, or am provoked to object, but what is by our Learned Adversaries themselves confess'd and reported on the contrary part. Wherein (courteous Reader) if much contrary to my disposition and thy liking, I do somewhat enlarge myself in more fully opening those things, — I am not without all hope of Pardon, especially considering that the foresaid Occasion, which compelleth me (so unwilling thereof) is in it self so provoking, uncharitable, and exceeding.

b

But

## The PREFACE.

But here it may be objected by some *Roman* Catholicks, that in the following Assertions, and Histories of King-deposing, I do but belye and slander them, falsifie and corrupt mine Authors, and so cheat and abuse my Readers : For the *Romanists* (forsooth) never taught disobedience to Magistrates, never allowed Kings to be deposed ; nor could the Pope and Cardinals (the true (a) Representatives of the *Roman* Church) being infallible, especially in such solemn things as *Bulls* and *Breves*, publish such destructive Doctrines.

a Mar. de Al-  
terius de Cen-  
suris Eccles.  
Tom 1. lib. 5.  
disp. 14. cap. 1.  
pag. 655.

In Answer to this Charge, I hope I shall return enough to clear my self, by affirming, first, that the Doctrine or words are none of mine, but their own, as appeareth by the Quotations of their Authors. Secondly, If in the multitude of these Citations, I have by haste or chance (not by designe) mistaken some, it no way contradicts the Doctrine it self, which is held so Universally by them, as will appear presently hereafter, by the Testimonies and Confessions of the *Romanists* themselves. Thirdly, That herein I do not intend all, that pretend to be the sons of the *Roman* Religion ; there being both in *England* and *France* many Noble and worthy Persons of that Perswasion, who do detest and abhor this King-deposing Principle. But whether in so doing the Pope doth look upon them as true sons to him and his Church, I shall leave to the determination of the *Romanists* themselves : And if in this there be any doubt or dispute, we may suppose the Pope, Cardinals, and their chiefest Doctors about them, may best understand the meaning of their *Roman* Church, and so more capable to decide the Question ; which is one reason that I all along use the word *Romanists*, as those adhering to the Church at *Rome*, or that which is taught there by the Pope as true Doctrine. Fourthly, For the better Confirmation of this Assertion, I have shew'd and proved these Treasonable Positions from above two hundred of their own approved Authors. But if this number be not sufficient, (b) *Julianus Taboetius*, a *French* Civilian, doth assure us long ago, that there had been six hundred thousand famous Writers in behalf of the Pope's Authority to Depose Kings and Emperors at his pleasure.

b Sexcentæ  
doctorum &  
Pontificum  
Myriades, om-  
nibus Elo-  
quentiæ ner-  
vis & coarctis-

simè laborant persuadere à summis pendere Pontificibus usum Imperialis Gladii, & Regios fasces dare & adimi, Romani Præsulis arbitratu. *Jul. Taboet. Ephemerid. Hist. Tom. 2. pag 30.*

Fifthly, You shall plainly see that it is not I, that lay these King-deposing Principles to your Charge, but your own selves or Brethren, the Chieftains of your Church. So if you deny the Point, do not say that I have slander'd you, but rather say, that your Popes, as *Gregory VII*, *Boniface VIII*, *Sixtus V*, *Pius V*, &c. rather say that your Cardinals, as *Bellarmino*, *Baronius*, *Al-lem*, *Perron*, &c. rather say that these, with your other chiefest Doctors, Divines, School-men, Canonists, Lawyers, with your great Scholars and Writers, have belyed and slander'd you and your Religion ; rather then I, who am onely the Instrument to convey to you the Words, sentiments and belief of these your grave Oracles ; leaving at your own discretion, either to approve or reject them.

Rather say  
that your  
Saints, as Bo-  
naventure, A-  
quinas.

For if you doubt or question the truth of this Assertion, —  
*According to the Church of Rome, Kings may justly and lawfully be*

## The PREFACE.

be deposed — [it being nothing to the purpose, which way, or by what knavish distinction]. The true-blew Romanists will positively assure you, that it is a truth so certain, that not so much as *any one do make any doubt of it*. For, as saith Bellarmine, — *It is agreed on by all : — Nor amongst the School-men is there any Controversie about it, nor can they shew one Catholick Author against it*. And to say that Kings may be deposed, is a golden sentence; and this is not a *meer Opinion*, but a *certain truth amongst all Catholicks*. And that this may be justly done, none but a *Madman will deny*.

Decianus saith that it is *the true and common Opinion*; so that Germanius affirmeth, that it is *madness not to believe it*: It is now *evident and conspicuous to all*, says Muscinus and Capistranus. Botero would have us believe that it is *ridiculous to think otherwise*; or as Gretser saith, to deny this King-deposing Doctrine, as the same to *deny the Catholick faith*: And this he repeats over and over again, that he might be the better believed; and offers at some reason for it too: which he need not have troubled himself with to have convinced King James, seeing his Majestie would easily believe him, if by the *Catholick Faith*, he meant the *Roman Religion*, as we need not question but that he did.

In behalf and vindication of Allegiance in King James histime, was here publish'd by Authority a little Book call'd *God and the King*. In opposition to this Tract, is another Dialogue printed by the Romanists beyond Seas, and also call'd *Deus & Rex*; wherein is affirm'd that this King-deposing Doctrine is *doubtless the suffrage of all men*.

Gregorius Nannius Coronel telleth us, that if we should read all the *Ancient and Modern Divines and Lawyers*, we shall finde that they do *unanimously affirm this Doctrine*; and those who think otherwise, are *not onely far from truth, but madmen*. If you ask Cardinal Perron of this thing, he will tell you, that it was *always the judgement of the Roman Church, that all Magistrates and Divines maintain'd the same*; and to believe the contrary, would make them *Schismatics and Hereticks*, or else the Church must have fail'd, and so the Pope not to have been Christs Vicar, but a *perfect Heretick and Antichrist*. If you advise with Adolphus Schulckenius Vicar-General of Colem, he will plainly tell you, that it is the judgement of all their *Divines, Lawyers, Councils, and Popes*: that he is *no good Catholick that denyeth it*, which cannot be opposed without great *rashness and blasphemy*: and no less man then Cardinal Allen assureth the Catholicks, that by maintaining this Principle, they are *no Traytors, nor hold Assertions Treasonable, false or undutiful*. His friend Father Parsons saith that it is *asserted and taught in all the Schools, both of their Divines and their Lawyers*; and that the *Doctrine is certain, and must be believed as an Article*. And again, that it is *the most certain undoubted Common Judgement of all the learned Catholicks*. And in another of his Books, thus he assures his good Romanists: — *All Catholick Subjects also of other Countries do hold and acknowledge this Doctrine*.

If this Doctrine be not true, Sanctarellus will have the Church to erre; and Suarez affirms that it is *as certain, as it is certain that the Church cannot erre*: That to believe otherwise, is *against Ecclesiastical*

## The PREFACE.

*ecclesiastical Custom, the practice and agreement of the General Councils; against the opinion of all learned Catholicks, and against reason it self: Nay, in short, that to believe the contrary is downright and flat Heresie, as several of them tell us: Carerius calls it the very Heresie of Calvin, and suchlike Hereticks [meaning in not allowing the Pope to have power to depose Kings] and Solarzanus testifieth the same, with this addition, that it hath been formerly condemn'd as Heretical.*

No less man then *Leonardus Lessius* (though under the disguise of *Singletonus*) tells us, that to think that Kings may not be depos'd, is expressly against the great *Lateran* Council: whence he makes these following Conclusions; and the same method and arguments are also used and approved of by Cardinal *Bellarmino*.

### I.

If Kings may not be deposed, then of necessity must that General Council of *Lateran* have erred; and not onely this, but also that of *Lyon*, that of *Vienna*, that of *Constance*, &c. nay, that the very Council of *Trent* it self must also have erred; and also not onely these his General Councils, but also several Provincial ones.

### II.

If this King-deposing Doctrine be not true, then must the Popes themselves also be fallible; for then must *Gregory VII* have erred, *Urban II* have erred, and so must also *Gregory IX*.

### III.

If this Principle be not true, then must also the Church it self have erred for many Ages; nay farther, to have erred willingly or maliciously, with a designe or on purpose: And that Hell hath prevail'd against the Church; and so the *Roman* Church not to be a true Church, nor the Church of Christ.

### IV.

And if the Church, Councils, Popes, have erred in this, they may also erre in other Articles, as the Sacraments, Trinity, Incarnation, &c. and that with greater ease and facility; whereby Christ must be a Deceiver; and so we may suspect the whole *Christian* faith it self.

Thus you see the judgement of their so much cryed up holy *Lessius*, who farther assures us, that to deny this Doctrine, is the meer cunning and instigation of the Devil. Again, That there is scarce any Article in the *Christian* Religion, the denying of which is more dangerous to the Church, then this Doctrine. Again, That it is more pernicious and intolerable, then to erre concerning the Sacraments. And to conclude with him, he at last conjures all that call themselves Catholicks, upon their Salvation, to have a care how they deny this.

For as *Coquæus* will tell you, this King-deposing Doctrine is agreeable to the holy Scriptures, and the Rules of Christ. Another

## The PREFACE.

ther assures us, that to doubt of the truth of it, would seem not only to *oppose the verity of the Christian Faith*, but to *favour of perfect Heathenism*.

But not to trouble my self or Reader with their zeal and resolution in defence of this King-deposing Doctrine (in which I might be endless) I shall tell you, that no less man than our Cardinal Allen declares his judgement in these very words — *God had not sufficiently provided for our Salvation, and the preservation of the Church and Holy Laws, if there were no way to deprive or restrain Apostata Princes*. The fore said Coquens saith, that otherwise *Christ had not sufficiently provided for the safety, either of the Common-wealth, or of our Souls*. And Petrus Bertrandus positively declareth for the former Principle, that if such a deposing Authority had not been, that then *Christ Jesus had not shewn himself wise or discreet*; or, as Father Parsons saith, *Gods providence had been defective*. And when Johannes Mariana, the so noted Spanish Jesuit, had in one of his Books so expressly maintain'd the lawfulness of *killing bad Kings*, upon which the said Book was censured; I meet with an *English Romanist*, thus to vindicate or justify the said Book. — *They are enemies to that holy Name [i.e. of Jesus] that condemn'd Mariana for any such Doctrine*.

Nay, so zealous are some for this King-deposing Doctrine, that with (a) *Laurentius Ortiz de Iberrola*, they will assure it the only safety and preservation for Princes. But King James, who thought himself not a little concern'd; and therefore thus deliver'd his opinion to his Parliament: — (b) *As on the one part many honest men seduced with some errors of Popery, may yet remain good and faithful Subjects: so on the other part, none of those that truly know and believe the whole grounds and School conclusions of their Doctrines, can either prove good Christians or good Subjects*.

And yet, if for all these grand Testimonies, they should plead their Allegiance, and their respect to Princes; I could ask why all Books writ against this King-deposing Doctrine, are censured and prohibited by their *Indices Expurgatorii*; whilst on the contrary, those who affirm it, are publish'd with honour, as true and authentick: and if *Agapetus* above a thousand years ago, speak honourably of the Imperial Authority, the (c) *Expurgatorium* Index must stifle it with some worshipful gloss or other. And if any should deny this to be the Doctrine of the *Roman Church*, I should gladly know, where is the judge? whether the Popes themselves, the Cardinals, their greatest and most famous Writers, as *Bellarmino, Baronius, Perron, &c.* do not understand what are the Tenents, and the meaning of the *Roman Church*, as well as some private *Englishman* here; and whether we are not to believe the Popes Cardinals, and their learned Doctors, before the said private person.

Thus are the *Romanists* as stout and zealous for this King-deposing Doctrine, as the (d) *Chinises* were for their Beards; and do adore and worship this destructive Tenet, as the old *Cainites* did *Cain*, because he was the first man-killer; or the *Ophites*, who worshipt the Serpent, because he was the first deceiver, and, as they say, the Author of good and evil.

Thus the *Romanist* may perceive what danger he runneth him-

a De Politia & Immunitat. Eccles. part 4. cap. 50.

b Speech in Parliament 1605. Vid. his works, pag. 504.

c v. Bibliotheca Patrum.

d Mart. Mar. rin. de bello Tartar. pag. 45, 107, 121, 157.



## The PREFACE.

himself into, if he dare but offer to oppose this Treasonable Principle, seeing to deny it is madness, flat Heresie; nay Paganism, contrary to the judgements of Popes, Councils, and the whole Church, nay, the Gospel of Christ; a more intolerable Heresie then to erre concerning some of the Sacraments; nay, so gross an one, that it doth destroy the very Church and Gospel it self: wherefore they perswade us, that all good and sound Catholicks must believe that Kings may be deposed, seeing all who are truly *Romanists*, and Sons of that Church, do and must believe so.

Thus these men are like *Polychronius*, who would rather erre with *Macarius*, then be in the right with others; and this Doctrine must be the *Shibboleth* to distinguish them from other Christians.

a Anton. de  
Torquemada,  
Dialog. 3.  
b Lün Du-May  
Estate of the  
Empire, p. 73.

There is a Sect in *Spain* call'd (a) *Saludadores*, who are known by a knack of curing many Diseases, as a gift peculiarly belonging to them: those of the House of (b) *Austria* are known by their long chins, and thick lips; and, as they say, are particularly blest with other Graces, as to cure Wens by giving onely a Glas of Water, and to unloose the Tongue of him that cannot speak plain, onely by kissing. Thus the Monarchs of *England* do the Kings-Evil; and in *Brecknockshire*, within two Miles of *Brecknock*, there is a Lake call'd *Llyn Savathan*, or *Linsavethan*, or *Brecknock-mere*; of which (c) *Giraldus Cambrensis* tells us, that the birds there will sing at the desire of the Prince of *Wales*, but no man else; so that it is the best Rule to know the true Prince; of which matter (d) *Ranulph Higden*, Monk of *Chester*, thus Poetizeth.

c Itiner.  
Cambr. lib. 1.  
cap. 2.

d Polychron.  
lib. 1.

*Si Terræ Princeps venerit,  
Aves cantare jufferit:  
Statim depromunt modulos  
Nil concinnunt ad ceteros.*

Which I finde thus translated to my hand by *John Trevisa*, the old Vicar of *Barkley*, almost three hundred years ago.

*If the Prynce of the Londe boote,  
Briddes singe well mery noot,  
As merily as they can,  
And singe for none other man.*

And so this King-deposing Principle they will have to be the Characteristical note, whereby a through-paced or true *Romanist* may be known, who must answer to none but their Prince at *Rome*, and whose commands they must not disobey. And should any one now begin to teach them Allegiance, and the pernicious consequences of this Doctrine, which by length of time hath had such a sway with them; probably it might be as great a novelty and strange to them, as the (e) people, who after a long *Interdiction*, were so unused to Devotion, that they laugh'd at the Priests when they came again to say *Mass*, and pray with them; for some will not leave an old *Mumpsimus* for a new, though better *Sumpsimus*.

d Sextus de  
Sentent. Ex-  
com. c. Alma  
Mater. Gloss.  
v. Insurgunt.

As for the *Romanist's* distinctions (the better to maintain these Treasonable Assertions) of *Directe*, *Indirecte*, *Proprie*, *Improprie*, *simpliciter*, *secundum Quid*, *Absolute*, in *Ordine ad Spiritu-  
alia*,

## The PREFACE.

alia, and suchlike whimsical Save-alls, they have not onely been derided by those of the (a) Reformed Church, but also by several *Romanists* themselves, especially of the (b) latter stamp: and of such cheats as these, thus saith Father (c) *Welsb* — In Ordine ad Spiritualia, and the cheat of a verbal distinction, the trick of abusing two other words, Direct and Indirect, and these two very new, altogether unheard-of in this matter, till some Capricious heads brought them unfortunately to the Schools, of meer designe to make people loose themselves in words, by confounding right and wrong together, and the signification of both— And so nothing need be said against such childish inventions, being nothing to the true and real designe of the positive Doctrine of King-deposing, which is the thing we treat of, without any idle evasions: A knack or knavery, onely fit for those *Romantick* or Melancholy *Don Quixot* Virtuosi, who love to be call'd *Schoolmen*, whose Trade is onely to rack Divinity and Reason, and to smother up Truth with insignificant distinctions, and never think themselves knowing enough, till they can tell the colour, dimension, weight and contexture of all Vices, Vertues, or Actions; a sort of people that can be zealously grave upon empty nothings, and like the little Spirits in *Mines*, idly keep a great deal of clutter and toyl without any proficiencie; like (d) *Aristotles* madman, who took as much pleasure, and was as observant in an empty Stage, as others at a real Act. But it may be these may take it ill to have their distempers corrected, like the fellow in (e) *Horace*, who was angry at his friends for curing him of his Madness, protesting he had lost his life and greatest happiness: yet in some men, this study is convenient, because 'tis fit our enemies should be fought with at all their respective Weapons.

a *Pet. Molin. de Monarch. Temporal. Pont. pag. 87.*  
b *Jo. Buckeridge Episc. Roffens. lib. 2. cap. 5.*  
c *Caron Remonst. Hybern. p. 236, 237.*  
d *More ample accompt, pag. 28.*

d *Lib. de Mirabilibus.*

e *Epist. lib. 2. Epist. 2.*

But why should we blame the good-natured *Romanist* for espousing this King-deposing Doctrine, seeing he hath such grand encouragements for his so doing; and hath such fine, pretty, sweet Rules laid down for his guide, that it is almost an impossibility for him to sin? and to make him the more bold and confident in any daring Enterprize, they have invented two excellent Crutches to support the undertaker, and help every lame Dog over the stile; and are call'd by their Masters in this Science,

The two Rules of { *Directing the Intention.*  
} *Probable Opinion.*

By which is taught (if we may credit either the (f) *Jansenist* or (g) *Jesuit*) that if you mean well, though your actions and deeds be bad, all is safe; and that the judgement of one or two Doctors or Divines, is enough to make an Opinion to be probably true; and that which is thus render'd a *Probable* Doctrine, may honestly without sin be followed and perpetrated; and the Priest and Confessor is obliged by his Office to absolve such an one, for his thus acting according to the probable opinion. And what wickedness may be committed under the protection of such deluding *Salvo's*, is no difficulty to conceive.

f *Vid. les Provinciales.*  
g *Vid. Responses aux Lettres Provinciales, pag. 103, 104, 105, 108, 110, 111, 115, 116, 334.*

But suppose, that for all these Guards and Protections, it were possible

## The PREFACE.

possible for a *Romanist* to sin in any of these his undertakings, yet is there Pardon to be had Dog-cheap, according to the old and careful Custom of their Mother-Church of *Rome*; for it is but trudging thither, and they are cock-sure of Absolution: of which a few instances, for their greater comfort, take as followeth.

At *St. Peters* Church in the *Vatican*, from the Ascension of *Christ*, to the Calends of *August*, is every day granted pardon for 14 years.  
 At *St. Pauls* Church is every day granted pardon for 18 years.  
 Pope *Silvester* granted to any one that shall but enter such Churches at *Rome*, pardon for 47 years.  
 In the Church of *St. Agnes* are pardons for 46 years.  
 In the Church *St. Maria Maggiore* is every day granted pardons for 48 years.  
 In *St. Pauls* Church, upon every day of his Conversion, is granted pardon for 100 years.  
 In the Churches of *St. Lucia*, of *St. Elizabeth*, of *St. Clara*, are every day granted in each of them pardons for 100 years.  
 In the Church of *St. Catherina* are granted pardons for 200 years.  
 In *St. Agnes* Church, on his Feast-day, are also granted pardons for 200 years.  
 In *St. Susanna's* Church are pardons for 200 years.  
 In the Church *Del S. Croce*, upon every Sunday and Wednesday are granted pardons for 254 years.  
 In *St. Sebastians* Church there is a pit where the bodies of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* (as they say) lay hid an hundred years before they were found; at this place pardons are granted for 300 years.  
 In *St. Martins* Church, where *St. Silvester* was buried, are every day granted pardons for 300 years.

But because some may think, that these few hundreds are not enough to satisfy for the journey, their Indulgent Mother hath enlarged her bounty to thousands, as followeth.

In *St. John's* Church, in the *Lateran*, is a Chappel call'd *Sancta Sanctorum*, not far from which is an ascent of 33 steps; and how if a man shall ascend them, for every step he shall have 1000 years pardon, in all 33000 years.  
 In *St. Peters* Church, upon every Feast of *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and the Virgin *Mary*, and the Ascension of *Christ*, are pardons granted for 1000 years.  
 In *St. Sebastians* Church, from *Christ's* Ascension to the Calends of *August*, are every day granted pardons for 1000 years.  
 In *St. Maria Maggiore*, upon every Feast-days of *St. Mary*, the Birth and Resurrection of *Christ*, and *St. Laurence* his day, are pardons for 1000 years.  
 In *St. James* his Church, they say, there is a stone upon which *Christ* stood, when he was presented in the Temple; and at it are granted pardons for 1000 years.  
 In *St. Catherina's* Church, upon her Festival, are pardons for 1000 years.  
 In *St. Petronella's* Church are pardons for 1000 years.  
 In *St. Minerva's* Church are pardons for 1000 years.  
 In

## The PREFACE.

In the Church *St. Maria Annunciata*, for every day one shall visit it, are granted pardons for 1040 years.

In the Church *St. Maria del Popolo*, are every day granted pardons for 2800 years.

In a Cloyster adjoining to *St. Pauls Church*, upon every Sunday, and some other holy-days, are pardons granted for 3000 years.

To whomsoever that shall drink of the three fountains where *St. Paul* was beheaded, whose head, when cut off, gave three leaps; and so made them; is granted from every Fountain a thousand years, in all 3000 years.

Whosoever shall but visit the Sepulchre of *St. Stephen* and *St. Laurence*, in *St. Laurence's Church*, to him is granted pardons for 7000 years.

In *St. Pauls Church*, upon the day of its Dedication, are pardons granted for 8000 years.

In *St. Peters Church* in the *Vatican*, in the high Altar, is the Hankirchief, which, they say, Christ wiped his face with, and since that bears his picture; which is some times shew'd to the people; by vertue of which the *Roman* people have pardons granted for 7000 years.

Those that dwell out of *Rome* have 9000 years.

Those that live out of *Italy*, and come to see it, have pardons for 12000 years.

In short, in *St. Sebastians Church*, there is a vault wherein the Christians in old time of persecution used to hide themselves; and to this Vault, they say, do belong so many pardons and Indulgences; as none can number but onely God.

But what need we stand fiddle-fadling about the numbers of years, seeing the Church of *Rome* is so brisk, debonnaire, frank and free to her sons, that rather then to give them any discouragement, she will venture all her interest and credit for their sake; and in this her stock is so great, that we cannot suppose her to be bankrupt; for rather then fail, she will pardon them for ever and ever, as may appear in what followeth.

In the Church of *St. John the Lateran*; is a Chappel call'd *Santa Sanctorum*, in which there is every day pardon and remission for all sins, both from the punishment and the sin also.

In *St. Peters Church* in the *Vatican*, by the Font, is every day remission of all sins to be had.

Also in the same Church, upon *St. Martins* day, there is to be had full remission of all sins.

In *St. Pauls Church* in the *Vatican*, upon the XXIX of *January*, being the day when the Church was consecrated, there is then to be had remission of all sins.

In the Church of *St. Croce*, is a Chappel call'd *Hierusalem*, where is to be granted full remission of all sins, both *à pena & à culpa*.

In the Church *St. Maria Maggiore*, upon *All-Saints* day, there is granted full remission of all sins.

In the Church *St. Maria Rotonda*, upon the third of *May* and *All-Saints* day, are pardons for all sins to be had.

## The PREFACE.

In the Church *St. Maria del Popolo*, on the day of *Assumption* of the *Virgin Mary*, are granted remission of all sins.

In the Church of *St. Peters ad Vincula*, are remission of all sins to be had.

In the Church call'd *Ara Celi*, or *St. Maria Ara Celi*, where, they say, is the first *Altar* that ever was made in the world; at which *Altar* there is every Sunday, and upon the *Assumption* of the *B. Virgin*, granted full pardon and Remission of all sins.

a *Piscus Papa-  
lis, five Cara-  
logus Indul-  
gentiarum.*  
*Etc.*  
*b MS. 195.*  
*K. Digby in*  
*Bibl. Bodl.*  
*Oxon.*

c *Indulgentiz*  
*Ecclesiastiarum*

*urbis Romane, Impressum Roma 1509. Le Coste meravigliose dell' Alma città di Roma 1625. Onuphrius de ur-  
bis Roma Ecclesiis, Le Dices de Villamont les voyages. Vid. Weavers Funeral-Monuments, pag. 160,  
161, 162, &c.*

These and such other like Indulgences were formerly (a) pub-  
lish'd in *England* by *Mr. Crashaw*, from an old Manuscript which  
he had; and I have also seen an old (b) Manuscript to the same  
purpose. But what need we trouble our selves with Manuscripts,  
seeing the same things may be seen in several (c) Books, made,  
printed by them, and publish'd by their Authority, to procure the  
greater credit and belief for suchlike pardons as these.

This occasion'd so many Pilgrimages to *Rome*, to the great in-  
riching of that City, and the wonder of *Johannes* or *Janus Panno-  
nius*, the *Hungarian* Poet, and Bishop of *Fankirken*, or *Ente-  
g)bazac*, in *Latine Quinque Ecclesie*; who, though of the *Roman*  
Religion, yet could thus jest at the gadding of People from other  
Countries to *Rome* for Pardons at their *Jubilees*.

*Delit. Poet.*  
*Hungar. p. 274.*

*Hispani, Galli, Solavi, Teutones & Hunni*  
*Clavigeri petitis limina Sancta Petri:*  
*Quo ruitis stultis Latios ditare penates,*  
*Salvati in patria siccin nemo potest?*

The *Spaniard*, *French*, *Pole*, *German*, and the *Hun*  
Unto *St. Peters Chair* for *Heaven* doth run:  
*Whither, O fools! to enrich the Popes do you gad?*  
*As if salvation can't at home be had.*

Yet Indulgences were also granted to particular places in other  
Countries: amongst the rest, *England* (being then free-handed to  
*Rome*) did not want such pretty Indearments, whereby the peo-  
ple were made as free from sin as (d) *Nightingal* the Priest in  
Queen *Mary's* days; and of them might be said, as was thus in  
an old (e) printed Pardon,

d *Jo. Fox, vol.*  
*3. pag 223.*

e *Tho. Becon's*  
*Relicks of*  
*Rome, fol. 193.*  
*b.*

*John or Joan, as free I make thee,*  
*As heart may think, or eye may see.*

And their Power and Prerogative is so great, forsooth, that they  
cannot onely pardon past sins, but sins to come, or what you will  
commit afterwards; of which King (f) *James* doth protest that  
he hath seen two Authentical *Bulls* with his own eyes: And of  
this the (g) *Princes of Germany* at *Nurnberg* (1523) did publick-  
ly complain; and that your friends soul should skip out of *Par-  
gatory*, when the cash rattled in the *Bason*. And how liberal they  
used to be with their Pardons, (h) *Theodorick à Niem* (who was  
Se-

f *Meditation*  
*on the Lords*  
*Prayer, p. 38.*  
g *Gravam*  
*Germ. & 3.*

h *De Schism.*  
*lib. I. cap. 68.*

## The PREFACE.

Secretary to three Popes) hath of old hinted; and Dr. (i) *Thomas James* will refer you to some more abuses.

i Manuscript on to Divinity, pag. 64, 65, &c.

And though they are willing to be no loofers by these favours, yet their prices are cheap enough; which probably may the sooner ingage or oblige some trusty son to act any Villany, the rates of their Absolutions being so cheap; of which take this following Taste, as I finde them set down in their *Taxa S. Cancellarie Apostolicae*.

### Sect. III. Tit. 2.

<p><b>A</b>bsolution for him who lyeth with a Woman in the Church, and committed other crimes, is rated at</p> <p>He that keeps a Concubine, it a Priest, must pay for his Absolution</p> <p>If he be a Lay-man, he must pay</p> <p>If a Lay-man commit Sacrilege by taking holy things out of holy places, he is well used, seeing he payeth no more for his Absolution then</p> <p>If a man carnally lye with his Mother, Sister, or other Kinswoman or God-mother, he shall have his Absolution, paying</p> <p>Absolution for him that deflowers a Virgin, is dog-cheap at</p> <p>If a Priest commit Simony, he shall have his Absolution for paying</p> <p>Absolution for Perjury is but</p>	<p>6 (a) <i>grossos</i></p> <p>7 <i>gross.</i></p> <p>8 <i>gross.</i></p> <p>7 <i>gross.</i></p> <p>5 <i>gross.</i></p> <p>6 <i>gross.</i></p> <p>7 <i>gross.</i></p> <p>6 <i>gross.</i></p>	<p>a The common value of a <i>gross</i> is about 4 penny farthing of English money; but some in this occasion will make it about 1 s. 6 d.</p>
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### Ib. Tit. 6.

<p>If a Lay-man kill an Abbot, a Monk, a Clerk, or other Priest less then a Bishop, he shall onely pay for his Absolution (according to the Quality)</p> <p>But if a Lay-man onely kill a Lay-man, he shall then onely pay</p> <p>If a Woman be with Childe, and she willingly and on purpose destroy the said Infant within her, she shall have an Absolution for</p> <p>And if one kill his Father, Mother, Brother or Wife, he must pay for his Absolution</p>	<p>7, 8 or 9 <i>gross.</i></p> <p>5 <i>gross.</i></p> <p>5 <i>gross.</i></p> <p>1 Ducat, and 5 (b) <i>Carlins.</i></p>	<p>b This is sometimes valued at the same with a <i>Grosso</i>.</p>
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This Book was publish'd by their own Authority, it may be the better to let the *Romanists* see what a kinde, loving, and indulgent Mother they have: But how oft it hath been publish'd I cannot tell.

It was (c) first made and printed at *Rome*, in the time of Pope *Leo X*, and was after printed at *Paris* (1522) the (d) Kings Priviledge, and the Popes Bull being joyned to it. 'Twas the next year (1523) printed at (e) *Colen*; and afterwards in that Noble Collection, call'd *Traſſatus Illuſtrium virorum*, printed by the King of France his Priviledge at *Lyons* 1549. This *Taxa* was also then publish'd (f) amongst them. And though *Claudian Espenceur*, the famous *Sorbonne-Doctor*, was so ashamed of this Book, to be thus by Authority so publickly printed and sold, that he solemnly

c W. Cragshaw's Mictimus to the Jubilee of Rome, Epist. to the Reader.  
d Pet. Molin. de Monarch. Temp. Pont. pag. 395.  
e Lant. Bauck. Taxa Epist. f Traſſ. Illuſt. com. Tom. 16.

## The PREFACE.

a Liber palam  
ac publicè hic  
Impressus ho-  
dieq; ut olim  
venalis. Cl.  
Espenc. Com.  
in Titm, cap.  
1. Digref. 2.

b Tom. 15. part  
1. fol 368, &c.

c De Tyrast.  
Papa, p. 544.  
545, 546, 547.

d V. Taxa.

e V. Praxia.

Mart. Chemnit.  
Examen Con-  
cil. Trident.  
part 4. de  
Indulg.  
Obo. Miland.  
Joco-feris,  
44.

Wulph. Muscul.  
loci commu-  
nes, pag. 394.

Mart. Phru.  
Illerit. de  
Sectis Pap.  
pag. 220.

(a) complaineth against it, yet he gain'd nothing by it, but the ill-will of the Grandees of the *Roman* Religion; those his Comments upon *Titm*, being call'd to an account by their *Index Expurgatorius*, and this passage against their *Taxa* commanded to be dash'd out, lest, it may be, it should discredit their ware, and so spoil their Trade and Market. And afterwards when these foresaid *Traſatus Illuſtrium* were by the command of Pope *Gregory XIII* augmented, and by the care of *Franciscus Zilettus* publish'd at *Venice* 1584, this *Taxa* was also (b) reprinted, and with the rest dedicated and presented to the said Pope.

These several Editions (and probably some others) of this *Taxa* publish'd by Authority of the *Romanists* themselves, take off all Replies, as if it might be a cheat: and to this may be added, that the Learned (c) *Laurentius Banck* [who also of late reprinted this *Taxa* with his Notes upon it] doth assure us, that to his knowledge and eye-sight, the same pardons and abuses are at this day publickly practis'd at *Rome*. And it is not unworth the observation, that though of late Pope *Alexander VII* hath in his *Index Expurgatorius* placed the *Taxa*, yet he excepts nothing against the foresaid Editions, or those printed by the *Romanists*, but onely against that lately put forth with *Banck's* his (d) Notes or Annotations, or which have been corrupted by (e) Hereticks; though I think it would puzzle him to prove any such corruptions.

Thus you see, you may name your sin, and pardon is to be had at a small rate; nay, they have been so kinde, that rather then want your custom, they have sold Pardons for Sixpence, a Groat or Twopence, a game at Tennis, a Cup of Ale; and with some kinde-natured Women they have made more pleasant bargains.

And here, for the honour of these *Money-pardons*, a merry story or two should not be taken amiss. In the time of *Leo X*, *Tetzelius* was sent into *Germany* with multitude of Pardons to advance money for the Pope (which were then first opposed by *Luther*). 'Tis said that this *Tetzelius* affirm'd that he could also pardon sins to come; whereupon a *German* Gentleman bought such an one of him, and afterwards rob'd the *Dominican* Pardoner; *Tetzelius* threatening him, the Gentleman pleads he had bought his Pardon for it, declaring that was the sin he determin'd to commit: to which *Tetzelius* could not reply.

About the same time, a Shooe-makers Wife buyeth a Pardon, in which was expressly indulg'd her, that her soul should fly to Heaven as soon as she was dead. At last the woman dyeth, and is buried; but her Husband giveth nothing to the Priest to pray her soul out of *Purgatory*: Whereupon the Shooe-maker is accused to the Magistrate, who chides him for having no care of his Wives soul: the fellow pleads that there is no need for any *Mass* for it, seeing her soul was in Heaven before she was buried; for proof of which, he sheweth the Popes Pardon: a Testimony so Authentick, that they durst neither deny it, or the Pontifick Authority; whereby the Cobler came off clear.

But another story I meet with, where the Judge being a party, he was not so honest in his determination; in short thus: A *German* Gentleman, according to his Fathers will, paid yearly such a sum to a Neighbouring Monastery, that the Monks therein should pray for the deliverance of his Fathers soul out of *Purgatory*. At last

## The PREFACE.

last, the Gentleman understanding that they brag'd that they had Pardons which could deliver any soul, he buys one of them for his Fathers soul; which for more certainty was confirm'd by their Monasteries Seal, and subscrib'd by their General and themselves. Thus being cock-sure of the happiness of his Fathers soul, he refused afterwards to pay them the Annual Stipend he used formerly to do: whereupon the Monks appeal to the Bishop, who gravely Decreeeth, that the Gentleman must continue the payment; though his Fathers soul were quit from Purgatory by the former Pardon.

But because some may be unwilling to trudge as far as *Rome* for Pardons, or to go any whither else upon suchlike Pilgrimages; and others, either through poverty or covetousness, may grudge to give any thing for their Absolutions, which they suppose should be given them freely: therefore the Popes (good souls) not willing to give the least discontent to any of their Children, have, out of their good nature, and fulness of Authority, afforded them Pardon and Heaven at as easie and lazie a rate as heart could wish; and they need not question the Authority of their Popes, seeing 'tis a sure Rule, that when his Holyness giveth Plenary Absolution, (a) *It is to be understood, that he absolveth as well from the Punishment, as the sin, be the sin never so great or abominable.*

*a Quando  
Papa concedit  
plenariam  
Absolutionem*

*mem, intelligitur, quod absolvit tam à culpa quam à poena quodam omnia peccata quantumq; enormissima. Vid: Domini. Card. Tusch. Practicarum Conclusionum juris, Tom. 4. v. Indulgent. 6.*

And as for these so frankly and freely bestowed Indulgences, for the honour and comfort of the *English-Romanist*, I shall go no farther for them then the

### *Hore Beatae Virginis Mariæ.*

And this according as it was used at *Salisbury*: and in this I shall onely follow the Edition of *Paris* 1527, because the greatest cost and care hath been taken in that Impression, both for Pictures and Ornaments, of any I have yet seen. And now bless your eyes, and behold the Popes Treasure open'd.

#### *Pardon for days.*

*Vid. Fol. 165. a.*

Pope *John XXII* hath granted to them that shall say this Prayer, *Ave caro, Christi caro*, &c. at the Elevation, pardon for 100 days. *Fol. 73. a.*

Pope *Celestine* hath granted to them that shall say in honour of the B. Virgin this Prayer, *Ave mundi spes Maria*, &c. pardon for 300 days. *Fol. 58. a.*

Pope *John XXII* hath granted them that shall say this Prayer, *Stabat Mater dolorosa*, &c. pardon for 300 days. *Fol. 61. b.*

Pope *Anastase* hath granted to them that say this prayer, *Domine Jesu Christe*, &c. pardon for 500 days. *Fol. 84. a.*

Pope *John XXII* hath granted them that say this prayer, *Anima Christi sanctifica me*, &c. after the Elevation, pardon for 3000 days. *Fol. 72. b.*

Pope *John* hath granted to them who shall say this prayer, *Precor te amantissime Domine*, &c. before a Crucifix, as many days of pardon as there were wounds in Christs body at his Passion, which the Rubrick saith were 5465. *Fol. 76. a.*

But



## The PREFACE.

But another Edition [*viz.* at *Paris* 1534.] tells us thus :

- Fol. 40. b. Pope *Benedict XII*, made this prayer (*Gratias ago tibi Domine, &c.*) and gave to all them that devoutly said it, as many days of pardon as our Lord had wounds, that is 6646 days.

So here you must take your choice, but consult first, which of the two Popes is to be believed.

- Fol. 86. a. Pope *Innocent II* hath granted to them that shall say this Prayer, *Ave vulnus lateris, &c.* pardon for 4000 days.  
 Fol. 165. a. Pope *John* hath granted to them who shall say this prayer, *Miserere Domine animabus, &c.* as many days of pardon as there are Christian bodies buried.

### Pardon for years.

- Fol. 73. b. Pope *Innocent* hath granted to them that shall say this prayer, *Salve lux mundi, &c.* at the Elevation, pardon for 7 years.  
 Fol. 61. b. Pope *Boniface* hath granted to them that shall say this prayer, *Stabat Mater dolorosa, &c.* pardon for 7 years and 40 Lents.  
 Fol. 79. a. Pope *Gregory* hath granted to them that shall say these five little prayers, *Ave manus dextra Christi, &c.* with five *Pater Nosters*, five *Ave Maria's*, and a *Credo*, pardon for 500 years  
 Fol. 72, 73. Pope *Boniface VI* hath granted to them that shall say this prayer, *Domine Jesu Christe, &c.* pardon for 10000 years.  
 Fol. 92. Pope *Alexander VI* hath granted to them that say this prayer, *Ave Maria gratia plena, &c.* pardon for 10000 years.  
 Fol. 56. b. Pope *Sixtus IV* hath granted to them that say this prayer, *Ave sanctissima Maria, &c.* before the Image of our Lady, pardon for 11000 years.  
 Fol. 80. b. Pope *John XXII* hath granted to them that shall say these three prayers, *Domine Jesu Christe, &c.* pardon for 100000 years.

And though this last pardon be for a pretty number of years, *viz.* ten hundred thousand, yet they will go a little farther, and assure the *Romanists*, that whosoever of them shall say a prayer, beginning *O Deus Propitius esto mihi, &c.* that his soul shall not enter into Hell. And they will give you another prayer, at the saying of which you shall be past both Hell and Purgatory. And of late days the *English* have been very careful to procure such Pardons and Absolutions, as appears by some of them publish'd by Mr. (a) *Gee*, to whom I shall refer the Reader.

But as for *Purgatory*, whose particular description of every hole and cranny in it, and what pretty sport the Devils have there, you have at large described to you by *Matthew Paris*, *Philip Osullevan*, and others; and of the particular cheat of *St. Patrick's* little hole, *Bishop Jones* hath given a sufficient Narrative. I say, as for *Purgatory*, there need no great care or trouble to be taken, seeing that *Mass* is not worth a rush that cannot deliver a soul thence, especially if said by the Monks of *Cluny* Abby; in the time of whose Abbot (b) *Odilo*, the place and intrigues of this tormenting Cavern were fully discover'd to mankind: And it was an unlucky observation of a *German*, that if there be a *Purgatory*

a New Shreds, p. 77, 78, &c.  
 b See their Legends, Jan. and 2 Novemb.

## The PREFACE.

gatory, souls could not stay long there: of which take the story thus in short.

This merry fellow of *Antwerp* was accused to the *Inquisitors*, for saying amongst his companions, that there was no Purgatory; and in behalf of himself thus pleaded, — *That according to the Sermons he us'd to hear, there was either no Purgatory, or no souls in it; for we are taught that Turks, Jews, Pagans, Hereticks, and the wicked go forthwith to Hell, and none goeth to Purgatory but Penitent Christians; of which there is no great number, as you daily lament and complain. We are also taught that every Mass delivers one soul out of Purgatory; and besides, multitude of souls are deliver'd by Pardons and Indulgences; and it is plain that there are more Masses said then Penitent Christians dye; whereby it followeth, that there is either no Purgatory, or that it is empty.* — At which, the *Inquisitors* knowing this used daily to be preach'd, let the Wag go, but chid him for meddling with that which did not belong to him.

According to this, *Purgatory* is no such Bug-bear; so that nothing is now left to deter a *Romanist* from committing what he pleaseth, but the fear of Hell it self: Yet the bold *Roman* need not cool or stagger his resolution for this, seeing the Pope hath such an Interest and Authority in Hell also, that even thence he can deliver the tormented soul, as some (a) *Romanists* affirm; else why should they tell us that Pope *Gregory* the Great redeem'd the Emperour *Trajan's* soul, and *St. Tecla* did *Falaonilla's*? and in Vindication of the former, no less man then *Alphonfus Giacominus* hath publish'd a particular Book, where you may see more; and if they can do thus for Pagans, what may they not do for the sons of their own Church? And no question but that his Holiness will venture much of his credit to redeem a soul of one of his sons from Hell, when he would allow his friends to make use of the Devil for the amendment of their bodies, as it is said Pope (c) *Nicholas V* once indulged an intimate friend of his.

Regum, c. 4. q. 57. Barth. Medina in 3. D. Thom. q. 52. art. 5. Ric. de Media villa in 4. sent. dist. 45. art. 2. q. 1. Siebert. Gembl. Chron. an. 592. Gosfrid. Viterbief. Panch. part 13. Sixtus Senenf. Biblioth. lib. 6. Annot. 47. Fil. Bergamo Chron. fol. 284. Zac. Lippello. 12 Martii. b Vid. Sennert. lib. 6. part 9. cap. 8.

The *Predestinarian Turks*, under the notion of having their Fortune writ on their Foreheads, joyfully venture their beings upon the greatest hazards: and it hath (c) formerly been observed, that the true *Romanist* would boldly commit any villany, under the security or shadow of these *Pardons* or *Indulgences*, which he by Tradition supposed to be Protection enough both to himself and sins.

do quilibet hinc Supra, Incestus, Adulteria, Perjurie, Homicidia, Furta, Rapinae, Fornicae, ac tota malorum Lerna semel originem sibi traxerunt. Quod enim malorum amplius jam horrebant mortales, quando sibi peccandi licentiam ac impenitentiam uedum in vita, sed & post obitum (are licet immodico), comparari posse a Nundinatoribus illis Indulgentiarum, semel persuasum habent? — Verum si quis uide numeret, habeat, jam uedum Praesentes Indulgentiarum harum constitutionum transgressionem, sed & in futurum impune, ut eas ipsas transgredi liceat, indulto permittitur. Quo fit ut ansam inde accipiant ii, cum quibus ita dispensatum est, Pejerandi, Homicidia, Adulteria, & similia flagitia perpetranti, quando quilibet ex Sacerdotum vulgo, Absolutionem emptitiam virtute indulti his impartiri potest. Graevam. German. 3, 6.

But what need we talk of guilt or sins, or trouble our heads about procuring Indulgences or Pardons? as if he that is obedient

to

## The PREFACE.

to the commands of the Pope, and a through-paced son of the *Roman Church*, could in his so doing, either commit the one, or stand in need of the other.

a Cardinales  
cum Papa  
constituunt  
Ecclesiam  
Rom— Quare  
Episc. jurans

As for the *Church of Rome*, to which this grand *All-obedience* is due, 'tis nothing else but the (a) Pope and his Cardinals, as some say; or, as others will have it, by the *Church* there is nothing else to be understood but the (b) Pope, whose almighty Infallibility is not to be call'd in question.

fidelitatem Ecclesiz Rom. & Papæ & successoribus ejus; obligat se non tantum ipsi Papæ, sed Collegio Cardinali-  
um. Mar. Alercus. disput. de Centuriis Eccles. Tom. 1. lib. 5. disp. 14. cap. 1. pag. 655.  
b Jacob. Greiser defens. Card. Bellarmin. lib. 3. cap. 10. col. 1450.

Andr. du Val  
de Ecclesiasti-  
ca & Politica  
potestate, pag.  
88, 89.

Therefore if there be any doubt of any thing, the Holy Scri-  
ptures, and other such means must be thrown aside, as being  
doubtful, and like the *Lesbian* or *Leaden Rule*, may be bended  
this way or that way, and so may serve for any man's turn; they must  
therefore not be credited or trusted to. And so none is to be judge  
but the Pope, who in his determinations cannot erre, neither of  
right, or matter of fact: for which we need go no farther then the  
positive sentiment and judgement of their grand Masters the Je-  
suits of their Colledge of *Clermont*, in their publick *theses*, publish'd  
by themselves to be held, vindicated, and maintained against all  
the World; and that of very late days, as appears by part of it  
as followeth.

XIX *Christum nos ita caput  
agnoscimus, ut illius Regimen  
dum in Cælos abiit, primum Pe-  
tro, tum deinde Successoribus  
commiserit, & E A N D E M  
Q U A M H A B U I T I P S E  
I N F A L L I B I L I T A T E M  
concefferit, quoties ex Cathedra  
loquerentur.*

XX *Datur ergo in E. R. Con-  
troversiarum fidei Judex Infal-  
libilis, ETIAM EXTRA  
CONCILIUM GENE-  
RALE, tum in Questionibus  
Juris, tum FACTI, &c.*

Propugnabuntur, Deo Duce  
& auspice Virgine, in Aula  
Collegii Claromontani, So-  
cietatis Jesu, die XII De-  
cembris 1661.

We acknowledge *Christ* so to  
be the Head (of the Church) that  
during his absence in Heaven, he  
hath given the Government  
thereof, first to *Peter*, and then to  
his Successors; and bestowed unto  
the Popes his Successors THE  
VERY SELF-SAME IN-  
FALLIBILITY WHICH  
HE HIMSELF HAD, as  
often as they speak *e Cathedra*.

There is therefore Constitu-  
ted in the Church of *Rome* an  
Infallible Judge [i.e. the Pope]  
of Faith, and that even without  
a General Council, as well in  
questions appertaining to Right,  
as in matters of Fact.

*These shall be defended, by the  
assistance of God, and the  
favour of the Virgin, in the  
Hall of the Colledge of  
Clermont, belonging to the  
Society of Jesus, the XII  
day of December 1661.*

And by their *Canon-law*, 'tis as plain as a Pike-staff, that the  
Popes (b) Decretory Letters, not onely carry Authority along  
with

b Dist. 19. c. Si  
Romanorum.

## The PREFACE.

with them, and what he (a) commands to be obey'd, and are to be received as if they were the very words of (b) St. Peter; but they are also to be reckon'd and esteem'd as authentick as the Word of God, or (c) Holy Scriptures themselves.

Therefore, they say, 'tis (d) Sacrilege to question the Popes actions, and downright (e) Paganism not to obey him: and he is (f) curst of God who violates the Popes Censures; so we must be (g) obedient to him upon peril of our Souls.

And no less man then their late great Saint, *Ignatius Loyola*, layeth this down for a certain and perpetual Rule of Obedience:

*If the Church affirm that to be black, which our own eyes judge to be white, we ought also then to declare that it is black.*

*quod nigrum sit, pronunciare. Ignat. Exercitia Spiritualia apud finem, Regulæ aliquot servandæ ut cum Orthodoxa Ecclesia verè sentiamus. Reg. 13.*

And we are not to question the Truth and Authority of this Rule, being so strongly confirm'd, commended and ratified by the (b) Bull of Pope *Paul III*, as every thing also is, which is contain'd in the said *Exercitia Spiritualia*: and how can any thing be amiss in it, if it was, as some say, by Inspiration from Heaven dictated to *Ignatius*?

And now who dares call himself a son of the *Roman Church*, and not be of the same Religion with the Pope? be of the same Opinion? Obey his commands and dictates, seeing there is no difference between the sentiment and judgement of the (i) Pope, and that of God: and what a grand Power and Authority the Pope hath, for diversion sake take them thus in verse, out of *Andrew Melvin*, from their own Writers.

*Quod Papa Romanus vult, norma est juris & equi;  
Quod Papa cumq; facit, ratum habet Deus æthere in alto;  
Posse Papam quodcumq; Deus; par, æqua potestas  
Cumq; Deo Christoq; Papæ commune Tribunal.  
Est major Paulo Papa: major fœdere prisco.  
Contra Evangelium statuit Papa, Scriptaq; Pauli,  
Articulos fidei condens, Oecumenicumq;  
Concilium cogens, decretaq; sancta reformans.  
Si currus plenos animarum ad Tartara trudas  
Secum ipse, haud quisquam potis est contendere contra;  
Dicere cur facis hoc? Stat pro ratione voluntas.*

*The Papal Fiat of all right is the guide;  
What he doth here, in Heaven is Ratifi'd:  
He acts as God, their Powers so equal are,  
And God, Christ, Pope, have but one judgement-chair.  
Then Paul or th' Old-law, he's more great and true;  
He can command 'gainst Paul and Gospel too.*

a Ib. c. Enimvero.  
b Ib. c. Sic Omnes.  
c Ib. c. In Canonis.  
d Dist. 40. c. Non nos Gloss.  
e Dist. 81. c. Quis enim  
f 25 q. 1. c. Si qui sunt.  
g Extra. Com. l. 1. Tit. 8. c. unam Sanctam,  
—Si quid quod oculis nostris apparet album nigrum illa esse definiat, debemus itidem,

b 1543.

i Sententia Papæ & sententia Dei una est sententia. August. de Ancona, Q. 6. art. 2.

Delit. Poet. Scot. vol. 2. pag. 130. 1

## The PREFACE.

40 Dist. c. Si  
Papa.

*Can frame new Rules of Faith, the old Casbeer ;  
And over General Councils domineer.  
If be to Hell millions of Souls should draw,  
Yet none must ask him why ? His will is Law.*

a—Estimant  
Papam esse  
unum Deum,  
qui habet po-

Nor need this seem strange to those who are assured by good Authority, that some have held the Pope for no less then a (a) God, and accordingly could command all both in Heaven and Earth.

testatem omnem in Cœlo & Terra. *Johan. Gerson. Tom.2. Resolut. circa materiam Excommunicationum & Irregularitat. Confid.11.*

*Tindal* disputing with one thought a Learned Doctor, drave him to that issue, that he burst out,—— *We had better be without Gods Laws then the Popes.* — *Tho. Fuller's Abel Redivivum,* pag. 127.

Thus you see the more then Hogan Mogan Authority ( of which you shall hear more hereafter ) of your Intallible Lord ; whereby you cannot do amiss, as long as you obey his hefts and commands, be it against King, Country or Parents ; for against all these 'tis said that he hath a jurisdiction to hound you. And for a farther encouragement, he maketh no small use of the word *Heretick* ; and all must be such, who do not swear, right or wrong, to him or his Church. And if a Governour be not of the *Roman* Church, and so by their consequence be an *Heretick*, this following Treatise will tell you what is to be done with him : and their *Bulla Cene Domini*, publish'd every year at *Rome* and other places on *Maundy-Thursdæy* [ the *Thursdæy* before *Easter* ] will tell you how they are Curs'd and Excommunicated to the purpose. And according to the (b) *Canon-law*, he that kills an Excommunicated person, in meer Zeal for the *Roman* Church, doth not incur the crime of Homicide.

b Non enim  
eos homicidas  
arbitramur,  
quos adversus  
Excommuni-

catos Zelo Catholicæ matris ardentes aliquos eorum trucidasse contigeret. 23. q. 5. cap. 147. Excommunicatorum.

Amongst other things, this *Bull* damns to the Pit of Hell all those who shall assist or carry Arms to any Hereticks : upon which (c) *Marius Alterius* starts this *Quære* :

a De Cen-  
suris Eccle-  
siasticis, lib. 5.  
Disput 8. cap.  
2. pag. 527.  
— postula-  
bit quis.

*If such prohibited things be convey'd to the Subjects of a Prince expressly by the Papal Sentence declared an Heretick ; whether then, the Conveyers are by this Bull Excommunicated ?*

To which the said *de Alterius* giveth this doughty and *Roman* Answer :

*If the Subjects (under the Heretical Prince) to whom the Arms are carryed, be of the Roman Religion, bate their Prince, and desire (if they have ability) to free themselves from his Tyranny or Government ; and to that end, do secretly seek Arms, to imploy them at the first opportunity for the destruction of the said Heretical Prince ; then, as this great Doctor thinketh, the Aiders or Assistants do no ways incur Excommunication.*

Thus would they intrude upon us a pretty *salvo* for Treason, and,

## The PREFACE.

and no small encouragement for Rebellion, if to Depose Kings may be titled such.

Again, the Popes Infallibility, being by some so highly cry'd up, it is no hard matter to make a good-meaning *Romanist* believe, that it is his best and safest way to obey the Pope in everything he commandeth, though it were against his King and Country; of which this following History will afford many instances: and this King-deposing Doctrine being so stiffly maintain'd as a grand Article, by their most Authentick Papal Writers, the inferior *Romanist* will think himself obliged to credit it, and his great Judge the Pope, who if he *did erre in this point, how can they rest assured that he did not erre in other points of Faith?* to retort (a) *Michæas* his Rule.

a Job. Clare  
The converted Jew, part  
3. pag. 17.

But concerning *Infallibility*, I finde a war amongst themselves; and our *English* men, when it cometh to a pinch, are as unsettled as they think their Neighbours are.

Father (b) *White* (one of very desperate Principles as to Government) doth in the name of the *Romanists*, flatly deny that the Pope is *Infallible*, affirming the contrary to be *Injuriously imposed upon them by Sectaries*: And Father (c) *Caron* (of better Tenents then the former) is of Opinion that the Pope with any other assistance whatever (unless a General Council) may erre; and this of late he undertakes to prove at large. And farther, *White* confesseth, that it is not yet known where this *Infallibility* lyeth: For, saith he, — (d) *some place it in the Pope, some in a General Council, some in both, some in the whole Church*, And a later Writer, grants several *Infallibilities*. — (e) *The Infallibility of the Church, Councils and Tradition, depend so necessarily upon each other (that) whatever Authorities prove the Infallibility of any one, do in effect, and by good consequence prove the same of all the rest.*

b Controversie-Logick,  
pag. 212, 213.

c Remonstr.  
Hibernorum,  
part 5. cap. 28.  
p. 85, 86, &c.

d Controversie-Log.  
p. 96.

e Labyrinth.  
Cantuariensis,  
pag. 177.

But methinks we need not stand so resolutely upon Religion or Church, since the Author of *Fiat Lux* assures us, that Time will alter any Religion. — (f) *A Religion once establish'd, be it true or false (when it is once received, it is then taken for true;) in the space of some succeeding ages is reformed anew by other Teachers or Interpreters, who in time lead men out of the former way into their own; sometimes slowly, gradually and insensibly, that they are brought into another Religion before they be aware: sometimes by open hostility to the former, which whether by Covin or violence, yeilds at last to the Ingress of a new one.*

f Fiat Lux,  
pag. 73, 74.

If thus Religion it self will vary and alter in time, there needs not be such a confidence placed in their Infallibility: and yet 'tis pretty to observe, that this their grand Rule, which on all occasions they call to their assistance, they do not know where to fix or finde; and that which must judge the rest, is of it self unsettled and uncertain. And they grant that a Church that is (g) fallible may lawfully be forsaken. But this by the by, and I shall confess nothing to the purpose, as being besides my designe, and so the less careful in its hasty scribbling.

g S. W. Schism.  
disarmed, pag.  
22, 26, 28.

As for this King-deposing Doctrine, though it be positively taught and believed at *Rome*, by Pope, Cardinals, their greatest Doctors, and every where by those whom his Holiness looks upon as through-paced sons to him and his Church; and those who absolutely deny this Article (as *Widdrington, Caron, Barckley,* &c.)

## The PREFACE.

&c.) are with their books censured and prohibited, as rotten, unsound and false ware: yet in Countries far enough from *Rome*, when this point cometh to a pinch and a serious debate, then we shall see some of them, like *Coton*, and the other *French Jesuits*, to have two Consciences, one at *Rome*, and another at home.

As when any mischief is done, the Childe cryeth Nobody did it, thereby thinking to secure it self: so now, when some Kings and Princes have look'd upon this King-deposing Doctrine as wicked and dangerous; we have some of the secular Priests, and some *French* of a freer humour, will throw all the fault upon the *Jesuit*, and would gladly make the world believe that all other *Roman* Catholicks are innocent as to these accusations, being true Subjects to their Prince, and Enemies to Treason or Sedition; and that the contrary Principles are onely taught by the *Jesuits*: to which Order, many other Catholicks having no good will, make it their business to expose them, as much as they can; and this Quarrel is now grown to such an height, that there appears no signes of a Reconciliation; which every day weakens the Papal Authority, and may in time squeeze that jurisdiction within its own narrow limits.

The truth is, some other Orders think the *Jesuits* carry too high an hand, and others suppose them too busie and active in State-affairs, and have been the Fomenters of many troubles and Wars in *Europe*; to which purpose I meet with this biting Character.

*Martem norunt animare  
Et Tumultus suscitare  
Inter Reges & sedare.*

*Tanquam sancti adorantur,  
Tanquam Reges dominantur,  
Tanquam Fures depredantur.*

*Dominantur temporale,  
Dominantur spirituale,  
Dominantur omnia male.*

*Hos igitur Jesuitas  
Nebulones Hypocritas  
Fuge si Cælica quæras.*

*Vita namq; Christianæ  
Abhorret ab hac doctrina  
Tanquam fida & Insana.*

Another will offer these Anagrams upon the word **JESUITA**,

**ES VITIA,**  
and  
**SEVITIA.**

*I, non es vita at VITIA ES & mortis Imago,  
Et Sevitia dans vim tibi nomen erit.*

But

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## The PREFACE.

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But this following, for its brevity and pithiness, may carry away the Bell:

*Seducer* Sueco : Gallo *Sicarius* : Anglo  
*Proditor* : Imperio *Explorator* : Davus Ibero :  
*Italo adulator* : dixi teres ere, ---Suitam.

Nay, the very *Spaniards*, though great admirers of the Papal Prerogative, and might have some respect for this Order, their Founder *Ignatius* being their Countryman; yet have some pique against them, as appears by this Libel, found in the *Spanish* Court, by way of the *Jesuits Ten Commandments*.

*Los Mandamientos de los Teatinos*  
*Mas humanos son que Divinos.*

1. *Adquirir mucho dinero.*
2. *Sugetar todo el mundo.*
3. *Buen Capon, y buen Carnero.*
4. *Comprar Barato, y vender caro.*
5. *Con el blanco aguar el tinto.*
6. *Tener siempre el lomo en sesto.*
7. *Guardarse bien del sereno.*
8. *Obrar lo suyo y lo ageno.*
9. *Hazar del Penitente esclavo.*
10. *Mesclarse en casas d' estado.*

*Estos diez Mandamientos se encierran en dos:*  
*Todo para mi, y nada para vos.*

The *Ten Commandments* the *Jesuits* signe,  
Are far more Humane then they are Divine:

1. *Great Riches see you do procure.*
2. *Bring the whole world to your lure.*
3. *Eat fat Capons, and the best cheer.*
4. *Buy but cheap, yet sell full dear.*
5. *Water your red wine with white.*
6. *Ly with ease, and warmth at night.*
7. *Keep you from sb' ill evening ayres.*
8. *Do your own and others affairs.*
9. *Make slaves of your Penitents.*
10. *Plot in State-deeds and Events.*

*These Ten Commandments are thus made two;*  
*All for my self, nothing at all for you.*

But too much of this Learned Order, whose exact or *Blind* obedience (as their Founder words it) is maligned by some others, who have faults enough of their own; and make a clamour against these Fathers, not that the other are of sounder principles, but thereby to turn people eyes upon another Object, that their own faults might not be taken notice of.

But though *Clark* and *Watson*, the two secular Priests, ranted  
dap-



## The PREFACE.

dapperly against the *Jesuits*, as the onely Teachers and Instructors of Sedition and Treason; yet scarce was a year turn'd round, but these pretended good Subjects were taken napping in Rebellion, and accordingly had their reward. And as for the Tenents of the *Jesuits*, I finde the Fathers Reply to that Objection,

a — On dira toujours que *Bellarmino, Gretserus*, & les Peres *Jesuites* en corps & en particulier, ne croyent & ne croyront, n'enseignent & n'enseigneront autre chose que ce qu'en croit l'Eglise. *Response Apologetiq; à l'Anticoron. pag. 90.*

What they mean by the Church of *Rome*, we have told you from themselves formerly; and 'tis certain that according to History, the Pope hath been so active in maintaining this King-deposing Doctrine, and so furious and active with his Sword, that even honest *Pasquin* thought himself obliged to keep to the Proverb, *Whilst thou art at Rome, do as they do*. And thus to Apologize for the Pope, and answer all Objections.

*Henr. Estien.  
Apol. pour  
Herod. p. 382.*

*Quum tibi non ætas habilis sit Caraphe bello;  
Et castris habeas cognita claustra magis:  
Quum desit miles belliq; pecunia nervus,  
Quis te præcipitem cogit ad arma furor?  
Infirmis humeris damnata quid induis arma?  
Qua tibi cum libeat ponere, non liceat?  
Cur respirantem & curantem vulnera mundum,  
Concutis & Martem solus ad arma cies?  
Da miseris requiem & spatium concede malorum,  
Si nobis Pater es, si tua cura sumus.  
Conde senex gladium, & Christi reminiscere verbi;  
Quod dixit Petro, dixit & ille tibi.*

To this, *Pasquino*, (one would think a doughty *Romanist*) thus returns an answer in behalf of his Holiness,

*Quod dixit Petro Christus, nolim esse putetis  
Dictum (Pontificum pace Petriq;) mihi.  
Nam neq; sum Petri successor, nec quoq; talem  
Agnoscat bona pars Christicolorum hodie.  
Pauli ego (successu ceptis meliore deinceps  
Dii faveant) sumpsi nomen & arma simul:  
Et Christi verbi memor intrepidusq; minister,  
NON VENI PACEM MITTERE, SED GLADIUM.*

And now Gentlemen, though at the beginning I gave you (I hope) good Reasons for this my undertaking; yet because the other discourses intervening might possibly dash them out of your memories, give me leave to remind you of them, with this proviso, that I think my Mother the Church of *England* a good Church, and the King our Sovereign a true and lawful King.

*b Vid. Edm.  
Champion E.  
pist. ad con-  
siliarios Re-  
ginae Elizab.  
præfix. Rati-  
on.*

And therefore (in short) when I finde a compact amongst your (b) *Jesuits*, never to give over their attempts, till they have either ruin'd themselves, or reduced *England* to their *Romish* obedience.

When

## The PREFACE.

When I finde (a) you declare that our Kings have forfeited the claim to the Title of the Defender of the Faith.

*a S.W. Schism. diarmed, pag. 181.*

When I finde you refuse the Oath of Allegiance, one reason being, because it will not allow the Pope to have a true right and authority to depose Kings, and to absolve subjects of their Oaths of Allegiance.

When I finde you in your very (b) Apologies for your selves, confesses the *Romanists* to be but conditional Subjects, i. e. onely to one of your own perswasion in Religion; as is farther proved all along in this History, that Heretical Kings may be depos'd.

*b Image of both Churches, pag. 171, 172.*

When I finde you in your late (c) Remonstrance and Petition to his present sacred Majesty King Charles II. come off so bluntly in relation to his Majesties life, and your own loyalty, in these really insignificant, yet too much significant words.

*c Vid. The Roman Clergy of Irelands Remonstr. before P. Welsh's more ample Account.*

*And we do hold it impious, and against the Word of God, to maintain that ANY PRIVATE SUBJECT MAY KILL or MURDER the ANOYNTE D of God, HIS PRINCE,* though of a different belief and Religion.

And what will they have to be the meaning of these idle words? though they will not have a *Ravaillac* to kill a King, will they allow of an *English Rump*, or a *French League* to order the same? though they will not allow a private person, will they think it legal, if done by a Representative, a Popular Convention, or the three Estates? But a word is enough to the wise; and 'tis dangerous sometimes to speak too plain.

When I finde your selves confess that even since the happy Restauration of his Majestie, — (d) *Some of you have given sufficient demonstrations of their failing in the duty of good Subjects; and that some of your Tenents have been (e) inconsistent, and injurious to good Government.*

*d P. Welsh more ample Account, pag. 32. e Id. p. 43, 44.*

And yet for all this, to take upon you the confidence of declaring to the world your innocencie and loyalty, and that Treason and Sedition are onely the Principles of us *English* Hereticks (the *Puritan* and *Phanatick*, I grant, are as wicked as your heart could wish) for so you are pleas'd to nominate all those who are true sons of the Church of *England*: Upon these slanders, in respect of this Church, I could not but think my self obliged to shew to the world where, as to this case, the truth is; and in so doing, shew my self a dutiful son in vindicating his Mother.

A Church famous for her Loyalty and Sufferings; not one of her Constitutions intrenching upon the Crown, nor any of her sons faithless or rebellious to his Prince: whereas that of *Rome*, by her Popes, *Bulls*, Constitutions, Pen-men and Sword-men, have destroy'd Nations, harras'd Kingdoms, Dethron'd Emperours, Depos'd and Murdred Princes, trampled upon Crowns and Scepters: In a word, hath declared (f) Loyalty a Crime, Treason a signe of true *Roman* Religion; look'd upon her self as the Supreme Judge of the world in all cases; usurp'd a power to dispose of all Dominions, to dethrone Monarchs, and absolve Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance.

*f — Illos quod bella civilia abhorrent, à nobis & Imperio deficere nolent, crimen læsæ Majestatis.*

*statu, scelus perfidiae admittere recusarent; — Hæresios nota inusit. Jo. Aventin. Annal. pag. 613.*

*Boierum, lib. 7.*

Some

## The PREFACE.

a *Surata* 76.  
Edit. lat. 1550.  
or *Surat* 66.

Some may fancy (a) *Mahomet* in his *Alcoran*, the first abso-  
lver of Oaths; and that Pope *Zachary* presently after put it in  
practice against *Childeric* King of *France*.

Mat. Paris  
pag. 83.  
Hen. Spelman  
glossarium,  
Assasini.

But letting this pass, we have it from good Authority, that there  
were formerly a Sect amongst the *Turks* call'd *Assasini* [whence  
we say to Assassinate;] they lived in the Mountains of *Pheni-*  
*cia* towards *Tyre*: their Government and chiefest Laws were  
these:

Their Governour or Master was not Hereditary, but Ele-  
ctive.

He under the Notion of Humility, as if he would be onely the ser-  
vant of servants, refused all lofty Titles, being onely call'd the  
*Old man of the Mountains*.

Was honour'd and worship'd as *Vicar* to *Mahomet*, and so their Fa-  
ther and Prophet.

They pretended to be such exact Observers of their *Turkish* or  
*Mahometan* Laws, that all other seem'd but as meer cheats, or  
*Non-conformists* in respect of them.

They were led with that *Blind Obedience*, that they never que-  
stion'd their Masters command: be the action never so dange-  
rous, difficult or wicked, they never left off till it was  
finish'd.

Any Prince whom they either hated, or thought to be no friend  
to them or their party, upon the least hint they would Mur-  
ther, though they were sure to suffer for it.

Whosoever murder'd a Prince, that was not of their Religion,  
they believed him to have the second place next to *Mahomet*  
in Paradise.

For they also believed that the *Old man*, their Head and Pro-  
phet, could also dispose of *Paradise*.

b Hier. Benz  
Hist. Nov. or-  
bis, lib. 3. cap. 3.  
c Jo. Gerhard.  
loc. Theolog.  
Tom. 5. de Ec-  
clesia,

'Tis said that this Sect was long ago destroy'd by the *Tartars*;  
and whether any who call themselves *Christians* have espous'd  
their Tenents, I shall not say.

294.  
d Hist im-  
pressa ante  
*Alcoran*. Edit.  
lat. 1550. p. 99.  
e Discours  
d'un Bour-  
geois de Pa-  
ris sur les  
Pouvoirs de  
Cardinal Cbi-  
legat en  
France, p. 80.

But to return. As for the Pope, though the Pagan King of  
*Pern* might call him a (b) *great impudent fool*; though the great  
Turk might call him the (c) *King of Fools*; or though *Marbizan*  
the *Mahometan* might term *Pius II's Bulls* onely (d) *Epigrams*:  
yet it may seem to go hard, when those he pretends to be his  
own sons should shew no more respect to him; as when *Philip*  
King of *France* call'd him *Tour Foolishness*; and the Emperour  
*Maximilian I.* should say he was onely (e) *King of Fools*. But  
methinks *Sancho*, Brother to the King of *Arragon* (if my Author  
mistake not, another onely saith *Spain*) was most ingeniously  
even with his Holiness; and bit the closer, by seeming to do him  
the greater honour: the story in brief thus.

Louis Garat  
le chaffe  
Enuy. Cent.  
2. 3.

Pope *Adrian IV* supposing he had Authority to dispose of all  
Kingdoms in the world, gave to the former *Sanctus* the Land of  
*Egypt*, then in Possession of the *Sarazens*; yet he should have it,  
if he would take but the small pains to conquer it; and accord-  
ingly at *Rome* proclaims him King of *Egypt*: so bountiful and no-  
ble was this *English Breakpear*. *Sancho* informed of this, would  
not be behinde-hand with his Holiness in courtesie, and so  
very gravely proclaimed the Pope to be *Caliph of Bandas*,  
which

## The PREFACE.

which he might also conquer and possess if he pleas'd.

Yet others there are (as may be seen in this following Treatise) who are more wide on the other side, and will be satisfied with nothing, but I know not what strange Almighty Faculties, Authorities and Blessings adhering to the Pope. As if they were related to *George the Suffragan of Erfordt*, who was so zealous in his commendations of *Boniface Dorneman*, the little Priest of *Hallandorp*, that he told his Auditors that *he was more learned then St. Paul, more holy then the Angels, and more chaste then the Virgin Mary*: Or like the *German Boor*, who at *Marpurg in Hesse*, thus saluted and desired the assistance and favour of *Judge Burckhard*.—O *Eternal and Omnipotent Lord Vicegerent*, I have heard that you are the very Devil and all in this Court, therefore for Gods sake put an end to my Tryal.

*Orth. Meland. pag 521. 4.8.*

*Id. 572.*

But now some Princes begin to see their own Rights and Privileges, are sensible how unworthy their Predecessors have been abused, and begin to understand that their Power is Independent; neither receiving their Rights from *Rome*, or her Popes, but that their Crowns were given them from Heaven; and that rather, the Popes have been like that Bird in the Fable, and made use of of old by the *Franciscan Fryar Jehan de Rochetaillade* [by some call'd *de Rupefissa*] which Bird being born without Feathers, was through Charity relieved and made gay by other Birds; and thus perk'd up, despis'd her Benefactors; who at last not able any longer to suffer her pride and tyranny, every Bird pluck'd back again their own Feathers, leaving her as naked as she was at first. And the truth is, the Popes have done with the Empire, as the *Snake* in the Fable did with the Husbandman, who finding it almost frozen to death, in pitty brought it to the fire side, where by the warmth having recover'd strength and vigor, all the thanks it return'd was the stinging of the Goodmans Children.

*Jehan Froissart. Chron. Tom. 2. fol. 132, 183. Edit. 1530.*

And for these ungrateful actions, many have undertaken to foretel strange Judgements and Calamities to happen upon the Popes. But though for mine own part, I am no great admirer of our later Prophets, and trouble my self with their odd Predictions no farther then for recreation; yet seeing the *Romanists* have put such a strange confidence in those *Relations* of their *Swedish St. Brigit* [or *Birgit*] as to declare that they were all immediately inspired by God himself; and not onely canoniz'd the *Lady*, but by several *Bulls* and Authorities so confirm'd the truth of her Book, that it must not be contradicted: yet if they will but seriously look into her *Revelations*, they will finde little reason to boast so much of them, seeing they will finde few so Zealous as this *Saint* against the Pope and his Assistants, prophesying with bitterness their ruine and destruction.

*Revelat. S. Brigit. lib. 1. cap 41.*

That his assumed grand Authority hath of late sensibly decay'd and lost ground, is manifest; and this Conquest hath been not so much by the Sword as the Pen: so that as *Adeodate Seba* formerly writ of *Luther* (one against whom many lyes have been publish'd, as other men having his passions and failings) may also be said of many other learned Pen-men.

*Delir. Poet. Gad. Tom. 3. pag 678.*

## The PREFACE.

*Roma Orbem domuit, Romam sibi Papa subegit ;  
Viribus illa suis, fraudibus iste suis.  
Quand isto major Lutherus, major & illa ,  
Illum, illamq; uno qui domuit calamo.  
I nunc, Alcidem memorato Græcia mendax,  
Lutheri ad Calamum ferrea clava nihil.*

*Rome tam'd the World ; the Pope, Rome Conquer'd, tyer ;  
She by her force, He by deceits and lyes.  
How greater far then they was Luther, when  
Both him and her, he conquer'd with one Pen !  
Golying Greece, vaunt thine Alcides ; tho'  
His Club compared with Luthers Pen's a straw.*

But amongst these Learned Worthies, I have nothing to do :  
And am apt to think that all this time hath been bestow'd to  
little purpose, either because of mine own insufficiencie; or the too  
much resoluteness of some other people. However, I might have  
made better use of my time, in regard of mine own advan-  
tage, had I soon enough call'd to minde *Juvenal's* observation.

Stat. 7.

*Vester porro labor fecundior Historiarum  
Scriptores, petit hic plus temporis atq; olei plus,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Quæ tamen inde seges ? terra quis fructus aperta ?  
Quis dabit Historico, quantum daret ætæ legenti ?*

*Do you Historians more then Poets get ?  
Although more time and charge your works besit ;  
No, no, what gain you by your toyl ? where's he  
Will give th' Historians an Atturvie Fee ?*

In the compiling of this History (such as it is) I have not  
dealt with the *Romanists* as the Hot-headed *Puritans* us'd to do,  
whose strength of Arguments lye chiefly in canting, misapplying  
Scripture, confidence and railing; and if they can but make  
a noise with the *Whore of Babylon*, *Antichrist*, the *Beasts Horns*,  
&c. they suppose the Pope is confuted sure enough, at least  
the good Wives and Children are frighted out of their little  
wits, and take him to be the strangest Monster in the World,  
with so many Heads and Horns; insomuch, that Pope *Urban VIII*  
did not amiss, when he desired some *English* Gentlemen to do  
him onely one courtesie, viz. to assure their Country-men, that he  
was a man as much as themselves.

And had he said a better *Christian* then the *Puritan*, I should  
not therein have troubled my self to contradict his Infallibility: for  
I think them to be the worst people of all mankind. A Sect that  
will agree with you in the Fundamentals of Religion, but will take  
miff, and destroy all for a trifle; and rather then submit to an  
innocent Ceremony, though impos'd by lawful Authority, will  
ruine Kingdoms, Murther Bishops, Rebel against their Sovereigns,  
Banish Queens, declare them Traytors, Imprison and depose their  
Kings, and make the way as plain as can be for their murther.  
A Sect that will cry down Bishops, to possess their lands; break  
the

## The PREFACE.

the Kings Great-seal, imprison him, renounce his Authority, and murder his best Subjects; and yet cry out they cannot commit Treason: In short, a Sect that would hate *Christ*, but that he said he *came not to bring peace but war*.

As for the *Roman* Catholick, I must needs have a greater kindness for him, then the former fire-brands, as being an Adversary more Learned, and so to be expected more Civil and Gentle; and wherein they differ from us, they look upon as Fundamental, and so have a greater reason for their dissent then our Phanatical Presbyterians, a people not capable of a Commendation, nor to be obliged by any Favours; their very Constitution being ingratitude, as Histories do testifie, and King *James* himself doth acknowledge as much.

In this Treatise, I hope I have behaved my self civilly with the *Romanists*, having forborn all bitterness and railing; though the many bloody and unwarrantable actions that I here meet with, might prompt a milder man then my self to some indignation; which may somewhat Apologize for me, if by chance any do either meet with, or fancie a stricture or retort tending to dislike. And yet I dare boldly say, that they shall not finde any such heavy Censures and Severities, as some *Romanists* are apt to throw upon the Reformed Churches.

Mr. (a) *Harding* will allow us to be nothing else but ——— a Confut. of the Apologie. b Fol 114. b. c 121. b. d 131. b. e 222. b. (b) *wicked Chams brood*; — that we — follow the steps of *Prophane Hell-bounds*; — are — (c) *Cursed Canaanites*, — (d) *Rebellious sons — despisers of God* — (e) *Apostates, Renegates, Epicures, Turkish Huguenots, and Hereticks who be worse then Devils*. Another of his acquaintance assures the world that we — (f) *have no Church, no Bishop, no Priest, no Altar, no Sacrifice, and consequently no God*. Another breaks out in these words, — (g) *O wicked men! worse then the Devil your father, of whose progeny you are lineally descended*. Another of our Countrymen, (h) *William Reynolds* (brother to the Learned *John*) is very favourable to us, when he alloweth us to be as good as Pagans or Turks; his main business being to make the world believe that a *Turk* is more capable of Heaven then the *Protestants*. And the same harsh Censure is used by his friend and Publisher (i) Dr. *Gifford*, affirming that our *Gospel* is in nothing better, but in many things worse then the *Alcoran*.

Nay, so severe are they, that they will not allow us to be civil one to another; all commendatory expressions being forbidden; their *Indices Expurgatorii* using no other Complement but this, — *Author Damnatus*. Nay, we must not so much as keep one anothers picture, though privately, not excepting either our Friends, Parents, or the King himself; onely one exception (k) *Azorius* grants (thanks to him for his courtesie) viz. the Pictures of such *Protestants* may be kept and looked on, if they be drawn by way of scorn and derision; as for instance, saith he, if *Luther* be painted burning in Hell, O then, that may be lawfully preserved and gazed on.

For there it is they will have us all to be: (l) *Bristow's* words are these — *Whosoever in this new faith and service hath ended his life, is in Hell most certainly*. The Jesuit *Gretser* is of the same opinion, viz. (m) that no *Protestants* go to Heaven: and others of them are so particular, that they will hold it impossible

i In Argumento prefix. Calvino-Turcismo.  
k Institut. Moral. part 1. lib. 8. cap. 16. ult. Quæstur.  
l Motives, Mot. 36.  
m Apolog. pro Ignat. Loyol. lib. 1. pag. 183. ble 184.

## The PREFACE.

a B. D. de Cle-  
rmond An-  
swer to King  
James his  
Proclamation,  
pag. 140.

ble for Queen (a) *Elizabeth* to be in Heaven. Nor is this any such wonder with them, who have the sole keeping of Heaven-Gates, and will let none in but themselves: Whereby they uncharitably exclude many a good Christian, King *Charles* our late holy Martyr, and some of his good Subjects, who suffer'd Butchery onely for their loyalty, which might have some interest in merit, if the grand Champions of it would assume some *Charity*. A vertue which the *Italian* Proverb will not allow any man, such a general disease will it have *Envy* to be. For,

*Se l' Invidia fosse una Febre,  
Tut' il mondo morirebbe.*

*Had Envy been a Feaver, then  
Ere this, had fail'd the Race of men  
Long since.*

Sixtus Senen-  
sis Biblioth.  
Sanct lib. 2.  
de Tra-  
ditione, de  
Talmud.

b Manu men-  
sam percuti-  
ens, dixit,  
Non video,  
quomodo  
qui locum  
hunc altissi-  
mum tener,  
salvari possint  
Onuphr. in vi-  
ta eius.  
Sam. Clark,  
pag. 388.

'Tis said, that the *Jews* are obliged to rail three times a day against all *Christians*, whom they are to account no otherwise then Brutes or Beasts; to pray for the destruction of their Princes, and to do them what mischief they can. But I wish better from the *Romanists* towards their fellow-Christians, though in all things they do not jump. And whilst they think! they are too sure of their own Salvation, they might reflect upon the doubts of some of their Infallible Heads: As (b) *Marcellus II*, who seriously protested, that *he could not conceive how a Pope could be saved*. And *Pius V*. could say—*When I was in Orders, I had pretty hopes of my Salvation; when I was made Cardinal, I had less; but since I came to be Pope, I almost despair of it*. Not that I am such a peevish zealot, or a positive *Gabriel Powel*, but can easily think, that *Jesus Christ* dyed also for Popes, as for other people, who may accordingly be partakers of his blood and merits, if they lay hold on them.

c Remonstr.  
Hibernorum,  
part 2. p. 178.  
d Id. pag. 177,  
178.

In choice of mine Authors I have been diligent, not willing to let any Historian slip me; yet making use of those, who have been generally received as the best: and to do the *Romanist* a pleasure, I have very seldom made use of a Protestant. Where I finde a Faction, I consult the Writers and Reasons on both sides, and hope have been so luckie, as to set the Saddle on the right Horse. But if it be objected, that any of my Authors are partial, as favouring the Emperours more then the Popes; Father (c) *Caron* hath lately answered for me, by affirming that the same may be retorted upon those who inclined to the *Roman* Prelates. And if it be again said, that any of them are *Schismaticks*, because supposed to oppose the Pope, the said (d) *Romanist* replyeth, that by the same Rule, we must sometimes affirm all *Germany*, all *France*, the greatest part of *Italy*, and so the Princes, Bishops, Councils, Provinces, Clergy, people of *Europe*, and by consequence the better part of the Church to have been also *Schismaticks*.

e Jo. Heyden's  
Harmony of  
the World, in  
the Postscript.

I am far from the cheating humour of some Modern Writers, who the better to conceal their theft and Plagiarie, cry out that it is Pedantick and Ungentile, to tell what Books they made use of; as if they were of the *Rosycrucian* whimie, who, forsooth, is not (e) bound to give any man so much satisfaction: For he that taketh

## The PREFACE.

taketh upon him to scribble so slightly and cheap, intends to impose upon, and so to abuse and cheat his Reader. I have therefore been exact and punctuat in my Quotations: and to give the Reader the more satisfaction, where any thing of moment or a stress happens, I have in the *Margin* [as the most proper place] given the Authors own words, whereby the Reader may judge the more conveniently, whether I have abused him and the Author. And as I resolved at first not to take any thing upon trust [a cheat too commonly practis'd] but to view the Writers my self: so can I not remember that I have broak the Rule; not but that other Writers have prompted me to many Citations.

If any think, they could put a more moderate Interpretation on some Writers, and so render their opinions less wicked and treasonable than I have; I might here in my defence, justly demand the same privilege and favour that Father (a) *Pateson* the Jesuit desires in the same case, viz.—— *Nor do we insist so much here, what studied or strange sense may possibly perhaps be put upon his words; but how they sound outwardly, and how they are apt to be understood by the Common people; who do not usually stand much pondering about words, but take them as they sound; especially when they sound liberty, or any thing agreeable to their corrupt passions and humours, as these do.*—— And this I thought not amiss to minde the Caviller of, that he may note, that we have a trusty *Romanist* thus to befriend us in some things; which favour, if he think it not fitting for me to desire, let him judge the same also of *Pateson*, and I am satisfied, seeing I may expect as much privilege as he.

And some slips may happen to the most careful Writer; therefore I dare not plead my self free from such, considering the variety of Histories, Countries, Matter, Authors and Tongues I was obliged to make use of, and in too short a time requisite to gather up so many materials, and that without any assistance; not so much as acquainting any with my designe [obliged thereto in vindication of the Church of *England* from some slanders, by way of retort] till I had almost brought the story to its Conclusion. And in my way of scribbling, 'tis against my patience and idleness to write one thing twice over, or stand pumping for fine fantastical or new-fangled words, neither befitting an *English* man or History, nor any but those who are ashamed of their own Country and her Language, as many of our shatter-nodled Gallants are, who think to better the *English* Tongue, either by beating out her Native words, and placing forreigners in their stead, or by a Court-mincing; yet this must be call'd the best *English*, as if one should call the Modern *Italian* the purest *Latine*. But 'tis the *French* Tongue, that must now with us domineer, as the (b) *Greek* of old did at *Rome*: though 'tis fit we should borrow from others, what our own Language cannot express.

However it happens, as for my self, I can freely protest; that as I neither intended to abuse my Reader or the Truth, neither to my knowledge have I, unless through Humane frailty I have been deceived by other Testimonies: And shall be so far from disgusting any mans shewing me my faults, privately or publickly, that I shall take it for a favour, that thereby truth may be discover'd, and shall accordingly acknowledge them.

Pietro

a Image of both Churches, pag. 72; 73.

Vid. Father Parsons three conversions of Engl. part 3. pag. 306.

b Juvenal. Sat. 3. 66.

Si voluntatem mentiendi non habent, nec homines fallunt, nisi ab hominibus humana infirmitate falluntur. August. Epist. 131.



## The PREFACE.

a Despovillez  
vous de tout  
affection.

Yet I am an e-  
nemy to Flat-  
terers Vid. him.

To Filefac

de Idolat. Politica, pag. 28, 53. Vid. Hieron. Osorium, contra Haddon. fol. 27. b.

*Pietro Paolo Vergerio* once a very zealous *Romanist*, and imploy'd in many honourable Embassies in behalf of that Church; yet whilst he set himself most earnestly to confute *Luther*, in the very undertaking was himself converted: and if any *Roman Catholic* should have the same designe against these Papers, I with they might have the same effect; which I would not despair of, if he would first swallow the (a) *French Doctors Pill*, viz. *not to be guided by interest*. Not that I here concern my self with the multitude of their other Articles, but onely that they will grant so much, that *no Authority whatever, be it Pope or other, can legally and of right depose the King of Great Britain, or absolve his subjects from their Allegiance; or that his subjects ought to obey either, without the Kings free and voluntary Concession, no force, restraint, or any violence or opposition before had or offer'd to him.*

Yet if any *Romanist* think himself obliged to Reply to these Papers, I shall desire and expect these Conditions from him.

*That he do not Picquere here and there at the weakest places, some of which possibly are not material; but charge boldly through the whole body.*

*That he answer in order as I write, not at random, but Chapter after Chapter, and Section after Section.*

*That those Chapters and Places he doth not answer to, he will grant to be true on my side.*

*That his Answers be short and positive, not stuf't up with idle words and impertinences; nothing to the business in hand.*

*That he answer not me onely, but the Romanist Authors, and the very places which I quote, and shew how in the respective Citations they are mistaken.*

*That the Authors he bringeth against mine, being Romanists, be such as himself will stand to, and declare to be of more credit then mine.*

*That his Quotations be as exact and punctual as mine, by some letter or mark directing to the named Author; and then setting down the Book, Chapter, Page, Tear, or Paragraph, as I have done.*

*That he either set down my words which he excepteth against, or at least quote the place where they are.*

b Abb. Ursperg.  
Paralip. an.  
1518. p. 448.  
c Digest. in  
Proem. 14.

We are told of some *Germans* who used to speak one way and think another; used to confess that in the (b) *Schools*, and publickly they us'd to maintain such a Doctrine, but believed the quite contrary. As the great Lawyer (c) *Bartholus* thought it his wisest way to affirm *Constantines Donation*, because he was in the Papal Territories; like Father *Coton* and his *Jesuits*, who would believe one thing in *France*, but the quite contrary at *Rome*. But I would not have our *English Romanists* to use double dealing or a double conscience, like these men, lest they might be somewhat akin to those *Islanders*, mentioned by

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## The PREFACE.

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by (a) *Johannes Boeruns*, whose Tongues are so cloven, that they can speak to two men at the same time. Let them assert what they really think is the Doctrine and Sentiments of those at *Rome*, and let them affirm nothing but what they will avouch to be publickly maintain'd there. For if, whilst they oppose me, they do also confute the Pope and his Church at *Rome*; they shew themselves to be none of his through-pac'd sons; cast a doubt upon their Church, and may want the blessing of his Holyness.

<sup>a</sup> De Gentium moribus, lib. 3. cap. 26.

In short, I shall intreat him with (b) *St. Augustine*, to agree with me where he findes the Truth, to consult me where he is doubtful; to confess his fault, and acknowledge me where he seeth his Error, and where he findes me straying, to lead me in to the right Way and Truth.

<sup>b</sup> — Proinde quisquis hæc legit, ubi pariter certum, est pergat mecum; ubi pariter hæsitat, quærat

meum; ubi errorem suum cognoscit, redeat ad me; ubi meum, revocet me. Ita ingrediamur simul charitatis viam, tendentes ad eum, de quo dictum est *Quærite faciem ejus semper*. August. de Trinitate, lib. 6. cap. 3.

Novemb. 10.

1666.

H. F.





THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
Romish Treasons  
AND  
USURPATIONS.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

*Their vain-glorious and impious Commendations of their Saints and Orders, as S. Francis, S. Dominick, Ignatius Loyola, and the Jesuites ; with the Trinitarians, the Carmelites, &c.*



Any of the ancient Heathens, as *Caligula*, *Commodus*, *Helio-  
gabalus*, nay the Physitian *Menecrates*, prided themselves  
not a little, in being held and accounted to be Gods by  
the people, and so to be sacrificed to : Hence the Empe-  
rour *Domitian* used to stile himself (a) *Lord and God* :  
to which (b) *Martial* alludes ;

*Edictum Domini Deiq; nostri.*

*Alexander* would be worship'd with divine Honour, and thought him-  
self the better man, for being call'd the Son of (c) *Jupiter* : fit Deities  
to be attended upon by such Priests as *Caligula's* (d) horse.  
This *Caligula* used to threaten the Air if it rained upon his sports, as *Xerxes*  
would

a *Dominus &  
Deus noster sic  
feri jubet. Sueton  
in Domitio  
Sect. 13.  
b L. 5. Epigr. 8.*

c *Q. Curt. 1.  
4. Sect. 7.  
d Paus. Mel-  
lis. Hist. part. 2.  
p. 142.*

e Epist. Indica,  
pag. 121.

would have the Seas whipt, because not presently calm at his command ; as if they were related to the King of *Catona*, who swears at his Coronation, that during his Reign, it shall not rain unseasonably, neither shall there be Pestilence or Famine. Nay, even of late days the (e) *Persians* worship'd their Emperour *Xoa* as a God ; and the water wherewith he washed his feet, they accounted as holy, and a certain Cure to all Diseases.

f Edw. Terry's  
voyage, p. 367,  
368.

'Tis pretty to observe with what Thundring and Impertinent Titles, some of the petit Kings in *Asia* and other places do attribute to themselves, as if they were Lords of the Sun and Moon, terrible to those who never heard of them; & though their Dominions be but of small extent, yet would grudge not to be thought Gods, and Conquerours of the whole world : like the great (f) *Mogol*, that sleighted and despised *Mercator*, for allowing him in his Maps no greater Share in the world, of which he thought himself the Supream, and all other Princes but to truckle under him.

At these and such like extravagances we are apt to smile, and to censure not onely as foolish but profane, and pitty the ignorance and credulity of such Pagan Fondlings ; and yet in the mean time, those who account themselves the onely *Christians* are too guilty of the same folly.

g Barth. de  
Pisis lib. con-  
formi. Epitomi-  
zed in several  
Languages; and  
here I follow  
the French and  
Latine, most  
common to be  
had, and call'd  
L'Alcoran des  
Cordeliers, p.  
137.  
h Id. pag. 2. &  
160. & pag.  
45, 46.  
i Id. p. 4, 5.  
299. Villegas.  
Octob. 4.  
Guil. Gazet.  
To. 2. p. 513.  
k Leon. Coqua-  
as Antimorn.  
To. 2. p. 245.  
Cæstician p.  
1117.  
l L'Alcoran,  
part. 2. pag. 62.  
m Id. lib. 1.  
p. 18.  
n Hic est gra-  
tia Dei. lb.  
o Id. l. 1. p.  
268.  
p Vid. Aut.  
Possevin. Bib-  
lioth. Select.  
Tom. 2. l. 17.  
c. 19. pag. 295.

'Twould make a man blefs himself, to hear the strange Encomiums that the *Minorites* give to their Patron *St. Francis*, whom they fancy to have been as it were like (g) *Adam* in his *Innocency*, and to have observed and kept the (h) *Gospel* exactly to a Letter, not breaking so much as a Tittle or jot of it : and for miracles, they would have you believe that he far outdid our Saviour ; for if we do but peruse *Bartholomæus de Pisis*, we may easily perceive how short they make *Christ* to come of him for number in every sort : And in other Qualities they would not have you to suspect that there was any difference.

As for his body, they say there was no disagreement, he having exactly the (i) wounds bestowed and imprinted upon him by *Christ*, which the (k) *Pope* by Bulls commands every *Christian* to believe. And farther, *St. Francis* must not be onely like *Christ* in these wounds and passion, but in (l) *Life* also ; for our Saviour (if you will believe their Legends) had made him like to himself in (m) all things, and a Roll from Heaven declared him to be the (n) *Grace of God* : Nay, that all might agree, they entitle him (o) *Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews*. Thus would they make our Saviour and him so like one another, as if the difference lay onely in the Cloaths : to which purpose *Horatius Tursellinus* the eloquent *Roman* Jesuit thus compares them :

(p) *Exue Franciscum tunica laceroq; cucullo ;*  
*Qui Franciscus erat, jam tibi Christus erit :*  
*Francisci exuviis (si qua licet) indue Christum,*  
*Jam Franciscus erit, qui modo Christus erat.*

Which I finde thus Translated by Doctor White :

*Strip Francis from his Coat and Cowl, all nak'd, and you shall see*  
*He that even now St. Francis was, to Christ will turned be :*  
*Again, put Francis Coat and Cowl on Christ (and mark the Lyar)*  
*He that even now was Jesus Christ, will Francis be the Fryar.*

And another *Italian* Jesuit (q) *Franciscus Bencius*, noted amongst the *Romans* for his Oratory and Poetry, thus also sings the comparison.

*Sanctæ Patrum, spirans Christi expirantis imago,*  
*Tempore quam nullo debeat ulla dies.*

q Fran. Benc.  
Carminum,  
lib. 4 pag. 203.  
Tho. Bozius de  
signis Eccles.  
Tom. 2. lib.  
15. cap. 3.

Quas

*Quas etenim fers ipse manus, fers ipse pedesq;  
 Has tulit ille manus, hos tulit ille pedes.  
 Nec minus & tali transfixum cuspide pectus,  
 Quale tibi patulo pectore vulnus hiat.  
 Cuncta estis similes; illum qui forte verentur  
 Reddere, te saltem cur imitentur habent.*

Which the former Doctor *White* thus renders :

*O Holy Francis that of Christ dying upon the Tree  
 The very breathing image art, for ever so to be :  
 What hands thou bear'st, what feet thou hast, such hands, such feet had he,  
 And such a wound wide in his breast, as in thy breast we see.  
 In all things you were both alike, that he which is ashamed  
 Him to imitate, may follow thee at least, and not be blamed.*

This (r) *Bencius* hath also another Copy of Verses upon the Picture of *St. Francis*, much to the same purpose, as if Christ and he were so alike, that he could scarce tell whose it was. Carm. 1. 4.  
pag. 102, 103.

Besides these, with them *St. Francis* is of such concern, that they will tell you that there is scarce a Book in the *Bible*, but hath several Prophecies of him. Thus they tell us that the *Angel* in the (s) *Revelations* having the Seal of the living God, was this (t) *Francis* : that *St. Paul*, meant (u) him, when he said (w) *I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus*. That (x) he was that Man in (y) *Ezekiel* which by Gods appointment set marks upon the fore-heads of them that sigh, and that cry for all the Abominations, &c. That he had the (z) wounds, according to this saying of Christ (a) *Abraham saw my days and was glad*; and is not this an excellent Catholick Exposition? s 7. 2.  
L'Alcaran,  
l. 1. p. 27. 269.  
lib. 2. p. 43.  
Id. 1. 1. p. 27.  
Gal. 6. 17.  
Id. lib. 1. p.  
269.  
9. 4.  
Id. pag. 35.  
Joh 8. 56.  
Id. lib. 1. p.  
11. and 160.  
Eccles. 44.  
19, 20.  
d Gen. 1. 26.  
Id. pag. 12.  
13.  
Id. l. 1. p. 203.

That in the Preacher 'tis said of (b) him (though the Text nameth *Abraham*) (c) *In glory there was none like unto him; who kept the Law of the most High*. That (d) *Let us make man after our likeness*, was meant (e) *St. Francis*; in which place *Pisanus* hath many other fooleries.

To proceed, they (f) tell us, that as by *Adams* fall all Creatures rebel'd; so to *St. Francis* are they subject, because he kept and fulfilled the Laws of God: so that it pleased God that all things should obey this Fryar: hence they affirm that he might deservedly say, *All things are given to me of my Father*. Farther, that this Saint was (g) figured out to us, by *Joseph*, *Isaias*, *Jonas*, *Isaac*, *Samuel*, *Job*, *Abraham*, *Salomon*, *Moses*, *David*, &c. the Cherubins, Angels, Arch-angels, Powers, Dominions, &c. all the Apostles, &c. That Christ himself Prophefied of his (h) Order when he said, (i) *Fear not little Flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you a Kingdom*. And that he also meant these *Minorite* Fryars, when he said, (k) *In as much as you have done it to one of the least of these, you have done it unto me*. A ridiculous allusion from the Latine word *Minores*. g Lib. 1. p. 22,  
23, 24, 25.  
26, &c.  
L'Alc. 1. 2.  
pag. 43.  
Luk. 12. 32.  
Matt. 25. 40.

'Tis said of (l) *Eunomius*, that he taught that all who believed his *Eunomian* Tenets should be saved, though they committed never so many sins. I will not say that the *Franciscans* do positively teach the same of their Order, though they offer very fair for it, when they assure us that *Francis* (m) desired that all the sins which were confest might be pardon'd; and that Christ admitted of the Request, but bid him go to his Vicar the Pope for farther Authority; and that (n) whosoever affected the *Franciscan* Order, though he were never so great a sinner, should have mercy: and lastly, that no man who dyed in one of their (o) Frocks or Habits should be damned. Upon which pretty fidelity, many from the Highest to the l Gab. Prateol.  
Elench. Heref.  
l. 5. Sect. 19.  
pag. 168.  
m Gonon. Chron.  
S. Deiparae, p.  
217, 218. L'  
Alcoran, pag.  
205, 206.  
n L'Alcoran,  
lib. 1. p. 313.  
195, 196.  
o Nullus qui  
moretur in  
habitu est dam-

*natus Barth. a* Lowest have industriously procured their departing bodies to be wrapt in  
*Pisfis, lib. con-* a *Franciscan* garb.  
*form. lib. .*

*Fruch. 9. fol.* If all this be true, I shall not so easily question what they tell us, *viz.* that  
*120. col. 4.* all the (*r*) vertues that all the Saints as well of the Old as New Testament  
*7 L' Alc. l. 1.* ever had, were met together in *St. Francis* : that he was better then all  
*p. 17.* the (*s*) Apostles ; of which they give us a doughty reason, *viz.* they left  
*1 lb. pag. 45.* but a Ship and some such things, but *Francis* left all ; nay, threw off his  
 Cloaths, and went naked for Christs sake : a good sign that he was of the  
*7 Joan. verbum* *Ranters* Religion. As for *St. John* the Baptist, he must not by any means  
*de penitentia* come in Competition with their *Francis* ; for which one of their Reasons is  
*accepit à Domi-* this, because (*t*) he received the word of Repentance onely from the  
*no, Fran. à de-* Lord, but *St. Francis* received it both from the Lord and from the Pope,  
*mino & à Papa,* which is a great deal more.  
*quod plus est.*

*Id. p. 36.* Wherefore methinks it might savour of presumption in *St. Peter* and  
*1 lb. p. 19.* *St. Paul* to come down from Heaven to meet *Francis* at *Rome*, and to pre-  
*1 lb. pag. 75.* sume to (*u*) kiss and embrace him, as if he had been but their equal and  
*2 lb. p. 250.* familiar. But well might Fryar *Giles* say, that men should never name the  
 word *St. Francis*, but they should lick their (*w*) lips after it ; and well  
*3 Pag. 44. 293.* might such a Crowd of (*x*) Angels guard and compass him when dead,  
 that the Devils, though greatly incavoured, could not come for the  
*4 lb. p. 203.* throng, within ten miles of his Corps ; and in Heaven he sits in the (*y*)  
 same Chair whence *Lucifer* was thrown down : and why not ? since they  
 tell us that God obeyed (*z*) *Francis* in all things whilst he was upon  
 Earth.

Many other Sottish and Impious Extravagancies concerning this Saint,  
 might be mustred up ; but I shall leave him to the consideration of the ju-  
 dicious, and the Hyperbolies of his followers.

Nor is it this *Francis* alone, but the People of his Order have also been  
*a L' Alc. p. 96.* pretty Fellows. Fryar (*a*) *Rinaldus* they say was carried in a cloud to  
*Paradise* ; where *Enoch* and *Elias* being informed that he was a *Cordelier*,  
 skipt and danced for joy, and went about with him, and shewed him all  
 the Rarities there. The same blade longing to see *Daniels* Tomb in *Babylon*,  
 which they say was kept by Dragons, an huge Dragon (which they sup-  
 pose to be an Angel of God) swept him up in his Tail, carried him thi-  
 ther, where for manners sake he onely took a finger from the Prophet, and  
 so was brought home safe and sound again as he was carried, and his heart  
 never at his mouth all the while.

*b Id. pag. 125.* Fryar (*b*) *Suffian* when sick would take no Physick but from the Virgin  
*Mary*, who thrust into his mouth a whole box full of heavenly Syrrups by  
 spoonfuls, and then giving him a little out of another box (the greedy-  
 gut having eaten all the former) he was so enlightned, that he perfectly  
 saw in the book of Life, the names of all those who should be saved. What  
*c Id. p. 146.* need I tell you of Fryar (*c*) *Benet*, who they would make you believe was  
 Butler to the Virgin *Mary*, but they never tell us where the Cellar was ? and  
 suchlike fopperies, since 'twill be easily judged that I do it but in Drollery,  
 and then will they judge me never to be capable of those blessings, which  
 they attribute to the lovers of this Order ; but rather condemn me to the  
*d Id. pag. 174.* punishment of the poor (*d*) *Florentine*, who they say having no affection for  
 the *Franciscans*, was decreed to have two Hammers continually knocking  
 him on the head : and this punishment they assure us, is to continue to him  
 till the day of judgement.

*e Liber Con-* These and many other such like stories may be read in (*e*) *Bartholomeus*  
*formitarum S.* *Pisanus*, a Book approved of by the general Chapter of the *Franciscans* at  
*Francisci cum* *Affise*, 1399. who declared, that after their diligent search, they could finde  
*Ch:risto.* nothing

nothing in it worthy of correction or amendment; and so 'tis intitled the *Golden Book*, and hath been several times printed with approbation. *Henricus Sedulius* hath writ a vindication for it, and (e) *Arthurus à Monasterio* will have nothing spoke against it, but commends the Author as worthy of (f) belief; and so I hope one may the more freely present them with that, they so much magnifie.

Nor have the *Predicant* Fryars less extolled their Patron St. *Dominick*, who (as they say) had power over all Celestial, Terrestrial and Infernal things; and that both Angels and Elements did serve and obey him: that he shew'd an easier way to Heaven than St. *Paul* did; and that the Prophet intended this *Dominick*, by the (g) *Staff of Beauty*, as he did St. *Francis* by the *bands*: and ten to one but he thought of both alike. God they say never denyed him any thing that he (h) asked: that he received the Holy Ghost with the same glory of a flaming (i) Tongue as the Apostles did, and had also the gift of (k) Tongues given him by Inspiration.

They go on and tell us that St. *Dominick* himself never committed (l) mortal sin from the day of his birth; and the other Fryars of his Order exactly (m) imitated the Apostles in Life, Works and Miracles. And what favours might not St. *Dominick* be capable of, since he was seen to proceed from Gods (n) breast, but Christ onely from his mouth? And by this way of (o) comparing do they make our Saviour and this Fryar contend as I may say for superiority, and yet in Miracles *Dominick* carries the day.

Nay, so great was the Virgin *Maries* affection (as they say) to this *Spaniard*, that not long since, even within the memory of man, viz. 1606. the Fryars of *Soriano* in the farther *Calabria* in *Italy*, not having a Picture of their Founder *Dominick*; she with *Mary Magdalene* came from Heaven, and with their own hands presented them with his Picture, which she bid them hang up in their Chappel; and for ought that I know there it yet hangs, and if you will believe them, cures the blinde, lame, and such like diseases, and miracles. Nor do I know any reason, why this Picture might not do as pretty feats, as well as the very (p) dust at *Calervega* in Old *Castile*, where he was born? (though I think (q) some doubt of the place.)

And if this do not shew her love sufficient, they will tell you other stories, as that she preserves the Fryars of this Order, safe and sure from harms-way under her (r) Mantle; and that by her Intercession she hath obtain'd of her Son, that none of this Order shall continue long in (s) mortal sin; and several other such like Tales for old Women to pass away the time withal.

Neither will their back-friends the *Jesuits* be wanting in magnifying their Founder and Order, as that their (t) Society was not of humane Invention, but proceeded from Christ himself; that the first Colledge of it was in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*; that instead of (u) St. *Paul*, their Patron *Ignatius Loyola* was him, whom Christ declared should carry his name before the Gentiles, as the *Portugal* Doctor (w) *Jacobus Payva* would perswade the world, that this is an Order which the Prophet (x) *Isaiab* hath several times prophesied of, as the *Jesuits* of (y) *Flanders* testifie: and that God the Father was seen to commend this Order to his Son *Jesus*, by way of Protection.

*Valderama*, *Deza* and *Rebulloza*, though of other Orders, have in their Sermons extoll'd this *Ignatius* to a wonder, as that the name of *Jesus* was I know not how imprinted in his hands; that he did greater Miracles than others; for as *Valderama* saith, Though *Moses* did great wonders with his Rod, and that was onely by the vertue of the name of God written on it; and

e Martyrol.  
Francisc. IV  
Novemb. Sc&.  
4. c. 6, 7, 8.  
f IV Octob. 11.

Vid. Antonin.  
Archp. Flor.  
chron. part. 3.  
tit. 23.

g Zech. 11. 7.  
h Nic. Jansenius  
vit. Domin. 1. 2.  
c. 3. p. 119.  
i Id. 1. 1 c. 8.  
p. 56.  
k Id. 1. 2. c. 11.  
p. 170.  
l Id 1. 2. c. 14.  
p. 188.

Villegas flos  
Sanctorum. IV  
August.  
m Villegas ib.  
n Nic. Jansen.  
1. 2. c. 14. p. 190.  
o Nic. Jans. 1. 2.  
c. 14. Amo-  
nin. part. 3.  
tit. 23.  
Nic. Jans. 1. 2.  
c. 12. p. 179.

p Nic. Jansen.  
p. 242.  
q Phil. Briet.  
Geogr. Tom. 1.  
l. 5 p. 298.  
r Ben. Canon.  
Chron. B. Virg.  
p. 212, 218,  
223.  
s Id. p. 221.

t Imago pri-  
mi Sæculi soc.  
Jesu, p. 64.  
Valderama  
serm.  
u Act. 9. 15.  
w de societatis  
Origine, p. 14.  
x Is. 65. 22. &  
18. 2.  
y Imago pri-  
mi Sæculi soc.  
Jesu, p. 251. &  
60.



and also what the *Apostles* acted, were onely by the power of the name of God : But as for *Loyola* the Founder of the *Jesuits*, he onely by his own name writ in a piece of Paper, did more Miracles than *Moses* and all the Apostles ; which was admirable. Nay, that as long as he lived his actions were so holy, that none but Popes, as *St. Peter* ; none but Emperors, as the Mother of God ; none but some Sovereign Monarch, as God the Father and his Son, had the happiness and favour to behold them. And that which was spoke of our (a) Saviour, *Pedro Deza* applies to the Institutor of this Order, telling his Auditors and the world that — *In these last days, God hath spoken to us by his son Ignatius, whom he hath appointed Heir of all things.*

a Heb. i. 2.

b 1 Olib. 1611

c Lettre justificative, p. 25, 32.

d Plaidoyé pour les Jesuites, p. 462, 463.

e Imago primi seculi soc. p. 584. Exod. 33. 11.

f Hieron. Platus de bono statu Religiosi, l. i. c. 34. p. 108. Imago soc. Jes. p. 140.

g Imago societ. Jesu, p. 648, 649.

h Dauroulus Flor. Exempl. cap. 7. tit. 77. Sect. 1.

i P. Dan. Hist. de Barbarie & des Corsaires, l. 6. c. 1. Sect. 2. p. 466.

'Tis true, these three Sermons of *Valderama*, *Deza* and *Rebulloza*, were (b) censured by the *Sorbonists* at *Paris* ; but within nine days after, *Francis Solier* a French Jesuit [and one well known for his many Translations, and who also turned these three Spanish Sermons into French] writ against this *Sorbone*-censure, accusing the Faculty of *Paris*, of (c) *Ignorance*, *Impudence* and *Malice*, and that they acted more by Passion than Reason. And a little after this, *Jaques de Montholon*, though there might be some probable Reasons that the true Author was the noted Jesuit *Peter Cotton* Confessor to *Henry* the Fourth ; but be it who it will, under the name of *Montholon* was a large (d) Apology writ for this Order, which towards the latter end hath also a Vindication of these Sermons, and that printed too by publick Authority : and lastly, that they were received with applause and approbation, needs no farther evidence, than their several Impressions and Translations.

But besides these, others are not ashamed to tell us, that God did often (e) talk with *Ignatius Loyola*, as he talked with *Moses* face to face, and as a man speaks unto his friend ; that the Virgin *Mary* is such a Patroness of this Order, that she (f) preserves it also under her Mantle or Garments : And which is more, that God hath granted the same benefit to this Society, that was formerly bequeath'd to the *Benedictans*, that for the first three hundred years, not any that dyed in this Order, should be (g) damned. And so much for the Jesuits and their Founder *Ignatius Loyola*, whose life I have writ formerly in another Treatise.

They tell us that *Pachonius* was in that esteem with God, that an (h) Angel from Heaven brought the Rules for him and his Brethren to live by : But the *Trinitarian* Fryars go a little higher, affirming that the (i) *Father*, *Son* and *Holy Ghost*, were their Founders and Institutors ; which in part is hinted at by these Verses so common amongst them, and for ought that I know, may yet be seen over the Door of their Cloyster in the Suburbs of *Arras* in *Artois*, and several other of their *Covents*.

*Hic est Ordo Ordinatus,  
Non à sanctis fabricatus,  
Sed à solo summo Deo.*

This Order made by God himself we see,  
And not by Saints, or men, as others be.

The truth is, this Order of the *Trinity*, begun by two French-men, betwixt four and five hundred years ago, [though I shall not give too much credit to the Miracles they say occasioned it] was upon a Charitable Account, viz. to redeem the Christian Slaves from the Turkish Tyrannical Bondage ; whereupon I shall willingly agree with (i) *Cassanovus*, and his Arch-bishop

k Catal. glor. mundi, part. 4. consid. 63.

*Antoninus*

*Antoninus of Florence*, that this Order should have prehemineny above the rest. But I fear of late days the Slaves are not so much regarded as their own preferments.

Though the *Carmelite-Fryars* will not draw their Institution so high, yet they plead pretty fair for Antiquity and continuance, by affirming the Prophet (a) *Elias* to be their Founder, and that their Order shall remain to the end of the world; which grand Privilege [as they say, the Virgin Mary (b) told one of this Fraternity] the Prophet desired of our Saviour Christ, at the time of his appearance to him in his (c) transfiguration on the Mount.

But this is not all the benefit belonging to these people, for they assure us that all of this Society shall stay no longer in *Purgatory*, than the next Saturday after their death; and this they publickly (d) printed in certain *Theses at Paris* (8 Octob. 1601.) and mainly defended by Doctor *Cayer*. Besides this, they tell us that the Virgin Mary perswaded Fryar *Francis* to enter himself into this Order, and then in Heaven she would give him a Crown of Flowers, which she then shew'd him; and that he obeying this advice, because neither himself, nor their Covent at *Siena* through poverty, was able to buy him an Habit, an (e) Angel very freely came and gave him one. And lastly, that she appear'd to our Countryman *Simon Stock* (so call'd from his (f) living in a hollow Stock or Trunk of an Oak) General of this Order, holding a *Scapulare* in her hands, positively assuring him, that all the *Carmelites* who dyed in that Habit should be (g) saved.

Here might I tell how the *Premonstrenian Monks* (so call'd from the Village *Premonstré* in *Picardy*, whither their Founder *Northbert* Arch-bishop of *Magdeburg* retired himself for Devotion) affirm they received their habits (h) from Heaven by the Virgin Mary. And here might I shew how the *Cistercian Monks* (so call'd from *Cisterium* (*Cisteaux*) in *Burgundy*, where they began) for all this, affirm the Virgin Mary to be kinder to them than others, by (i) protecting them under her Arms, and Cloak or Mantle: i Id. pag. 156; and many such like fopperies of other Orders; but this may serve for the present to give the Reader a taste of their Fooleries, in the too too much magnifying of their respective Orders and Societies.

## CHAP. II.

*Thinking to honour their Religion, the Romanists relate, 1. several ridiculous Stories to the abuse of the B. Virgin Mary, 2. and childish Fopperies, to the reproach of our Saviour Jesus Christ.*

THE hardest Students have their Intervals, and the greatest Scholars will now and then have a frolick or crotchet to divert their more serious thoughts. Methinks it was not amiss in Mr. *Geast* (formerly of *Cambridge*) when under the *Parliamentary* persecution, and their Prisoner, for his Loyalty and Honesty, to throw away an hour or two, to finde out a Mystery in their abominable and treasonable *Presbyterian-Covenant*, viz. that the number of the words in its six damnable Articles, agrees with the number of the Beast, 666.

The

a D'Avity  
discours de l'  
Origine de  
toutes les Re-  
ligions, Sect.  
26.

b Genon.

Chron. p. 319.

c Mat. 17. 2, 3.

Mark 9. 2, 3, 4.

d Vid. P. du

Moulin De-

fence de la foy

Catholique,

Article 21.

P. 441.

e Genon. p. 203.

f Jo. Pitseus de

Scriptor. Angl.

P. 345.

g Genon.

P. 256.

h Genon. p. 159.

i Id. pag. 156.

Several ridicu-  
lous Stories to  
the abuse of the  
B. Virgin.

Consult. Ger-  
man. in Prefat.  
ad Lectorem.

The Learned *Thomas Lanſius* pleas'd himself in these two opposite Verses; the one exhibiting a Catalogue of good things, the other of bad:

*Lex, Rex, Grex, Res, Spes, Jus, Thvs, Sal, Sol, (bona) Lux, Laus.*  
*Mars, Mors, Sors, Vis, Lix, Styx, Nox, Crus, Pns, (mala) Fex, Fraus.*

and took the pains to know how many alterations they would indure, by which he found out that either of them, by the transposition of words might be changed (excluding *bona* or *mala*) XXXIX Millions, DCCCC Hundred, XVI Thousand, and VIII Hundred times.

And *Bernardus Bauhusius* the Poetical Jesuit of *Antwerp* made this Verse of our Saviour,

Epigram.  
lib. 2. pag. 39.

*Rex, Dux, Sol, Lex, Lux, Fons, Spes, Pax, Mons, Petra, Christus.*

which he saith may be converted 3628800 times. And in honour of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, he composed this Verse,

*Tot tibi sunt dotes Virgo, quot sidera Cæli.*

which he saith may be changed a thousand twenty two ways according to the number of the Stars: And *Erici de Puys* (*Puteanus*) bestowed a great deal of time and Paper to prove it; yet as he might increase his number of the Stars, so (if the Verse will bear it) might he the changes too, if *Lanſius* his account be true, that VIII words may be varied 40320 times: Nor need any of these seem strange, when we consider what variety and multitude of Languages and Words are composed of XXIV Letters.

Against such commendations as this of the Virgin *Mary* I shall say nothing, leaving every man to imploy his Ingenuity upon what he pleaseth. But for any to think they can or should advantage her glory, by fathering a thousand lies and fopperies upon her, is beyond reason: so far are they from being advantageous to her honour, that they must be abominated by the judicious, and ridiculous to the very Vulgar.

'Tis no great honour to her, that they tell us, she was so familiar with some men, as to come down from Heaven to be married to them. Thus they tell us, how she went and held a young mans Horse, desired him to take her for his (a) Wife, and forced him to kiss her, the man being unwilling; and then very carefully held his Stirrups, whilst he mounted again on Horse-back. And another time (b) espoused her self, and that with a Ring too, to one *Robert*, whilst he was yet in his Mothers Womb. Another time they say that a (c) Brother to a King of *Hungary* going to be married, she was troubled at it, because he seemed not to accept of her. Again, how a young man (d) married himself to her, and put a Ring on her Finger; and afterwards he marrying another woman, and being in bed with her, she came to him, shew'd him the Ring, upbraided him for his faithfulness; for which another time she whipt him to the purpose. And as bad as these is another Tale which they do confidently tell us, in short thus: Two Angels conducted the Virgin *Mary* to one *Hermanus*, to whom they agree to marry her; to which purpose they bid him draw neer: he, though he had a months (e) minde, yet through shame seemed unwilling; for though he had been very (f) familiar with her, yet he thought it odd to be so coupled with her: At last he takes some courage, and on he goeth; but again he falls off, and fancying it an odd business, at this the Angel takes hold

a *Cæsarius* l. 7.  
c. 33. Specul.  
Exempl. dist.  
c. Sect. 63.  
b *Gonon.*  
Chron. B. Virg.  
pag. 142.  
c Vid. *Andr.*  
*Rivet.* Apol.  
pro B. Virg. l.  
2. c. 15. p. 367.  
d lb. p. 366.

Vid. *Rivet.*  
P. 363, 364.

e Incirabat a-  
mor, pudor  
retinebat.  
f Tametsi Vir-  
gine familia-  
rissime adhuc  
ufus esset.

hold of his hand, and, will he, nill he, by main force joyn'd it to the Blessed *Maries* right hand, and in these words married them together, (a) *I espouse this Virgin to thee, as she was formerly espoused to holy Joseph, and command thee with this thy Wife, to take upon thee the name of an Husband and of Joseph.*

But because there is few satisfied with a bare Marriage, they will have her to be much given to kissing too. To which purpose I told you formerly how they say, she beg'd of a young man to buss her, and (b) made him do it whether he would or no. Another man (*Gononus* tells us) she (\*) bug'd about the neck and kist him; and the same familiarity and ceremony (and I should be apt to think it the same story, did not my Author make almost an hundred years difference between them) did she use to another (c) *Cistercian Spanish Monk*. To another of the same Order, whose name was (d) *Abundus*, she gave her hand to kiss; but this not satisfying her, she also went and kist him, as she buss'd the (e) cheeks of *Stephanus Justitius*, whom she also perswaded from that severity and abstinency of body which he formerly used.

But as if marrying and kissing were not enough, she must also afford the benefit and happiness of her Breasts: Thus they say she pull'd out her Dugs to pour her Milk (f) into the mouth of her Friend *Alanus*. Thus she let Abbot (g) *Fulbert* suck her Breasts, and with that frankness, that his Cheeks were all besmear'd with her Milk. And to another (h) Priest she did the same favour. Nay, rather than fail of love-tricks, her very (i) Image or Statue could several times afford some drops to the comfort of *St. Bernard*, to advance his Eloquence. And she was as they say so kinde too, as to lye in bed (k) between a man and his wife, the first night of their Marriage.

Nay, as if all this were not enough, they would make her a Patroness (for ought that I know) to whoredom. For thus they glory of her, that one *Beatrice* a Nun, having stole from the Nunnery, and play'd the errant (l) Whore for fifteen years together; the Blessed *Mary* supplied her place all the while in her likeness and habit, that it might not be known that the Nun had been so wicked. A pretty while and honour to her, to be absent from Heaven, playing the drudge upon Earth, in behalf of such an Whore. Another time they say, a certain (m) Abbess being got with Childe, and in great perplexity how to keep its knowledge from the rest of her Nuns, who bare her a grudge; the Virgin *Mary*, to hide the shame, and save the credit of the Strumpet, descended from Heaven with two Angels, whom she commanded to play the Mid-wives, and then to carry the Childe in her name to a certain Hermite, to keep it till it was seven years old. Another wench they tell us of, who being (n) over-kinde with her Master, her Mistress the goodwife offended at this abuse, had a minde to be revenged on her; but the Virgin *Mary* bid her let her alone, because she belong'd to her. Nay of late days, within these forty years, viz. 1627. they tell us how a *Neapolitan* (o) Whore, dying suddenly at *Anagni* in *Compagna di Roma*, had the favour shew'd her by the Virgin *Mary* to be restored to life again, that she might confess her sins and be happy in Heaven. And so she saved the life of another (p) Harlot.

What shall I say of her other love-tricks they father upon her? of her giving *Alanus* a (q) Ring made of the Hair of her own Head; of her bringing (r) Bread from Heaven to give to another; of her giving Cælestial (s) Electuary by spoonfuls to a company of Monks, onely neglecting one for his studying of Physick: Of her coming from Heaven with *St. Catherine* and *Mary Magdalen*, to I know not what poor (t) *Indian Wo-*

D

a Hanc ego tibi virginem, uti olim B. Josephus desponsa est, despondeo, jubeoq; non nien sponsi simul cum sponsa accipere, ac deinceps Josephum nominari.

b Accede ad me, & da mihi Osculum, & coegit eum. *Cesar*, l. 7. c. 31.

\* Collum meum brachiis suis stringens, dedit mihi osculum, p. 297. c. 1b. pag. 207. *Cesar*, l. 7. c. 31.

d *Gonon* p. 235. e Id. pag. 255, 266.

f *Gonon* p. 374. g *Daurouli* cap. 2. Tit. 41. Sect. 2. *Gonon* pag. 131.

h *Gonon* p. 132. i *Gonon* p. 172, 173, 174.

k *Vincent. Spec. Hist.* l. 7. c. 87.

l *Casarius*, l. 7. c. 35.

m *Vincent. Specul. Histor.* l. 7. c. 86. *Discip. de Mirac. B. Virg. Exemp.* 24.

n *Vid. Rivet. Apol. pro B. Virg.* l. 2. c. 15. p. 375.

o *Gononus* pag. 525.

p Id. pag. 221, 222.

q *Gononus*, pag. 374.

r *Cesar*. lib. 7. cap. 32.

s Ib. l. 7. c. 48. *Spec. Exemp. dist.* 3. Sect. 2. 8.

t *Daurouli*, c. 2. Tit. 41. Sect. 3.

man, spreading a Cloth on the Table, and feeding her with I know not what.

Would they not have us to think that they work and labour at their respective Trades in Heaven, as we do upon Earth? when they tell us that the Virgin Mary brought a (a) Garment thence and gave it to Boniface. That she brought another out of Christ's (b) Treasury, which she gave to S. *Ildephonsus*, Arch-bishop of *Toledo*: but whether it is now kept in that (c) City, or in (d) *Oviedo* in the *Asturias*, let them agree about it, I shall let it alone, as doubting to finde it in neither; yet this Garment probably might be made on earth, since (e) *Nieremburgius* tells us, that some are of opinion, that our Saviour wore it himself, when he first celebrated the Sacrament of the Eucharist. But they tell us nothing to the contrary, but that the (f) Girdle which she gave to a Priest, [and as they say, is yet to be seen at *Tar-tosa* in *Catalonia*] was made in Heaven, but by whom I know not.

What can I say against the *Cistercian* Monks? since she was so favourable to them, who used to wear black Habits, as to come from Heaven, and bring a white Cowl or Hood with her, & put it on the head of their second Abbot (g) *Albericus*; at which instant all the Cowls of the Monks singing in the Quire, were also miraculously turned white; which colour they have kept ever since. Thus (h) *Thomas of Becket* received another Garment from her. Thus she gave a sweet-scented, curled or crisped skie-colour Vail to (i) *Lynvina*: Another of Cloath of Gold to *Francisca*, put it on her, and laid her head in her lap. And another time brought a rich (k) Crown from Heaven, and placed it on the head of St. *Brigit*. As she bestowed a (l) golden Cross upon *Waltherus*.

Besides this, would they not have us to think that there are brave Gardens and Flowers in Heaven? when they tell us, that she brought thence two baskets full of (m) Roses, and gave to two women as a proof of their pure Virginitie. And another time walked along by a Fryar, being stuck about with white and red Roses, and having a (n) Chaplet of Roses on her head, which look'd as fresh as if they had been newly pluck'd from Paradise. Another time brought a (o) Garland of Flowers, and put it on the head of a German Woman call'd *Mary*. But methinks she was most kinde to *Jacobus Calipetus*, who (p) dying, and it seems none of the greatest Saints, she at last procured some way or other that his soul should be restored to him again; and being thus alive upon earth again, he made himself a *Celestine* Monk [so call'd from their Founder Pope *Celestinus* the Fifth] where they say he lived very godly, and did a great many pretty Miracles; and one time whilst he was celebrating Mass, the Virgin Mary went into the Chappel with a troupe of Saints and Angels, and placed a Garland of Flowers upon his head: And this not long since, for he dyed the second time, but Anno 1538.

Besides these, we might question from what Apothecaries Shop in Heaven she procured the formerly-mentioned Electuaries, or the strange (q) Oyntments wherewith she anoynted and cured the wounded leg or knee of the German Nun. But letting these pass, what honour do they do her when they make her a drudge? as to come from Heaven with many Saints and Angels to assist *Catherine of Siena* to make (r) bread. Another time to descend with a company of she-Saints, to some Monks working in Harvest, whom she kist and embraced, and with (s) Towels (which they brought down with them) wiped the sweat, dirt and dust from their faces. Another time to get all the sweat of the labouring Monks and put it into a (t) Vessel, because it afforded a pleasant smell to her and Christ. Another time to come from Heaven to (u) besprinkle with holy Water a company of

a Specul. Exempl. dist. 4. Sect. 6.

b De Thesauris filii mei. Alphonf. de Carthag. Anacephal. Reg. Hispan. cap. 38. Jo. Mariena, Hist. Hisp. l. 6. c. 10.

c Gonon. pag. 96.

d Jo. Euf. Nieremburg de Mirac. Europæ, l. 1. c. 18.

e lb.

f lb.

g Gonon. p. 154.

h Id. p. 177. Specul. Exempl. dist. 9. Sect. 121.

i Gonon. p. 351.

k Id. pag. 322.

l Id. pag. 202.

m Specul. Exempl. dist. 9.

n Sect. 117.

o Id. dist. 9.

p Sect. 118.

q Gonon. p. 209.

r Id. pag. 459.

s Id. pag. 459.

t Id. pag. 459.

u Id. pag. 459.

v Id. pag. 459.

w Id. pag. 459.

x Id. pag. 459.

y Id. pag. 459.

z Id. pag. 459.

aa Id. pag. 459.

ab Id. pag. 459.

ac Id. pag. 459.

ad Id. pag. 459.

ae Id. pag. 459.

af Id. pag. 459.

ag Id. pag. 459.

ah Id. pag. 459.

ai Id. pag. 459.

aj Id. pag. 459.

ak Id. pag. 459.

al Id. pag. 459.

am Id. pag. 459.

an Id. pag. 459.

ao Id. pag. 459.

ap Id. pag. 459.

aq Id. pag. 459.

ar Id. pag. 459.

as Id. pag. 459.

at Id. pag. 459.

au Id. pag. 459.

av Id. pag. 459.

aw Id. pag. 459.

ax Id. pag. 459.

ay Id. pag. 459.

az Id. pag. 459.

ba Id. pag. 459.

bb Id. pag. 459.

bc Id. pag. 459.

bd Id. pag. 459.

be Id. pag. 459.

bf Id. pag. 459.

bg Id. pag. 459.

of sleeping Monks; nay, they make her so officious and subservant, that they tell us, how one time she came from Heaven, and mended *Thomas of Becket's* [a] Hair-shirt for him, when he himself knew not how to get it patch'd up; but she stitch'd it neatly up with red Hair.

*a Tho. Cantipratan, lib. 2. cap. 29. Sect. 12. pag. 285. Specul. Exempl. dist. 8. Scet 77.*

To these we might add many other ridiculous Fopperies; as of a woman, having her son taken from her by the Enemies, earnestly desired the assistance of the Virgin *Mary* in getting her son again; but finding all these prayers in vain, she takes another course, goeth to Church, upbraids the Virgin of her negligence, and tells her plainly, she will take her Son from her, and keep it till she have her Childe restored; and forthwith takes the little Image of Christ from the Virgins Arms, and home she trots, and locks it up safely in a Chest. Upon this the Virgin *Mary* seeing no remedy, hyeth her that night to the Prison where the womans Son was, opens the door, lets him out, bids him haste home to his Mother; and having thus restored him, bids him desire his Mother that she might have her Son Christ again; which accordingly was performed, and so all were friends. And such another Tale they tell us of a German Woman call'd *Jutta*, whose young Childe being snatch'd away by a Wolf, and carryed into the Woods; of this the Mother informed, runs to the Chappel, and took the Image of Christ from the Virgin *Maries* Arms, telling her she should never have her Son again, unless she had her childe restored to her safe and sound. At this the Virgin *Mary* was puzzled, fearing she should [b] loose her Son Christ; upon which she commands the Wolf, who left the Childe, which being found and carried to its Mother, she went to the Church and restored the Image. Nay, they would make her descend to take up the tears of a certain devout Youth in a [c] Cloth, that she might the more conveniently shew them to our Saviour; as if he understood not all things as well as herself.

*Jacob. de Voragine, hist. 126.*

*Caesar. l. 7. c. 46.*

*b Quasi time-ret carere filio suo.*

*c Geron. p. 222.*

But though the Protestants of the Reformed Church are apt to think that God the Son should apprehend and understand all our necessities a great deal better then the Virgin *Mary*, and having shed his blood for us, is more powerful for our Salvation; yet the *Romanists* will tell us other Stories, and for ought that I know, call us Hereticks for being of such a Perswasion.

How come they else to start this Question [d] *Whether 'tis better for us to implore the name of Jesus, or the name of Mary?* In the deciding of which doubt, *Mendoza* the famous Portugal-Jesuit tells us plainly, that as *Moses* made two *Cherubins* of equal bigness, so she and Christ are almost of the same Authority with God; as they had wings alike, so these two afford the same objects to God, she her Breasts, he his Wounds, by which means both obtain of him what they desire. Nay, that sometimes she is easier intreated than *Jesus Christ*, and therefore sometimes her Protection is more assisting and helpful to us.

*d Franc. de Mendoza viridarium, lib. 2. Problem. 2.*

To what purpose else should they bring in the Blessed Virgin thus saying----[e] *As Adam and Eve sold the World for an Apple, so I and my Son did redeem the world as if it were with one heart.* And that the Rule of the world is divided [f] between God and the Virgin *Mary*; and if any man be agreed of God, they may have their recourse to her.

*e Vid. Rivet. Apol. pro B. Virg. l. 2. c. 5. p. 248. f Vid. Rivet. l. 2. c. 2. p. 210. & 211.*

Wherefore else should they make comparisons betwixt our Saviours Blood and the Virgins Milk, as if they could not tell which to rely upon for their Salvation? Thus one of them shews his uncertainty:

\* *Positus in Medio  
Quo me pertam Nescio:*

D 2

*\* Vid. Rivet. l. 1. c. 19. p. 155. Id. Jesuita vapulans, c. 14. Sect. 15. p. 307. In 308.*

*In hoc dulci dubio,  
Dulcis est Collatio.*

'Twixt *Christ* and *Mary* plac'd to turn about,  
To which I know not, so great's this pleasant doubt.

And to this purpose *Gilbertus Masius*, not long since Bishop of *Sheretogenbosch* [*Sylva ducts*, *Boſcum ducts*, *Boiſledac* in *Brabant*] had his Picture made between *Jesus* and *Mary*, with this Motto:

*Positus in medio, quo me vertam nescio.*

<sup>a</sup> Prefat. ante  
Bibl. Complut.

which for ought that I know, is yet to be seen in the Glass-Window of *St. James* his Church there. And this puts me in minde of the great *Spanish* Cardinal *Xemenes*, who of his famous Bible printed at *Alcala de Henares* [<sup>a</sup>] faith, that he hath placed the vulgar *Latine* between the *Hebrew* and *Greek*, as *Christ* was hung between two *Thieves*.

But to return: *Carolus Scribanus*, the famous Rector and Provincial of the *Belgick* Jesuits, though for some time he lurked under the Anagrammatical Vizard of *Clarus Bonarscius*, thus wavers betwixt our Saviour and the Virgin *Mary*.

Amphitheatr.  
Honoris, lib. 3.  
cap. 8.

*Hæreo lac inter meditant, interq; cruorem,  
Inter delicias uberis & lateris :  
Et dico (si forte Oculos super ubera tendo)  
Diva partus Mamme gaudia posco tuæ.  
Sed dico (si deinde oculos in vulnera verto)  
O Jesu, lateris gaudia malo tui.  
Rem scio, prensabo, si fas erit ubera dextrâ,  
Leva prensabo vulnera si dabitur.  
Lac Matris miscere volo cum sanguine nati,  
Non possum Antidoto nobiliore frui.*

*Ira vomit flammæ, fumatq; libidinis Ætna ?  
Suffocare queo sanguine, lacte queo.  
Livor inexpletâ rubigine sevit in artus &  
Detergere queo lacte, cruore queo.  
Vanus honos me perpetua prurigine tentat ?  
Exaturare queo sanguine, lacte queo.  
Ergo Parens & Nate, meis advertite votis :  
Lac peto, depereo sanguinem ; utrumq; volo.  
Parvule, maternis mediis qui ludis in ulnis,  
Qui tua jam complex ubera, jam vacuas.*

*Sæpe quidem dixti, noxis offensus iniquis  
Tunc meas mammas, Improbe tunc meas ?  
Nolo tuas, O ! nolo tuas puer auree mammas ;  
Non sum tam duri, tam gravis oris homo :  
Sed tantum lateris pluat unica, & unica stilla,  
Et saltem à dextrâ vulnere gutta pluat.*

*Dic matri, meus hic frater sitit, optima Mater,  
Vis de fonte tuo promera, deq; meo ?*

*Dic*

Such a Copy of Verses as these I finde in the ingenious Jesuit *Angelinus Gazæus*, in his *Piz Hilaria*; but which of these two was the first Author, and which the Plagiary, I shall leave to the *Belgick* Jesuits to determine, both being born, both living at the same time, and both Governours amongst their Order, in that Country.

*Dic nato tuus hic frater, mi mellei fili,  
Captivus monstrat vincula, lytron babes.  
Ergo Redemptorem monstra te jure vocari,  
Nobilior reliquis si tibi sanguis inest.  
Tuq; Parens monstra matrem te jure vocari,  
Ubera si reliquis divitiora geris.  
&c.*

My thoughts are at a stand, of Milk and Blood,  
Delights of Brest and Side, which yeilds most good:  
And say, when on thy Teats mine eyes I cast,  
Sweet Lady, of thy Brests I beg a taste.  
But if mine eyes upon thy wounds do glide,  
O *Jesus*, then fain would I suck thy side.  
But now I'm fixt, for my right hand shall hold  
Thy Brests, whilst with his wounds my left makes bold.  
And with the Milk and Blood in mixture, make  
The Sovereign'st Cordial sinful soul can take.

Here the Milk  
is advanced a-  
bove the Blood.

Doth *Ire* belch fire, or *lust* like *Aetna* smoke?  
Either this Blood or Milk that heat can choak.  
Doth *Envies* rust enroul me round about?  
This Milk, or that same Blood can wash it out.  
Or do vain-glorious thoughts pride up my will?  
Thy Milk as well as his Blood laies them still.  
Mother and Son, give ear to what I crave;  
I beg this Milk, that Blood, and both would have.  
Youngling! that in thy Mothers Arms art playing,  
Sucking her Brests sometimes, and sometimes staying:

Oft hast thou said (being angry at my sin)  
Dar'st thou desire the Teats my food lyes in?  
I will not, Oh! I dare not, golden Childe;  
From fear and shame I'm not so far exile.  
I'd onely have one drop, one drop implore  
From thy right hand or side; I ask no more.

Here the Milk  
is preferd before  
the Blood.

Yet tell thy Mother, see thy Brothers thirst,  
Mother, your Milk will ease him at the first.  
Say to thy Son, Behold thy Brothers bands,  
Sweet Son, thou hast his Ransom in thy hands.  
Shew thy Redeeming Power to souls oppressd,  
O Son, if that thy Blood excel the rest.  
But Mother, if thy Brests the rest exceed,  
Shew thou'rt a Mother justly so stil'd indeed.

*Etc.*

And to the same purpose hath [a] *Franciscus de Mendonza* another Copy of Verses, to whom I shall refer the Reader.

And here I might enlarge of many more of their commendations of the Virgin *Mary*; as that she was of such Zeal, that if the *Jews* had not crucified our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, [b] she would have done it her self with her own hands, because forsooth she had no less Charity than *Abraham* had, who was going to kill his son. What might I say of the extravagances of their

a Veridarium,  
lib. 2. Probl. 2.  
Sect. 20.

b Vid. *Hem.*  
*Estime* Apol.  
pour Herodot.  
pag. 301. Ri-  
vst. Avol. pro  
B. Virg. L. 2.  
*Poma*, c. 5. p. 248.



<sup>a</sup> Vid Rivet. 1.  
I. c. 9. p. 66.

*Poza*, who brings all the pen-lavishments of the Pagan Poets concerning their Heathen Goddesses and Whores, to compleat the commendations of the Blessed Virgin? And again of the folly of another, who would have *Moses* to allude to her, because he saith, that the gathering together of the Waters was call'd (in *Latine*) [<sup>a</sup>] *Maria* (Seas.) And many other such like Fopperies (to say no worse) have they abused her with, insomuch that Doctor *Andrè Rivet* of France thought himself obliged to write an Apology for her, where may be seen several other of their absurdities of her.

But to conclude with these follies concerning the Blessed Virgin, it is not amiss to see how they bury, and carry her into Heaven.

Vid. Rivet.  
lib. 1. cap. 22.  
*Gononius*, p. 29,  
30, 31, 32, 33.

She desiring to dye, an Angel tells her the time shall be three days after; brings from Paradise a bough of a Palm-Tree to be carried before her Hearse, and mourning Garments for the Funeral. Then the Apostles were hurried to her in Clouds, from whom she received the Eucharist and Extream Unction. Then Christ with the Angels, Patriarchs, Prophets, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, who sang her *Requiem*, and so she dyed; Christ commanding the Apostles to bury her body (which spake after her soul was gone out of it) in the Valley of *Josaphat*; which accordingly was done: St. Peter and St. John complementing one another who should carry the *Palm*. Christ and all the Angels assisted, but the *Jews* endeavour'd to spoil the solemnity; yet some of them had better have been quiet, unless they believed when they could not see.

<sup>b</sup> Cœlum fuisse evacuatum.

Having lain some time in the Grave, her soul entred into her Body again, to make way for her Assumption, which they make a glorious and very orderly shew: thus marshalling it; first went the Apostles, then the Angels who were on the world; then the souls flying to Heaven; then the souls from Purgatory; and fifthly, the Angels who were Guardians to these souls. Again, these were met from Heaven, 1. By the *Patriarchs*. 2. The *Prophets*. 3. *Martyrs*. 4. *Confessors*. 5. *Virgins*. 6. All the *Saints*. 7. *Angels assistants*, who go seldom out of Heaven. And 8. and lastly, the *Trinity*, Father, Son and holy Ghost: every one of which company made a speech; and now was [<sup>b</sup>] Heaven they say quite empty, and nothing in it.

And thus all things being ready and prepared for her motion to Heaven, up they have her; and as she pass'd through the Orbs, the respective *Planets* according to their duty met her, every one of them making a wise Speech to her, to intice her to stay with them: and the Planet *Venus* pleaded very dapperly, hoping to perswade her to stay and live with her, telling of her how she was the Goddess of Love, and is call'd Lucifer, being the brightest of all the Stars; how she pleaseth all the five Senses, &c. and, which is best of all, they make the Planet quote in her Speech *Bartholomæus Glarvellus* an English-man, who lived about thirteen hundred years after the Blessed Virgins death. And it seems *Venus* went very fair to have won her; for they say the Angels perswaded her not to stay there, telling her how *Venus* was an errant whore; and so desired her to leave that place, and ascend higher, where was a better Crown and Habitation for her.

*Gononius*, p. 32.  
33.

Yet they will tell you that she left not the earth so carelessly, but that she left many holy Reliques in the custody of St. John, as pledges of her affection to us; such as the *Swadling-bands* of our Saviour, his *Winding-sheet*, her own *Girdle*, the *Vail* which she wore when she was married, her *Kemb*, the *Ring* wherewith she was married; Christs *Napkin* that was wrapt about his head in the Sepulchre, his *Fore-skin*, his *Crown of Thornes*; and to shew her self a good House-wife, she bequeath'd also to us her very

very *Spindle*, wherewith she used to imploy her self. Reliques, I must confess, that if I knew certainly where to have them, I should have a vast esteem for: But when I finde such apparent cheats in such ware, that many times pieces of Dogs, Cats, and suchlike animals have been worship'd for holy Reliques of Saints, and such incertainty where the truth lies, I am the less zealous. As for Example:

Christ's Fore-skin, the people of *Akin* say they have it; those of *Antwerp* affirm they have it; *Heldeſham* in *Germany* brags of it; the *Romans* say, 'tis in *St. John Laterans Church*. And again, both *Byzanſon* and *Charronx* in *France* boast that 'tis there. And yet others say that it is at *Calcata* twenty miles from *Rome*.

Again, what a Monster will they make of *St. John Baptist*! those of *Rome* assuring us that his whole head is in the Cloister of *St. Sylvester*; those of *Malta* say, they have the hinder part of it; *Amiens* and *St. John Angelique* brag of the fore-part. And although [a] *Theodore* declareth that *Julian* the Apostate burned to Ashes the body of this *St. John*, yet they will have the *Finger* wherewith he pointed, saying, *Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world*, was saved; but if you have a minde to see it, you must trudge to *Lyons*, to *Bourges*, to *Bezanson*, to *Fortuits*, to *Tholonſe*, and also to *Florence*; every one of these places affirming they have it.

Thus *St. Andrew* hath two Bodies, one at *Tolonſe*, another at *Melple*. And *St. Anthony* hath two, one at *Arles*, another at *Vienna*. *St. Matthias* hath three Bodies, one at *Rome*, another at *Padoa*, and a third at *Triers*. So hath *Lazarus*, at *Anthun*, at *Marſeilles*, and at *Avalon*. And *St. Sebastian* hath four Bodies, one nigh unto *Narbonne*, a second at *Rome*, a third at *Soiſſons*, and the fourth at *Piligni* near unto *Nantes*. To *St. Anne* they give five Heads, *Lyons*, *Apt* in *Provence*, *St. Annes* in *Turingue*, *Duran* in *Juliars*, and fifthly, *Triers*; all these places boast of such a Skull. And for *St. Sebastian*, for ought that I know, the present *Romanists* give him as many Arms, as the old *Romans* wounded them with *Arrows*, for they allow him no less than twelve, viz. one Arm at *Mombriſon* in *Forest*, one at *St. Servins de Tolose*, one at *Cafe-Dieu* in *Auvergne*, and one at *Angers*; besides these, two at *Soiſſons*, two at *Piligni*, two nigh unto *Narbonne*, where he was born; and lastly, two in *St. Laurences Church* at *Rome*. And many suchlike monstrous instances might be shewn, enough to cool my Zeal and Fancy, though apt superstitiously to admire Antiquity.

What might I say of the Milk of the Blessed Virgin, now so plentifully brag'd of in many places, that the famous [b] *Erasmus* is of opinion, that it is impossible for one teeming Woman, though the Childe had suck'd nothing, to afford so much? And for the Cross, there is scarce a *Romanist* in the world but brags that he hath a piece of it; which made the former judicious person declare, that if the pieces of the Cross now brag'd of and shew'd about, were gathered together, they would fill or load a great Ship; as *St. [c] Apollonias* Teeth being gathered together, were so many that they fill'd a Tun. All which makes me subscribe to the Learned [d] *Isaac Casanbon*, that most of our modern Reliques are either doubtful, or palpably counterfeit.

Though the forementioned comparisons might sufficiently testify, that they had none of the greatest Values of our Saviour; yet let us add something to shew what a little helpless youngling they would yet make him; and yet forsooth, would perswade us all these petty pranks to be for his commendation.

Vid. Jo. Poly-  
and. Disput. de  
Reliq. and  
Lord Herberts  
Hist. Hen. VIII.  
Anno 1538.

a Hist. l. 3. c. 6.

b Colloq. Pe-  
regrinat. Reli-  
gionis ergo,  
pag. 160.

c Tho. Fullers  
Ch. Hist. l. 6.  
Scct. 7. Scct. 11  
d Exercit. con-  
tra Baron. 16.  
Scct. 104.

SECT. II.  
childish Fopp-  
eries to the re-  
proach of Jesus  
Christ.

Though

Though I am not apt to fancy the contrary, when I finde them telling such ridiculous and impertinent Trifles as these; that the Blessed Virgin brought him dandling in her Arms like a little Childe out of Heaven, willing him to be [*a*] married to *Catherine of Sienna*; but he said, she was not handsome enough: but at last he accepted her, and so they were married together with a Ring. Another time, how she brought him down, and placed him in the arms of one [*b*] *Fastredus*. Another time she descended with him to a company of Fryars, to whom he spake in [*c*] *French*, bidding them magnifie his Mother; and at last I know not how the little [*d*] *Infant* Christ lipt out of his Mothers Arms, and gave a sweet Rose to one of them. Another time she gave him to [*e*] *St. Francis*, who kept him and kifs'd him all night long; and the same favour he obtain'd [*f*] another time. *Benevent* also had him in his hands; but, which was more, they say he play'd the [*g*] Cook-boy, and looked to dress the Fryars Viſuals, whilst *Benevent* through forgetfulness had neglected them and his duty.

They go on and tell us how the Virgin *Mary* once placed him on a [*h*] *Corporale* then drying on a Womans knee; the Woman not knowing what little Childe it was, would have thrust him off, but he desired her to let him sit there. That another time he shew'd [*i*] *Arnulphus* all the *Patriarchs*, *Prophets*, *Apostles*, *Martyrs*, *Confessors*, *Virgins* and *Angels*; that the Virgin gave him to be embraced by the said Monk, who not able to indure the pleasure, bid her take her Son again. Thus they tell us that [*k*] *Hoftradus* being at meat in the Hall or Refectory with the other Fryars, she brought Christ from Heaven, and carried him in amongst them: *Hoftradus* seeing him a pretty boy, offer'd him some Viſuals, saying, *Eat, eat, pretty Childe*. To whom *Jesus* smiling, said, *He needed none of his meat, but he should eat some with him in Heaven*.

What shall I say more? they assure us that he came to [*l*] *Arnoldus*, and shew'd him his name writ in the Book of Life. That not many years since, viz. Anno 1505, one [*m*] *Osanna* of *Mantua*, a Nun, was wedded to Christ by a Ring, the Virgin *Mary* and the Prophet *David* assisting; and that *Jesus* taught her to Write and Read. That [*n*] *Conradus de Offida* had Christ brought him from Heaven by the Blessed Virgin, whom he took in his Arms, and placing mouth to mouth, and lips to lips, he was overcome as it were with kisses and embracements. That [*o*] *Sebastianus* à *S. Maria* about an hundred years ago (he dyed 1580) saw the Virgin at the Altar to dandle Christ up and down in her Arms and kiss him.

Nor is this all, for they would make us believe, that our Saviour Christ [*p*] spake intelligibly several times out of the Wafer to a *Spanish Franciscan* call'd *Joannes ab Occania*. That he appear'd to [*q*] *Lyduvina*, imprinted upon her (as *St. Francis* had) his five Wounds, and turn'd himself several times, now into the fashion of a Wafer, then into a Childe, and such like tricks. That one time upon the Altar he turn'd himself from the form of the consecrated Wafer, into a little Childe; which Childe, after [*r*] *Plegilus* the Priest had taken into his Arms, and wearied himself with kissing, clipping and embracing, by pressing brest to brest, and lips to lips, and then laid on the Altar, was again converted into Wafer as formerly. Nay, which is more, that in the likeness of a little Childe he appeared upon the Altar, and was there really [*s*] Sacrificed, and cut to pieces by an Angel from Heaven, his blood poured into the Chalice; and all this ado, to make a poor simple old man believe *Transubstantiation*.

But to shew you, that the world was come to that pass, that the people had a greater love and respect for the Virgin *Mary* than Christ himself; nay, and

and at last, their very common Saints got the esteem and affection from both of them: one Instance shall serve for all, and this of one declared by the [a] *Injunctions* of King Henry the Eighth (and that before he had fully thrown off the Pope) to have been a *Rebel and Traytor to his Prince*, and by reviling words and violent hands to have provoked Tracy and the rest to kill him: And this shall be *Thomas a Becket*, whose life we shall declare in the following History.

The Church of *Canterbury* before the dissolution of Abbies, had three several Shrines or Altars:

One dedicated to Christ.

Another to the Virgin Mary.

The third to St. Thomas Becket.

The yearly Offerings to these, will shew the peoples affection; an instance or two of which, take as followeth, out of the old Leger-Book of that Church.

This Year,

	l.	s.	d.	
The Oblations offered to the Virgin	063	05	6	0
Item, To the Shrine of St. Thomas Becket	832	12	3	0b.
Item, To Christ's Shrine	003	02	2	0

The next Year,

To the Blessed Virgin	004	01	8	q
Item, To St. Thomas	954	06	3	0
Item, To Christ	000	00	0	0

And this is that to which Mr. [b] Fuller alludeth, thus: — *The Revenues* <sup>Church-History, Book 3. p. 36. Sect. 70,</sup> whereof, by Peoples Offerings, amounted to more than 600 pounds a year. And the same Accomptant, when coming to set down what then or there was offer'd to Christ's or the High-Altar, dispatcheth all with a Blank, *Summo Altari nil. Teā*, whereas before Becket's death, the Cathedral in Canterbury was call'd Christs-Church, it pass'd afterwards for the Church of St. Thomas, verifying therein the complaint of [c] Mary Magdalen, *Sustulerunt Diminutū*, they have taken away the Lord. Though since, by the demolishing of Becket's Shrine, the Church (and that justly) hath recovered his true and ancient name. <sup>John 16: 2;</sup>

## CHAP. III.

For the glory of their Religion, and their holy Chieftains, the Romanists tell, 1. Many foolish, unchristian, unmannerly, filthy, and nasty stories of their Saints. 2. They invent many brave Utopian Saints, who never breath'd in this World. 3. They feign and devise several lying Stories and Wonders. 4. Their pretty Tales of Brutes and senceless Creatures, and what doughty Champions they are for the Romanists against Hereticks. 5. How basely they abused and jo vexed the poor Diuel, that at last he repented of his sins; and as it seems, had a good opinion of the Romish Religion, by his great affection to the Mass. 6. Their foolish description of Hell, Purgatory and Paradise: and what a simple and vain place they make Heaven to be.

**SECT. I.** *Unchristian, unmannerly and filthy Stories of their Saints.* **T**Here goeth a story of a French-man, that seeing his Master kiss the Popes Toe, sneak'd out of the Presence, giving this for his Reason, that if his Lord kiss'd his Feet, he fear'd they would make him salute a worse place. I shall not offer to make comparisons: but since they father such foolish stories upon Christ, we have little reason to suppose that they mend the matter when they come to the Saints, men for ought that I know equal to themselves.

And the truth is, 'tis pretty to observe what simple and sottish Tales they invent to magnifie these their Saints, as if they were agreed with the Mahumetans, to fancy Folly to be a sign of Holiness; so far are their actions from having any real badge of Sanctity, or discretion, unless you will allow the nakedness of a Raxter or Adamite, and the stupidity of a Quaker, to pass for true Holiness.

*Marc. Marulus, lib. 1. cap. 4.* **T**hus to pass for excellencies in Religion, they commend Moses the Abbot, and Constantine the Monk, for desiring and longing to be abused by any body. Of one [a] Peter, who had rather be held a companion of Women, then a Holy man: And St. Francis, for making it his business to procure one to speak evil against him, as to call him Clown, Idiot, lazy-fellow, and suchlike. Thus they honour [b] Simeon Stylita for his mad-fashioned Devotion, as his girding himself so hard about with a Cord, that his Flesh putrified; for his living several years in a Pit or Well; for his living forty years on a Pillar twelve Cubits high, till his very Thigh rotted; and then he stood stock-still a whole year upon one Foot. Or as [c] another tells us, he lived thus upon several Pillars, one of which was thirty Cubits high; as upon one he stood four years, upon another twelve, on another also twelve, and on another four; and lastly, upon the highest of all, till his dying day; nay he dyed so standing, and after his death they say he stood also still, and might have stood so yet, if Antonius had not been too busie, and taken him down and buried him. And thus do they mainly magnifie one [d] John for standing three years together upon one Stone, not sitting or lying down all the while; insomuch that odd

cor-

corrupted matter ran from his Feet, by reason of that continual posture.

To these senceless signs of Sanctity, they continue their commendations to [a] *Timotheus* the Hermite, and *Mary of Egypt*, for going stark-naked. To [b] *Agathon* the Abbot, for keeping a stone in his mouth three years together, that he might not speak. To [c] *Anianus* of *Alexandria*, for plucking out his eye, for once looking upon a Woman. To [d] *Peter* Abbot of *Claraval*, for rejoycing that he had lost one of his eyes. To one [e] *Egidius*, who being wounded by an Arrow, was so far from suffering the wound to be cured, that he earnestly prayed to God against it. To one [f] *Sylvania*, for being so careless and sluttish, that for sixty years she never wash'd Face, Feet or Hands, excepting the very tops of her Fingers. And to [g] *Apollo* the Abbot, for being so unchristian-unneighbourly, as not to assist his friend to help out his Ox, then upon perishing in a Quag-mire, because forsooth he would not meddle with any worldly business.

They go on, and add one glory to [h] *Ronualdus*, for his so much love to silence, that for seven years together he would not speak one word. To [i] *Godefridus* a Monk of *Clugny*, for his whimfie, that would rather suffer a Thiefto steal an Horse, then he would speak one word to awaken the Keepers. And all these as much badges of Christianity, as that they tell of the Abbot [k] *Macarius*, who all naked, repented, and tormented himself amongst Bryars and Thorns six months [but (l) *Estiene* seven years] and all this onely for killing a flea. Or the Religious Frolick of *St. Francis* to know Gods will which way he should go: As some set up a Staff to observe its falling, so he used Fryar [m] *Massy* for such an Instrument, bidding him turn and whirle himself about as fast and as long as he was able, and which way his face stood when he had done, that way must they go: for so, he said, was the Will of God; though sometimes the poor fellow got falls by reason of his dizziness.

To continue these holy pranks of Devotion, they tell us that Fryar *Ruffin* once bad the Devil [n] open his mouth, and he would — in it. That another time *St. Francis* commanded the same *Ruffin* to go to *Affise*, and there preach [o] naked (onely his Linings on) to the people; and that he himself went also stark-naked and heard him preach. That another time the said *St. Francis*, though very weak, and sick of a Quartain Fever, and in the midst of a very cold Winter, yet put off all his Cloaths, his Breeches excepted; commanded one *Peter Catanai* to tie a [p] Rope about his neck, and so to drag him to the place where Malefactors used to suffer; which accordingly was done; and all this ado, because he had eat a little flesh, and sup'd some flesh-broth.

And suchlike Marks of Holiness are these: Fryar [q] *John* would do every thing that he saw *St. Francis* do, whether it were kneeling, spitting, &c. And indeed this Father of the *Minorites* would have all his Flock obedient to him, were it never so ridiculous: Thus he turned off one because he did not plant or set his [r] *Colemorts* with their Roots upwards and the Leaves in the ground, as he had done. Another time he bad one of them [s] strip himself stark-naked, to dig a deep hole, and to put himself into it; which being done, *St. Francis* cover'd him all over with Earth, even to the very beard: Then he asked him if he were not dead? Yes, quoth the poor Fryar, *I am dead*. Then saith *Francis*, *Rise up, for though thou be'st dead, yet thou ought in every thing to obey me*.

To these we might adde many other of their tokens and sure signs of Christianity; as how a Fryar going [t] naked to his Covent, for which being check'd, vindicated himself with this saying; As he came naked, so he

*a* Tam Sanctus he must return. How the said Fryar is call'd [*a*] *Holy* for putting off  
 fuit iste Fra- his Cloaths, and going naked into *Viterbo*. How Fryar [*b*] *Egidius* is com-  
 tricellus. mended, for having got more Nuts than he could carry in his lap, put  
*b* Id. l. 2. p. 163. off all his Cloaths, filling them with Nuts, and so he went naked into the  
 City. And another time he went into a Wood [*c*] put off his Cloaths,  
*c* Id. l. 2. p. 166, 167. tyed a Cord about his neck, bidding another Fryar so to lead him to the  
 Covent, which was done, where he baul'd out like a great Booby. And  
*d* Id. l. 1. p. 195. why might not all these primitive postures be convenient, seeing [*d*]  
 St. *Francis* once told a Fryar, that if he would go naked, and preach so, he  
 should be saved?

And so I suppose Fryar *Juniper*, (so great a friend and familiar with St.  
*Francis*) bended all his thoughts for the best and speediest way to Heaven,  
*e* Id. l. 1. p. 92, 93. when he earnestly desired that he might [*e*] stink so, that none should be  
 able to come neer him; and that he might be thrown into a Ditch, there  
 to dye, and be eaten up of Dogs. Another time they tell us, being to  
 dress the Victuals for the other Fryars, he [*f*] boil'd the Chickens and  
*f* Id. pag. 90. other Meat together, without either washing them, or pulling off the  
 Feathers: and that this Fryar was cleanly enough we need not question,  
 seeing they brag of him, that being once nobly entertain'd, and laid in a  
 very brave bed, he very mannerly and religiously [*g*] bewray'd it, and  
*g* Id. pag. 88. stole away next morning without thanking his Landlord; which trick had  
 more of a Beast than a Wag in it, though they think they do not a little  
 commend him when they call him [*h*] *Christs Jeaster* or *Bouffon*; an Ex-  
 pression of so much boldness (to say no worse) that they neither honour  
 their Religion, nor their St. *Clare* by fathering it upon her.  
*h* Christi jacu-  
 tore. Id. l. 1.  
 2. p. 199.

## SECT. II.

*Many false  
 Saints that ne-  
 ver had being.*

But besides all this, as Poets and the Authors of *Romances* have the liber-  
 ty granted them, not onely to invent the Tale, but also to give what names  
 they please, as well to the great lubberly Gyants, as the always-conquering  
 valiant Knights, with the lovely and enchanted Ladies: So here the *Ro-  
 manists* making themselves to be of the same Profession, take to them-  
 selves the same freedom, suspecting the number of their true Saints,  
 not to be enough or sufficient to compleat the honour of their  
 Church.

And for a proof of this, I shall onely give two or three Instances, and  
 that of our own Island. Thus they tell us of the Martyrdom of one [*i*]  
*i* *Ursard*, Mar-  
 tyrol. 9. Febr. St. *Maingoldus*, a Duke, and Son to one *Hugh King* of *England*: Though I  
 and Philip Fer- think it would puzzle their best Historians to finde out an *English* Monarch  
 varius Cata- log. Generalis of that name. Yet will they not let this King go by himself, but give us  
 Sanctorum, 8. another to keep him company, and him they call by the name of [*k*] St.  
 Febr. *Richard* King of *England*, and Nephew to *Offa* King of the *East-Saxons*, al-  
*k* Rob. Parson most a thousand years ago; by which means, without the help of a *Crom-  
 mel*, they have found out a fourth *Richard*, which our Chronicles never  
 Calendar Cef. dream'd of.  
 Baron. Marty-  
 rol. Surin. Hist. Sanctor.  
 Guil. Gazet  
 Hist. des Saints,  
 VII Febr.

But to leave off single Testimonies, since an Army of no less than eleven  
 thousand invented Saints offer themselves at one view, viz. *S. Ursule* and her  
 Virgins; a story made up of so many contradictions, improbabilities, not to  
 say impossibilities and abominable lyes, that [*l*] *Baronius* is at a loss about it,  
 and our Country-man (*m*) *Harsfeld* resolves bravely to believe it, though he  
 confesseth he knoweth not how to prove it; and yet 'tis pretty to observe  
 how *England* and *Scotland* both strive to make her theirs. But let the sto-  
 ry seem never so improbable, the good Catholicks of *Colen* will not loose  
 the place nor memory of her Martyrdom; to perpetuate which, they have  
 a large Church built to her, bearing her name, in which, that they also might  
 not

*l* An. 383.  
*m* Hist Ecclef.  
 pag. 3536.

Coryats, p.  
 615.



not want the benefit of her Intercession, they in the year 1607. 17. April, permitted a Prayer to be printed to her, and there hung up in a Table: and why not, having got a name in the [a] *Roman Calendar*?

And with her, they tell us dyed also by Martyrdom one [b] *Cyriacus* of *British* Extraction, and one that was Pope of *Rome*. But *Baronius* himself is altogether silent concerning him; nor do their Pontifick Histories afford us any Pope near such a name, unless we allow of *Siricius*; which could not be the same with the other, because a *Roman* by Birth, and no Martyr.

a 21 *Offic. Da. Camerar. de Regn. Scot. Tho. Dempster. b Pet. de Natal. lib. 9. cap. 87. Jac. de Voragine Hist. 153. Petr. Merfenne Catalog. Ecclesi- pag. 1259.*

ast. *Annal. Archiepisc. Colen, Sect. 4. Jo. Gault. Chron. Chronicor. Tom. 1.*

And thus when their hands are in, they scorn to give out, lest you should fancy their Invention to be so dull, that they have not stories as well as names at their Finger-ends, with which 'tis none of their least glories that they can shew their voluminous Church-Histories, or *Kirk-Tales* stuff up.

As how a [c] *Dutch* Painter, using to draw the Devil as ugly as possibly he could; the wicked spirit, who thought himself not so ugly as he is painted, every one thinking best of themselves, took this in very great indudgion, and to be revenged, one time took his opportunity, and threw down the high Scaffold on which the Painter stood: upon which the poor *Dutchman* had fallen so, that his neck had been in danger, if the very Picture of the Virgin *Mary*, which the fellow had newly painted, had not reach'd out its hand and held him up, till other people came and help'd him down. How [d] *St. Agnes* stole a Cross from little Christ, which she saw hang by a thred about his neck; at which theft he was well pleas'd, and smiled. How the little [e] Statue of Christ used to come out of his Mothers arms and eat Victuals with a *Spanish* Boy. As they say the Virgin [f] *Mary* and *St. John*, who are painted by the Cross, used to come thence to Pope *Celestinus* the Fifth when a Boy, and sing to him, and take the Book from him which he used to carry.

c *Gonovus, pag. 136.*

d *Id. p. 300.*

e *Id. p. 314.*

f *Baronius Annal. An. 1294. Sect. 3.*

And as true as the rest are these, how a [g] Serjeant being slain, the Virgin *Mary* and Devils fell out about his soul: to end this controversy, *Christ* comes and sits as judge; and at last both parties having pleaded as much as they could, he willing to obey his Mother, returns the soul to its body, that he might repent of his former evils; and so by the Pope a Prayer was appointed to be said for his soul. Again, how a wicked Monk dying without Confession, [h] *St. Peter* went and beg'd of Christ his soul; but being denyed, he goeth to the Blessed Virgin, and desires her to intercede: she attended with her Maids, hastes to Christ, who consented that the soul should be restored to the body to repent. This grant she informs *Peter* of, who thereupon, falls upon the Devils, and bangs them away with a great Key he had, takes the soul from them, giveth it to two Angels to carry it to its body; and thus the Monk revived. Again, how a fellow being dead, [i] two Angels carrying his soul to Heaven, an Army of Devils met them, and demanded his soul as their due, and so they hoped God being just would not take from them what belonged to them. To end the Controversie, *Mary* comes, pleads that he dyed in her service, in returning from his Pilgrimage, and was confest before he dyed. To this they reply, that there was one wicked sin which he never confess'd. This puts her to her Trumps how to bring him off clear; at last finding no other way, she gets his soul restored to his body; then he went and confest that sin to a Priest, and so dyed, and never fear but he slipt into Heaven. Such a like story they tell of [k] another man. And such another of a [l] Woman, who dying,

g *Vid. Andr. Rivet. Apol. pro B. Virg. l. 2. c. 15. p. 376.*

h *Id. p. 381.*

i *Id. p. 373.*

k *Gonovus, p. 140. leaving l. d. p. 167.*



leaving one sin unconfess'd, the little Devils were presently fingering her soul ; but the Virgin chid them away, got her soul restored, that she might confess that fault, and then never question but that all went well.

*a Virgas VI  
Feb. Pet. de Na-  
talibus, lib. 3.  
cap. 101.*

*b Jac. de Vo-  
rag. Hist. 95.  
c Id. Hist. 96.*

*d Pet. de Na-  
tal. l. 5. c. 117.*

*e Gonn. pag.  
126.  
f Id. p. 154.  
g Tho. Cantip-  
prat. lib. 2. c. 9.  
Sect. 3.*

*b Jo. Capgrave  
in vita Brigide.*

*i L' Alc. lib. 1.  
pag. 136.  
k Id. pag. 137.*

*l Id. pag. 184.*

*m Id. lib. 2.  
pag. 215.*

*n En filia mea,  
habes pro corde  
tuo cor meum.*

*o Tho. Cantiprat.  
lib. 1. cap. 25.  
Sect. 7*

*p De signis  
Eccles. Tom. 2.  
lib. 15. cap. 3.*

To these they add how (*a*) *Dorothea* sent one Roses and Apples out of *Paradise* : how (*b*) *St. Christopher* was twelve Cubits high, fought out the Devil, and served him as a man ; carryed Christ over-Sea on his back, with whose weight he had almost sunk down ; and that the Arrows shot against him, hung still in the Air, and durst not approach him. That (*c*) seven men slept almost 200 years, some say more. How (*d*) *St. Brandan* found out *Paradise*, and a great Fish call'd *Jason*, which he taking to have been an Island, made a fire upon him. That some of the Angels who fell, are kept in an Island in the shape of white Birds singing, and that he saw *Judas* sitting upon a stone in the Sea. That (*e*) *Udo* of *Magdeburg* had all manner of knowledge miraculously given him, as they say (*f*) *Rupert* Abbot of *Dniitz* over against *Colen* had. That Abbot (*g*) *Conrade* had that knack, that those Fingers which he held forth in consecrating the Eucharist, in the night-time did shine like a Candle, and gave him light to read or study by : But I warrant you the Chandlers curst the Miracle. And that (*h*) *S. Briget* made a new-born Infant tell who was its true Father, to decide the Controversie : a wiser Child, I fancy, than *Briget* her self was at its age, for I think she is supposed to be a Bastard. They go on, and boldly tell us, how upon the death of one Fryar *Peter*, (*i*) the Bell-rope being broke, an Angel tol'd the Bell a great while. How an Angel assisted one (*k*) *Drodro* to sing *Mafs*, and another Angel made ready his Horse. How one not using to bow at *Gloria Patri*, was thus punished in (*l*) *Purgatory* ; he was set upon an high and narrow Pillar in the midst of the Sea (it seems *Charon* may imploy his Barge there too) and bow'd an hundred times a day, and as many at night, till he had satisfied for his former neglects. And how an (*m*) Usurer dying, his heart was found warm amongst his Riches.

But this is nothing so wonderful, as that which they tell of *Catherine of Sienna*, who desiring a new heart, Christ came to her, opened her Brest, took out her heart, and away with it he goes: (and now I would have their School-men tell us whether she could not lift up her heart to God) But at last he returns again, and put into her brest a new heart, which he told her was his (*n*) own ; the mark of which action always remain'd in her Brest. This *Catherine* they say was several times carryed through the Aire by Angels : That Christ with a triple Crown like a Pope, accompanied with some Apostles blest her : That he received her to be his Wife, being wedded to her with a Ring ; the Virgin *Mary* making Christ hold her by the right hand ; the Prophet *David* playing to them upon his Harp. That he came from Heaven to embrace her : that he made her kiss his wounded side : that he put a Crown of Gold upon her head, and gave her the Sacrament : that his five wounds were imprinted upon her ; but the marks were taken away, though the pain indured. And several suchlike stories do they tell of her, enough to make large Treatises ; all which are written and testified by several of their Authors : And *Petrus Firens*, in the year 1612, published a Volume of them with large Pictures.

But it was not her alone, who as they say had these wounds : for *St. Francis* had them, *Luduvina* had them, a woman in (*o*) *Brabant* had them, and (*p*) *Thomas Bozius* will tell you of others ; and ten to one but all these as true as that *Maria de la Vistacion*, Prioress of the Monastery de la *Anunciada* in *Lisbon* had them, for so she bare the world in hand ; and that she did many Miracles, insomuch that she was looked upon as a wonderful Saint, from the Pope himself to the lowest of his sons ; many Pens imployed

to

to write her Miracles, the greatest persons beg'd her assistance; *Philip the Second* himself 1588, before he sent his *invincible Armada* (as they call'd it) to conquer *England*, must have her to bless his Standard-Royal, which was accomplish'd with the greatest ceremony, and presence of the chiefest *Grandees* in Spain: Nay, one of the main hopes that the (a) *English-Romans* had of their designs, was from her Prophecies. And yet having cheated the world for several years, at last, as God would have it, some of her own Nuns took an humour to watch her narrowly, and discover'd her to be a meer Cheat and Counterfeit, as she herself was afterwards forced to confess. This was a *Dominican*; and not long before, was there such a discovery made at *Cordova* of the Abbess *Magdalena de la Cruz*, who was a *Franciscan*: and thus both Orders have their tricks.

But to proceed to some other of their pretty Wonders, they tell us how *Fryar* (b) *Theobald* by virtue of the sign of the Cross walk'd upon the Water over *Tyber*. How (c) *Hervaeus* of *Toledo* laid his Coat on a River, got upon it, and so sail'd over dapperly: and such tricks they tell of (d) another of the same City. But the *Spaniards* must not run away with all the glory, for a (e) *German Dominican* did but lay his Cowl upon the waters, set his feet on it, and so slipt over a broad River very cleverly, not a bit of his Cloaths being wet. Thus (f) another desiring to come into *England*, strutted manfully over a great part of the Sea, till at last a Ship for the Miracles sake took him in. Thus (g) *Nazarinus* and *Celsus* walk'd upon the Ocean. Thus (h) *François de Paula* using his Coat or Cowl instead of a Ship, he and his Companion pass'd gallantly over the *Sicilian* waves. But above all, well fare *St. Fingare*, who after her head was cut off, sail'd from *Ireland* to *Cornwall* upon a Leaf: though (i) *Maurus* did best, who ran upon the water without any such helps. But yet why should we make these pretty Tales to be such badges of Christianity and Holiness, seeing no less man than (k) *Busbequius* tells us of a *Turk* who could do as well as any of them?

But I believe the *Turks* are not so good at flying, as some of our Saints are; for (l) *Antonius* got from *Padoa* in *Italy*, to *Lisbon* in *Portugal* in one night, and the next night home again. And (m) *Ignatius Loyola* in a moment whisk'd from *Rome* to *Coleu*. But what need we talk of men, when we can produce an House, as *la Santa Casa di Loreto*, with us commonly call'd the Chappel of *Loretto*, which one time slipt from (n) *Nazareth* in lower *Galilee* in the *Holy-land*, to a little Hill between *Terzatz* and *Fiume* in *Dalmatia*? then upon some grudge, took its flight thence, and (o) flew over the *Venetian* Golf into *la Marca d'Ancona*, not far from *Recanati*, into a Wood belonging to a Lady call'd *Laureta*: (from whence it took its name) Thence a little after, (being vext at some Thieves) it jump'd about a Mile more Southwards: but here two Brothers falling out about it (by reason of the great gain and Riches was got by it) it left them both in the lurch, and hopt about twelve score Northwards to a little Hill, where it now stands: so that in one year it took the pains to remove thrice. But now they have shackel'd it to the purpose from any more removes, by building a great Church over it, and it must squeeze hard to creep out of its Doors or Windows. Though in the year 1606, *Pope Paul the Fifth* fear'd his Friends the *Venetians* would make bold to give one motion farther to the best part of it, viz. its vast Riches; to prevent which, he thought he might be as bold as his Neighbours. The whole travels of this Chappel of *N.S. di Loreto*, is accounted by Signor (p) *Splavio Serragli* (one some years ago imploy'd there for its Registers) to be 2030 *Italian* Miles, which he esteems to amount to 1870 of *English*. A story made suspected

Vid. *Cyprian Valera*, 362, 420, 421, &c.

a *Crudelitatis Calviniana exempla duo centissima ex Anglia*, 1585. Prefat. ad Principes Cathol.

b L' Alcor. des Cord. lib. 2. pag. 200.

c *Art. à Montfleur. Martyrol. Francisc. XIII Apr. Sect. 12.*

d *Id. VI Novemb. Sect. 5.*

e *The. Cantiprat. lib. 1. cap. 29. Sect. 26.*

f *lib. Sect. 27. g M. Maralus, lib. 3. cap. 3.*

h *Louys Richeome discours des Miracles, c. 39. Sect. 1.*

i *Villegas, V Octobr. k Epist. IV. pag. 331.*

l L' Alcor. l. 2. p. 217.

m *Imago primi Seculi societatis Jesu, pag. 630.*

n 1292, *Gemon.*

o 1298.

p *La Santa Casa Abbellita, part 1. c. 64.*

suspected by many impertinent actions they make as companions with it.

However, shall we not think (a) *Lucianus* was a brave Fellow, who after he was beheaded, took up his head in his hand, and carryed it three Miles, and crost a great River? Like (b) *St. Dionise*, whose head being cut off, walk'd two Miles with it in his hands, and then gave it to a woman: Or like the six (c) *Dominician* Fryars, who being made shorter by the Noddles, yet each of them had so much wit, as to take up their respective Pates again in their hands, and with them to strut to their Covent. Thus they say that one (d) *Justus* having his head cut off, he then very trimly wash'd his body, took up his head in his hands, carryed it to his friends, prais'd God, and told them how he would be buryed. As (e) *Ursus*, *Victor*, and LXVI others, having undergone the same sauce, very fairly took up their Noddles, went a great way, kneel'd down, prayed, and after all this labour were content to rest very quietly: and such another story have I read of one (f) *Lambert*.

And why should we think this strange, since they tell us that (g) *St. Chrysostome* himself spake many years after he was buryed? That a wicked (h) *Norman* having his head cut off, the head tumbled along, bauling out to be confest; which afterwards it did to a Priest. That one (i) *Alexandria Arragonia* having also her head cut off, and thrown into a deep Well; an hundred and fifty days after, it spake, and confest her sins. That (k) *Stephanus Lonfoscius*, being by all wise men thought to be slain by the *Turks*, yet three years after was he found alive under an heap of dead Bodies, calling out to be confest; to which purpose they say he was kept alive by the Blessed Virgin. And thus they tell of her kindness to a most wicked *Tridentine* (l) Thief, who being beheaded for his many abominable Villanies, and buryed, she with some other Saints from Heaven came, took him up, fixt his head to his body again, and very ceremoniously carryed him and buryed him in a Church.

Though this was not so pretty a trick as the (m) Fellow did at *Marceille*, whose head being cut off and buryed, by the vertue of *St. Lewes* was joyn'd to his body again, and so he lived once more to the comfort of his Mother. Was not (n) *St. Francis* a notable shaver, who to shew what he could do, first kill'd a Physitians son, and then made him alive again? whereby it seems he out-vapour'd the Doctor in his own Profession.

And many suchlike Stories as these will they tell you for the honour of their Religion; as how a fellow having hung on the Gallows (o) thirty six days, was after all this found alive, and lived many years after, for the credit of *St. James of Compostella*. How two Monks being (p) hang'd on a Tree, and dead, yet revived, and sang very sweetly: I suppose, as the fellow by advantage of the Wind and his hollow Tooth whistled. But above all, give me (q) *Hugo de la Sale*, who could not be hang'd, let the *Luccefi* do what they could; so much was he befriended by the Virgin *Mary*.

Shall we believe trusty Fryar (r) *Roger*, when he saith he never saw a Womans face in his life, nay, not so much as his Mothers? or that Fryar (s) *Bentivola* took another fellow on his back, and for fifteen Miles carryed him faster than an Eagle could fly? and many other suchlike Tales, that they do not a little glory in. For my part, I shall as soon believe that they have the (t) Flame of Fire shew'd to *Moses* in the Bush: a Feather of the Arch-angels Wing: the Banner wherewith Christ descended into Hell: the (u) found of the Bells which hung in *Solomon's Temple*; or that the three

a Pet. de Natal. l. 2. c. 55.

b Id. l. 9. c. 41. Villegas, IX Obs.

c Abr. Bzovius, Annal. An. 1227. Sect. 18.

d Pet. de Natal. l. 9. c. 80.

e Sxrius, X Sept.

f Hispan. Bibliotheca, p. 103.

g Niceph. Calist. l. 14. c. 43.

h Tho. Cantiprat. lib. 2. cap. 19.

i Vid. Andr. Rivet. Apol. pro B. Virg.

j 2. c. 15. p. 374

k Gomon. pag. 336.

l Casarius, l. 7. c. 59.

m L'Alcoran des Cord. l. 2. p. 244, 245.

n Id. l. 2. p. 364.

o Nierenburg. de Mirac. Europ. l. 1. c. 1.

Jacob. de Vorag. Hist. 94.

p Corn. Schullring. Thesaur. Antiq. Ecclef.

Tom. 7. c. 165.

q Gomon. pag. 327, 328.

r L'Alc. des Cord. lib. 2. pag. 249.

s Id. pag. 365.

t Vid. Andr. Honderf.

Theatr. Historic. i Præcept. pag. 81, 82.

u Vid. Alex. Cooks Pope Joan, p. 41.

three-corner'd Stone is now to be seen at *Jerusalem*, whereof *David* spake, saying, (a) *The stone which the builders refused, is become the head-stone of the Corner* : Or the (b) Hair which a mad-cap Wench shew'd to be *St. Catharines* : Or the (c) Breeches which the Fryar said were *St. Francis's*. All which Fopperies were ingeniously derided by a certain Earl, who hearing them boast of suchlike Reliques, told them, that at such a place was to be seen the Chamber-pot which *Ursula* and her eleven thousand Virgins made use of.

<sup>a</sup> P<sup>sa</sup>l. 118. 12.  
<sup>b</sup> Vid. Mart. Luther Tom. 1. X præcepta, Pr. 8. fol. 44. b. Oth. Mslaud. joco-ser. p. 24 L. Sect. 227.  
<sup>c</sup> Eric. Cord. E-pigr. vid. Delit. Poet. Germ. Tom. 2. p. 802.

But because Carping Hereticks may object these pretty feats may be done by combination, men, and cunning men being the main Instruments in the former Actions; to take away all doubt, they think it no hard matter to confirm their Religion from Brutes and senceless Blocks or Stones.

## SECT. IV.

Thus they think it worth our belief, that (d) *Aido*, through pitty giving eight Sheep to as many hungry Wolves, and all well eaten, were yet restored safe and sound to him again, and alive. That (e) *St. Germanus* and his Companions having eaten up a Calf, very honestly restored it to life again. That *St. Bernacus* his (f) Cow being stolen, kill'd, cut in pieces, and put in the Chaldron to be boil'd, was yet for all this made alive. That an (g) Hen being drown'd, the Children fearing to be whipt for it, call'd but upon *Ignatius Loyola*, and it was as well again as ever. That a (h) Cock and Hen, after they had been roasted, and going to be cut up, revived, and lived several years. But concerning this Cock and Hen at *St. Domingo de Calcada* in *Rioia* (a little Province between *Old Castile*, *Navarre*, and *Biscay*) *Nieremburgius* would tell us another Miracle, viz. that every one may take a Feather belonging to these Birds thence, and yet the number never the less. But when I tell the *Romanists* that in the Church there (where they may also see the story painted) are alwaies kept alive in a Cage a Cock and an Hen; and when either of them dyes, its place supplied by another, and the dead ones Feathers pull'd off, and laid up with the rest as holy Reliques: they will easily grant that 'tis no such wonder to finde no decay of Feathers in so many years, seeing they have so easie a way besides other tricks to keep up the store.

<sup>d</sup> Jo. Capgrave, fol. 2.  
<sup>e</sup> Pet. de Natal. lib. 6. cap. ult. Jac. de Vorag. Hist. 102.  
<sup>f</sup> Jo. Capgrave, fol. 37.  
<sup>g</sup> Nieremburg. de Mirac. l. 1. cap. 5.  
<sup>h</sup> Id. l. 1. c. 1.

But to return: was it not a pretty knack of Fryar (i) *Andreas de Anania*, who having some little Birds roasted at his own desire to stay his Appetite, yet upon better consideration, it went against his stomach to devour them; and thus bravely resolved, he makes but the sign of the Cross, and presently they revived and flew away? It was very charitably done of Abbot *William*, to kill an (k) Ox, cut it in pieces, and give a piece of it to a poor woman to save her longing, and then next day make it as well and as live again as ever it was. And it was as well done of (l) *St. Antony*, who by the sign of the Cross, turned an ugly Toad into a fat piping-hot roasted Capon.

<sup>i</sup> L'Alc. des Cord. l. 1. p. 93.  
<sup>k</sup> Tho. Cani-prat. l. 2. c. 25. Sect. 5.  
<sup>l</sup> L'Alc. des Cord. lib. 1. pag. 119.

'Twas a good-natured piece of (m) Capon, that to save the credit of *St. Francis*, turn'd it self into a Fish. And a merry (n) Magpy, which for many days talked in the belly of him who had eaten it: As the *Irish* Sheep did (o) bleat in the guts of him who had stolen and eaten it, the better to discover the Theft.

<sup>m</sup> Id. l. 2. p. 322.  
<sup>n</sup> Tho. Cani-prat. l. 2. c. 1. Sect. 10.  
<sup>o</sup> Jac. de Vorag. Hist. 51. Pet. de Natal. lib. 3. cap. 104.  
<sup>p</sup> Pet. de Natal. lib. 1. cap. 25.  
<sup>q</sup> Jac. de Vorag. Hist. 94.

It was an hard case, that at the same time a great (p) Rock should divide it self for the preservation of *St. Barbara*, and that a Shepherd and his Sheep should be turn'd into Stones. But it was a civil (q) stone that yeilded like wax to the body of *St. James*: But above all, the high-stone-Tower shew'd its kindness best, when it was so complemental as

F

to

a Ibid.

to (a) bow its Top down to the ground, to let a Prisoner the better to escape. Yet the flowing Seas shew'd their humility enough, when for reverence they durst not approach neer to the Jesuit (b) *Joseph Anchieta*: and the (c) *sun* it self must return back, or stand still, at the desire of Father *Xavier* of the same Order: as it did to (d) *Mutius* the Hermit.

b Nieremberg.  
Hist. Nat. l. 9.  
c. 95.

b Imago primi  
Sæculi loc. Je-  
su, pag. 625.  
d Dauroult.

cap. 7. Tit. 7.  
Sect. 6.

e Jo. Capgrave  
Swinus.

f Tho. Cant-  
prat. l. 2. c. 25.  
Sect. 7.

g lb. Sect. 11.  
h lb. Sect. 12.

i Art. à Monast.  
Martyrol.

Francisc. XXI  
Aug. Sect. 4.

k L' Alc. des  
Cord. lib. 1.

pag. 115.  
l Vita S. Ber-

nard, l. 1. c. 11.

But to return to Earth: they tell us how (e) *Swithine* the true Raining-Saint, made whole and sound a poor Womans Eggs, that were unhappily broken to pieces. That a Woman had her (f) Tub miraculously fill'd with Meal: And for the honour of good-fellowship, how one by the same knack had his (g) Barrel fill'd with Wine: as another had his (h) Flagon. That a well-meaning Wench having empty'd by stealth an (i) Hog-head of her Fathers Wine to pleasure some Fryar, had it replenish'd again by the vertue of St. *Francis*. And that a Woman, running to give Fryar *Antony* some Wine, through haste and negligence, carry'd away the (k) Spigot in her hands; and so at her return, found the Wine all run out: but she relying on the Fryars merits or cunning, put the Spigot into the Faucet, and presently the Vessel was so full of good Wine again, that it ran over. But above all, give me some of (l) St. *Bernards* Ale, which was so good, that it infused Grace, and converted a Company of Jovial-blades.

m Capgrave,  
fol. 18.

\* Id. fol. 37.

n Nieremberg.  
Hist. Nat. lib. 9.

cap. 95.

o Ibid.

p Id. c. 95, 96.

q Id. cap. 95.

r Id. Hist. Mi-

rac. l. 2 c. 68.

s Dauroult. c. 7.

Tit. 76. Sect. 3.

t Ibid. Sect. 4.

u Ibid. Sect. 2.

w Nic. Jansz.

l. 2. c. 3. p. 215.

x Villegas,

III Febr. Jac.

de Vorag. Hist.

41.

y L' Alc. des

Cord. l. 1. p. 69.

z Id. pag. 82.

a Id. pag. 192.

b Id. pag. 112,

113.

c Pet. de Natal.

lib. 5. cap. 117.

d L' Alc. des

Cord. l. 1. p. 200.

It seems Beasts and Birds were not so shie and peevish' formerly, as now: when a (m) Buck would run to St. *Aido*, and kneel as him, or if praying his help. As an (\*) Hare was so saved by *Anselme*. When (n) Sparrows would flock to *Remigius*, and eat from his fist: When not onely Birds, but (o) Fishes would do the same to *Jodocus*; and took delight to flutter about *Maxentius*. They say that (p) *Joseph Anchieta* the Jesuit out-vapour'd the Serpents; and in the heat of Summer, made the Birds fly over him for a shade. That (q) *Brigid* had a Boar to preserve her Flocks; (r) *Eutichius* a Bear; and St. *Hidrome* a Lyon to keep his Ass. That a (s) Wolf at the name of *Nortbert* let a Sheep go. A (t) Serpent secured a Thief. Two (u) Lyons upon command, directed stray'd Travellers into the right way. And which is most of all, that an ugly filthy (w) worm was turned into a precious Stone by St. *Dominick*.

Nay, these Beasts must be Religious too, and probably good Roman Catholicks. Thus the Beasts used to come to be (x) blest by St. *Blasius*; nor would they depart, till they had received his Benediction. A company of (y) Larks sang the *Requiem* of St. *Francis*: the Birds (z) flew out of a Wood, lest their chatterings should disturb the Prayers of Fryar *Rol-lus*. One time a great Flock of Birds with stretch'd-out necks, gaped, and attentively (a) hearkn'd to the Preachment of St. *Francis*. Another time, a great Shoal of (b) Fishes held their heads out of the Water, the better to hear Fryar *Anthones* Sermon; and when he had done, some of them open'd their mouths, others bow'd down their heads, whilst others hum'd him; and then departed with a great deal of comfort. And other (c) Fishes at the command of St. *Branden*, lift up their voices and prais'd God: And thus a (d) Sheep bleated and kneel'd before the Altar: And the story saith, that the stones answered, *Amen*, to blind Venerable *Bedes* Sermon.

And if any of these Creatures do an injury and displeasure, how sorry and grieved will they render them for it? Thus they tell us of a (e) Raven or Crow which did Pennance, by tormenting it self three days on a Mountain, onely for throwing down a little Milk. But the Story how St. *Francis* made peace between the City *Eugubio* and a Wolf, is as pretty a thumper as any, in short thus: A Wolf having done much mischief to the Citizens, he

e Nieremberg.  
de Mirac. lib. 2.  
cap. 72.

he undertook to make them good friends : upon this he calls the Beast to him, saying, *Brother Wolf, you shall promise to live quietly, if the people will afford you Victuals.* Then the Wolf bow'd down his head in sign of consent: But Francis bid him plight his (a) troth: Then the Wolf lift up his right paw, and Francis held forth his fist, and so the Saint and Beast shook hand and foot. Then Francis Preach'd; and after Sermon, past his word to the Citizens for the Wolfs future good behaviour, provided they would not molest the Wolf: to which they promising, and the Wolf kneeling down in sign of agreement, all the people shouted for joy of the Peace: And thus the Wolf lived two years, begging his meat from door to door; the very Dogs all the while not so much as barking at him.

L' Alc. des  
Cord. lib. 1.  
pag. 188, 189.

a Da mihi fi-  
dem.

Nay, these Animals are doughty Champions for Invocation of Saints too. Thus they assure us, that a little Bird, being (b) seiz'd on by a greater, cryed but out *Ave Maria*, and presently the great ravenous Bird fell down dead: That a Parrat sporting her self out of a Cage, and being almost seiz'd upon by an Hawk, did but call upon St. *Thomas a Becket*, and the Hawk fell down dead, and so the Parrat escaped a scouring. Nay, that a Faulkoner being to be hang'd for loosing his Lords Hawk, and had the Rope about his neck, did but think upon our Lady of *Hall* [a place in *Hainault*, where of late her Image is set up and more peculiarly worship'd] and forthwith the Faulkon came flying home, light upon his shoulder, and so saved his life.

b Gononius,  
pag. 150.

Just. Lipf. D.  
virgo Hallen-  
sis.

But if these little Creatures have not a visible Church, they cannot escape being Hereticks: to avoid which mischief, you shall see they shall have a place for Devotion, the which though not so big as the seven Mother-Churches at *Rome*, yet more miraculous than any of them. And thus it hapned:

A Womans (c) Bees not thriving, by the advice of her Gossip, she steals a consecrated Wafer, and placeth it in one of her Hives, hoping it would drive away the disease, and bless all their undertakings. The devout Bees, in honour of such a sacred Guest, fall to work, and with their Hony-combs, make a pretty little Church with *Windows*, a Covering or *Roof*, with a *Door*, a *Belfrey*, I and an *Altar* too, upon which they had laid the *Host*, about which they continually (d) flew, and by their Humming prais'd the Lord. A pretty company of Catholicks, and a notable Argument for *Transubstantiation*. But I hope (e) *Bozins* and the rest will pardon me, if I make no more account of this Bee-hive-Church, than I do of (f) *Nierembergius* his zealous *Lisboan* Dog; a story too long for this place, though he is pleas'd to fancy it a proof or confirmation of their (g) Religion (and if I mistake him not) of *Transubstantiation*.

c *Caesarius*, l. 9.  
c. 8.

d Apes cir-  
cumvolantes,  
& in laudem  
Creatoris bom-  
bisantes.

e De signis  
Eccles. lib. 14.  
cap. 3. Sect. 1.

f Hist. Natur.  
lib. 9. cap. 94.

g Pro confir-  
manda fide,  
augenloq;  
culcu Sacerr-  
imæ Mensæ.

But besides all this, I warrant you 'tis none of the least glories and honours of their Church, (as they think) to see how they bang the poor Devil about: I shall not here trouble my self with their abominable cheating stories of their exorcising and casting out Devils, with a thousand childish and Poppit-play-tricks, as you may finde them set down in their (h) *Valerius Polydorus*, (i) *Hieronymus Mengus*, (k) *Zacharias Vicecomes*, (l) *Antonius Stampa*, and suchlike Juglers in Divinity, who act by compact or delusions, to the enriching of themselves, the destruction of many simple-minded people, the impoverishment of their gallant Patrons, and the abuse of Religion and whole Countries: For I am apt to lay this down for a Maxime in Politicks, That when they are busie in Exorcising or dispossessing of Devils, 'tis time for our Governours to look about them, there be-  
ing

SECT. V.

b Practica Ex-  
orcistarum.  
i Flagellum  
Dæmonum, &  
Fustis Dæmo-  
num.

k Comple-  
mentum Artis  
Exorcistæ.

l Fuga Sata-  
næ.



ing a worse Devil lying hid, than that which appears upon the Stage, be it in the House of either rich or poor, though we finde these Mummeries commonly acted in the former. For 'tis dangerous when an under-party, by these and suchlike cheats of Sanctity, endeavour to strengthen their interest, by making themselves Popular. Though methinks 'tis but a simple commendation to finde the Devil in all these black sports, onely to have power over the *Romanists*, and that of the poorer sort too, whilst the Hereticks (as they call us) are free from such vexations; for we shall hear of none such, but what proves a juggle at the long run.

But I say, letting alone these their stories of hunting or ferretting out the wicked spirit from one place of ones body to another, as if they were playing together at hide and seek, or finde out the Thief; I shall shew you the valour of the old *Romans*, how they cufft the poor Villain, till they made him ashamed of himself.

- <sup>a</sup> *Pet. de Natal.*  
*lib. 6. cap. 120.* Thus they tell us, how [*a*] *St. Margaret* took the Devil by the Hair, threw him down, set her foot upon his Neck, and made him roar out, though at last he having given her a good account of his actions, she very civilly let him go. And how another time, he thinking to make sure of her, put out his ugly long tongue, and swallowed her up: she being in this pickle, made but one sign of the Cross, and the Fiend burst in two, and so she escaped that scouring.
- <sup>b</sup> *Id. l. 3. c. 131.* And such another Virago was [*b*] *Juliana*, who tyed the Devils hands behind him, whipt him bravely with a great chain; and though he earnestly beg'd her favour, and not to abuse him before all people, yet she drag'd him as a laughing-stock about the Market-place, and then without any compassion threw him into a Jakes.
- <sup>c</sup> *Id. l. 8. c. 120.* 'Twas a cunning trick which they tell of [*c*] *St. Lupus*, who having once got the Devil in a Bason of Water, laid but a Cushion upon it, and so he kept the simple Rogue howling there all night, being not able to get out.
- <sup>d</sup> *Id. l. 8. c. 70.* And [*d*] *St. Niceta* as bad as the former, for he took him, and valiantly threw him down upon the ground, set his foot upon his neck; then asking him what he was, and the fool confessing that he was the wicked knave who had abused Mankind: Then *Niceta* threw him in his own Father King *Maximinianus* his face, and at last tyed him fairly up to a Dunghil. And if here he stank not enough, another pickl'd him to the purpose: for the spirit having I know not how got into him, he very neatly took the advantage of a slippery gut, and [*e*] flirtd him out with a powder backwards.
- <sup>e</sup> *Fac. de Vorag.*  
*Hist. 195.* And I think *St. Dustan* was even with his love-tricks, when he took him by the Nose with a pair of hot Tongs, and made him roar again.
- <sup>f</sup> *Discip. in*  
*Prompt. Ex-*  
*empl. lit. E.*  
*Exemp. 16.*
- <sup>g</sup> *Cesar. lib. 3.*  
*cap. 26.*
- <sup>h</sup> *Id. l. 1. c. 36.*

But what need these people put themselves to the trouble thus to persecute the Devil, when himself sometimes by chance can be his own Tormentor? Of which one story for all. The [*f*] Devil one time writing down the sins of some Fryars, and the Paper it seems not long enough for the Catalogue; he goeth the Shoemakers-way to work, puts one end of the Paper in his Mouth, holds fast the other end with his hands, and so endeavours to stretch it out longer, as they use to do Leather. But see the mischief of it! as he was thus earnestly tugging, the Paper unexpectedly tears, with which flip, back flies his Coxcomb against the Wall, whereby he got such a rattle on his pate, that we may well suppose the teeth chatter'd in his head. Yet it seems, as bad as he was, he once [*g*] confess'd his sins to a Priest, had a great humour to repent and turn over a new leaf; nay, and went so far in this good course, as to pay for a [*h*] Bell to tole the people to Mass.

As

As for *Purgatory*, their stories are too many and long for this place; but if you have a minde to take a view of it, *Hell* or *Paradise*, I shall refer you to [a] *Matthew Paris*, where you may see what buildings they have; how many ways the wretched are tormented; the description of the narrow Bridge, or Bridge of Dread; how *St. Paul* and the Devil weigh the souls in Scales, to see whether their good or bad works are heavyest, that accordingly one of them may dispose of them; how the Devils have their Theatres or Stages to sport and pleasure themselves for diversion fake, by seeing the souls act their parts there: What pleasant Fields and Flowers there are in *Paradise*, and suchlike old Wives stories, very fit for Winter-nights. And here may you see *St. Patricks* hole in *Ireland* too; with which impudent Fable many good people have been deluded. And I dare say, some of our Country-men are so far from being in their wits again, that as yet they will believe the miraculous stories of that *Irish* hole.

But to go a little higher, you shall see what an excellent Heaven they will afford to the sons of their Church; though certainly, when some of them thus think to set out its glory and honour, they rather make it contemptible to very Christians, I am certain an Argument of Derision to the Atheist.

As when their *Barelete* can confidently tell the world, what a great deal of clutter there was in Heaven to get God to send his Son into the World: For when *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *David*, &c. had desired him to send them, and nothing granted them; then the Women went to see what they could do: And first went *Eve*, but God told her she was not worthy of his Son, because she had sinn'd. Then *Sarah* went, but God told her that she wanted Faith concerning *Isaac*. *Rebecca* intreated, but he told her she was Partial between *Jacob* and *Esau*. *Judah* spake, but she was told that she was a Murderer. Then went *Esther*, but God stopt her mouth, by telling her, she took too much pains to pleasure *Affuerus*, &c.

Like to this is another story, how after Christs Resurrection, several striv'd to carry word of it to the Virgin *Mary*. *Adam* said it belong'd to him, because he was the cause of sin; but Christ told him he would loyter by the way to eat Apples. Then *Abel* he would go, but Christ told him he might meet *Cain*, and so be kill'd. *Noah* offer'd himself, but he was told he loved drinking too much. *John Baptist* would have gone, but his Garment of Hair was not fine enough. And though the good Thief beg'd the employment, yet Christ told him he was not fit, because his leggs were broak: And so at last they were forced to send an Angel.

And as bad as the former is this, that some days after Christ was crucified, the Apostles went and complain'd to the Virgin *Mary*, that he had not sent the *Holy Ghost* to them as he had promised: Upon this *Jesus* went to God, telling him what he had promised, and that it was now time to perform it. God consents, bids him inform the *Holy Ghost* of it. Upon this the *Holy Ghost* desires to know how the people had used him: Christ shews him how they had crucified him: then the *Holy Ghost* cryed out, [b] *Alas, woe is* me, and so turned himself into another shape, that they might not seize on him. And upon this Mission *Baralete* saith, there was [c] a dissention or falling out between God the Father and the *Holy Ghost*.

But leaving these Blasphemies, they will tell you how to get into this Heaven; for I suppose every Order hath the same benefit with the *Franciscans*; and how they do, take this one Example. A [d] Fryar dying,

SECT. VI.  
4 Hist. Angl.  
An. 1153. p. 86,  
87, 88, 89, 90.  
and An. 1206.  
pag. 215, 216,  
217, 218, 219,  
220, 221.  
And see Phil.  
O'Jullivan  
Compend.  
Hist. Cathol.  
Hibern. and his  
Patritiana De-  
cas

Vid. H. effient  
Apol. pour He-  
rod. l. 1. p. 305.

Id. pag. 304.

Id. pag. 305.

c Facla est dis-  
sention inter  
Patrem & spi-  
ritum sanctum!

d L' Alc. des  
Cord. lib. 1.  
pag. 195, 196.



went to Heavens Gates, and knocked there; the Porter asked him what he was? he replied he was a *Minorite*: The Porter bid him stay there, till he had spoken with St. *Francis*: Upon this, St. *Francis* comes with a World of Fryars, and seeing him, bid the Porter let him in, for he was a *Franciscan* Fryar.

*Cæsarius*, 17.  
cap. 20.  
Specul. Ex-  
empl. dist. 6.  
Sect. 60.

And now that you are in their Heaven, I make no question but you will finde it governed just as their Church is below here, as if they were both under the Obedience and Government of the same Customs, Canons, and Constitutions or Decrees. For in Heaven they tell us that the Saints go in Procession by Couples; that they carry lighted Tapers in their hands; that they sing the Responses according to the day or Rubrick; that *Christ* himself goeth clad in his *Pontificalibus*, with a *Myter* on his head, a *Croſſer* in his hand, with *Gloves*, a *Ring*, and suchlike Episcopal Ornaments: That they go to Church there; that Mass is sung there, *Christ* standing at the Altar, some reading the Epistle, others in their Surplices the Gospel; and when they have done there, that they all offer up their Candles, which our Saviour receives. Nay, they tell us, that sometimes *Christ* and the rest comes from Heaven, to do these Ceremonies and Services upon (a) Earth, &c.

a *Genonius*,  
pag. 133.

Thus have we seen the thumping commendations of their Saints, Devils, nay, of Heaven it self; in which, they have rack'd their Wits so much upon the Tenter-hooks to make all these their glories lovely and taking, that by thinking to over-do, they have come short; and instead of rendering them amiable, have shew'd them but as contemptible: As if all their pains and labour were guided with the same misfortune of our *Arcadian Demetrius*, who after all his pumpings and endeavours to make his Madam *Mopſie* renowned and famous, sum'd up all in this, that she was his own *Pigs-nye*, whereby she became more ridiculous.

I have been the longer upon these Wonders and Fopperies (and might easily have enlarged their number to a great Volume) because I finde them in every place so triumph over all other people by their Miracles, which in every Age they make so necessary a Mark of a True Church, that they think it none of the least Arguments against the Reformed.

But these may give you an hint, what little credit may justly be given to such Tales: and when men have trapt any as Impostures, so oft in lying and cheating, they have small reason to believe them in their other Stories or Actions. And besides these Forgeries, when we consider what compact juggling and delusions there may be, and that the Devil also may have a hand in the employment, as also some may have their Natural causes; we should not so easily believe all to be gold that glistereth, nor every thing we see or hear, to be a Miracle wrought by God, since (b) Antichrist himself must deceive by signs and lying Wonders.

b 2 *Thessal.* 2. 9.

Though as I have no power to hinder Almighty God from working Wonders, so have I no Authority to deny that he doth do any by his faithful Instruments; and I am apt to believe upon good Reason, that the Church of *Great Britain*, since the Reformation, may glory and triumph in this blessing, as well as their fellow-Christians beyond Sea.

## CHAP. IV.

*Their Idle, Extravagant and Prophane Titles and Prerogatives appropriated to the Pope.*

HAVING hitherto seen how lavish they are in the commendations of their inferiour Christians, those but as it were fellow-Subjects, or of the same rank in obedience with themselves: what lofty strains and cowering Encomiums may we expect, when they advance to magnifie their Lord and Master, their Infallible Judge, and what not? If in any thing they observe Sir *Philip Sidney's* Rule:

*If the man such praises have,  
What must be that keeps the knave?*

And if when several of their Wits have strain'd themselves to compare the great Cardinal (a) *Richelieu* to God Almighty for Power and Wisdom, though he hath not hitherto been held one of the greatest Saints; we may not hope for less Blasphemies, to be produced to the honour of their *Roman* Bishop, whom they fancy to command Heaven and Hell; and so at his pleasure to dispose of their souls to either of those places.

But that good Emperour (b) *Alexander Severus* rejected all such cogging Claw-backs: As (c) *Alonso* that wise King of *Aragon*, did not onely hate, but several times punish his flattering, creenging Courtiers, whom he justly call'd the Plague of Princes; it being a truth not easily denyed, that (next to such a Treason as *Presbytery*) the dissembling fawning Favorite, is the discredit of his King, and the ruine of his Country.

What the Popes have done by way of command to others, to proclaim to the World the Commendations, Strength, Power, Vertue and Authority of his Holy-Chair, would be a task too tedious and difficult, to search exactly and thoroughly into: Yet that such endeavours have been somewhat Ancient, appears by *Augustinus de Ancona*, now better known by the name of *Triumphus*; who above three hundred years ago, was commanded by Pope *John XXI* (or *XXII*) to write a Treatise to this purpose, which he did, where he boldly maintains that no (d) law can be made to binde Christians, but by the Popes Authority, as of old the *Israelites* received none but by the Intercession of *Moses*. Nor is this all; but he makes all the world to be so much the Popes Right and Inheritance, that he expressly gives us this Caution of Interpretation of some Facts in History, viz. That if we meet with any Emperours to have given any (e) Temporal Priviledges or Lands to any Popes, (as they say *Constantine* did to *Sylvester*) we must here understand that they did not at all give that which was their own to give; but onely (forsooth) restore that, which had formerly been taken away from them by Tyranny and Injustice. Or if on the contrary, we read of any Popes to have given off any such Temporal Benefit, we must then suppose that it was done more for peace-sake, then really to give to others a true Title to them. Fine Rules, if they were true, to keep all Jurisdiction and Territories in their own clutches. But alas, they are too simple and childish to be imbraced by any but fools, and suchlike Papal Scriblers.

Not long after him, we have a trusty Spaniard, *Alvarus Pelagius* Confessor to *Balthassar Cossa*, call'd *John XXII* (or *XXIII*) who writ a large Book,

a Many of which you may find collected together in a Quarto Book, call'd *Scriptorum Gallic Maledicentiarum & Adulationum Impiorum*, Anno 1635.  
b *Volaterran*, lib. 23. fol. 266.  
c *Ant. Panormita de rebus gestis Alphonf.*

d De Potestate Ecclesiastica, Quest. 44. Art. 1.

e Id. Part. 1. Quest. 1. Art. 1.

a De planctu  
Ecclesiaz, lib. 1.  
cap. 13.

Book, in part to vindicate his Master, by many then held an Antipope. This *Alvarus*, amongst other things, affirms that no Emperour must be held to rule [a] justly, who received not his Power and Authority from the *Roman Church*, especially after Christ had granted all Rule and Government to *St. Peter*: which seems a pretty Paradox, as if the Church at *Rome* by right ruled all the world, before ever *St. Peter* was ever there, or held as Supream there; or for ought that I know, before any other Christian in that City had any abode. Nor will that which followeth any whit mend the matter, viz. that every Pope hath all the same, or as much power upon Earth, as *Jesus Christ* himself had; and that the Pope is as a God to the Emperour.

b Job. 12. 32.

c Tom. 4. pag.  
232.

d Anno 1131.

e Sermo ad Synod.  
Rhemenf. beginning  
Grave est quod it.  
mihi injungitur.

f Anno 1131.  
Sect. 4.

g Bernard. de  
Considerat. ad  
Eugenium, lib.  
2. cap. 8.

h Vid. Abrab.  
Exou. Rom.  
Pont. c. 6. p. 56.

i Baron. Anno  
1076. Sect. 31.  
32. 33.

k Vid. Dist. 4c.  
c. Non nos.

Some years before this, *Urban* the Sixth and *Clement* the Seventh bandying for the Popedom, the Christians not agreeing which of them was the true one; insomuch that the Kings themselves were also divided, from which troubles it may be he might expect some disadvantage: However it was, he had one *Johannes de Therano* his Chamberlain, who upon his command writ a Book to lessen all Temporal Authority in Princes, in which he very finely evades these words — Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, and to God the things that are Gods, by affirming that these words of *Christ* have place onely for a time, viz. until his Ascension; and that after his Ascension they are of no force or value: proving it from this Verse — [b] When I shall be lifted up from the Earth, I will draw all men unto me; which he interprets by all Kings and Kingdoms to be under the Popes jurisdiction: a bundle of such strange Assertions, that [c] *Coquæus* himself seems almost ashamed of them.

But to go on: long before any of these, above five hundred years [d] ago in a Council at *Rheimes*, some one or other (for his certain name I finde not) made a learned and wise Sermon, as he thought, in commendation of the Pope, telling his Auditors, that he was greater than *Moses*, greater than any Angel, greater than *Solomon*; --- nay, except God, there is none like unto him either in Heaven or Earth. And that this might carry the more credit with it, they have foisted this into the Works of [e] *St. Bernard*, though [f] *Baronius* himself cannot believe that he was the Author of

Yet good *Bernard* knew not all things, nor in some things could he see any farther than that blinde Age in which he lived would allow him; nor will I take upon me to censure him of flattery, for his thus complementing with his Holiness, — [g] Thou art the Prime of all Bishops, the Heir of the Apostles, an Abel for Primacy, a Noah for Government, an Abraham by Patriarchship, a Melchisedech by Order, Aaron by Dignity, Moses by Authority, Samuel by Judicature, Peter by Power, Christ by Unction, &c.

And this piece of canting Courtship, was taken up by the Arch-bishop [h] *Stephanus Tigliatinus*, and bestowed upon *Innocent* the Eighth with some Additions.

But we might go higher yet, and see what goodly Priviledges *Gregory* the Seventh got an Assembly at *Rome* to bestow upon him, as that [i] onely the Pope of *Rome* can depose Bishops: That he onely according to the Times may make Laws: That he onely may use the Imperial Ensigns: That all the Princes are to kiss his feet: That he can depose Emperours, and Translate Bishops: That no Synod can be held without his command, nor any Book is Canonical without his Authority: That he is undoubtedly made [k] Holy by the Merits of *St. Peter*: That there is but one name in the World, i. e. the Pope.

Nor can such Extravagances as these seem strange to any, who is acquainted with their writings and stories; the Popes themselves not a little

ple delighting in these Flatteries, and accordingly they never want such complying Pick-thanks.

Thus *Fernando de Velasco* in behalf of his Master *John* the Second King of Portugal, applyed that to *Innocent* the Eighth, which the Apostle speaks of *Christ*, viz. That he is [a] far above all Principality and Power, and every name that is named, not onely in this world, but also in that which is to come; and that he is the Sun and Light of the World. Vid. Brou. de Rom. Pont. c. 6. p. 56, 57, 58, 66. <sup>a</sup> Ephes. 1. 21.

Thus *Scala* the Florentine Ambassador told the same Pope, That his Dignity was so great, that a more Excellent could not be invented or fancied on Earth: Nay, that to dispute or doubt of his Power, is no less than Sacrilege, as *Cheurer* flattered him from the Duke of Savoy. *Julius* the Second was told by *Diego Pacettus*, Envoy from *Emanuel* King of Portugal, That he was the Door-keeper of Heaven, and held the Keys of eternal Life: And *Bernardus Justinianus*, Agent from the Venetians, assured Pope *Paul* the Second, that [b] he could damn and save whom he pleased: Which was also affirm'd to *Julius* the Second, by *Michael Rissus*, from *Lewis* the Twelfth of France, with this Addition, that the Necks of all Kings and Princes must submit to him. b Cui claudere Caelos & aperire, detrudere ad Inferos, & eruere quoscunque velit, concessum.

*Narius Bandineus*, Ambassador from *Sienna*, fob'd up Pope *Paul* the Third with the Epithites of The Father of Godliness, Day-star of Justice, Prince of Faith, Chieftain of Religion, Arbitrator of all things, Saviour of Christians, and Image of Divinity. And as if the Princes of Italy strove in the magnifying of his Holiness, the Ambassadors of *Genoa*, *Sienna*, *Lucca*, *Venice*, *Florence*, *Parma*, *Milan* and *Ferrara*, humbly told *Leo* the Tenth, That he excell'd all Kings as much as the Sun doth the Moon.

And well might these petit Potentates thus tumble themselves before their Infallible Chair, when the great French Monarch, *Francis* the Second, by his Deputy *Johannes Babo à Burdessa*, did creenge to *Pius* the Fourth, in the acknowledgement, that all Laws depended upon his pleasure; that Kings threw themselves down at his feet, and Heaven opens at his will; and that his pleasure did stand for a Law, as his voice for an Oracle. \* Vid. Brou. p. 53, 55. d Extra. Com. de Major. & Obed. c. 11. nam sanctam.

Pope *Pius* the Fifth was once told, that the whole world lay at his Feet: And *Sixtus* the Fifth, that Princes, Kings and Emperours were so much subject to him, that they should not onely attend upon him, but worship and adore him. Which if true, then *Aquinas* was not amiss, when (as they say) he told the world, That \* our Kings ought to be as much subject to him, as to *Christ* himself. Nor those others, who with the German have declared, that all must be obedient to him, upon pain of Salvation, according to the Decree of [d] *Boniface* the Eighth. e Sext. de Electione, cap. Fundamenta. f Dist. 12. c. Non decet. g Dist. 19. c. Sic omnes. h Ib. c. Enimvero. i Ib. c. In Casu nonicis.

Their Canon-Law tells us, that *Christ* received *St. Peter* into the [e] Fellowship of his undivided Unity: Informs us, that as [f] *Christ* did the Will of his Father, so we should do the will of the Church of Rome. That [g] all the Orders of that Church ought to be held, as if *St. Peter* himself had proposed them to us. And therefore are [h] perpetually and inviolably to be observed. And so are the Papal decretal Letters, which they say are to be [i] numbred amongst the Canonical Scriptures: Nor is any man [k] to judge or revoke the Popes sentence: For the [l] Decrees of the Popes are of equal force and authority with the Canons of Councils. And good Reason, since they Decree that every one is to be [m] obedient to the Pope, upon pain of damnation; and so must we believe that [n] all Nations and Kingdoms are under the Popes jurisdiction: And that [o] God hath delivered over to him the Power and Rule of Heaven and Earth. k Caus. 17. q. 4. & Dist. 81. c. Si qui sunt, c. Nemini est. l Paul. Lancelotus Institut. juris Can. l. 1. Tit. 3. c. Decreta. m Extra. Com. de Major. & Obed. c. unam sanctam. n Extra. Com. Tit. 1. c. Super Gentis. o Extra. Joh. XXII. Tit. 5. & Dist. 22. c. Omnes. Gloss.

And well may he thus triumph over Principalities & Powers, since the *Glossaries* have

*a* Naturam rerum immutat substantialia unius rei applicando aliis—de nihilo aliquid facere potest. . . . *postle.*

quæ nulla est facit aliquam. In his quæ vult ei est pro ratione voluntas. Nec est qui ei dicat, Cur ita facis? Ipse enim potest supra jus dispensare—de injustitia potest facere justitiam corrigendo jura & mutando. Decret. Greg. lib. 1. Tit. 7. c. *Quanto personam.* Gloss. Sect. *Veri Dei vicem.*

*b* Dist. 34. c. *Leitor.* Gloss.

Their Canon-Law brags, that *Constantine* the Great call'd the Pope a *[c]* God: But their extravagant *Gloss* speaks out more plainly in these very words—*[d]* OUR LORD GOD THE POPE,

*c* Dist. 96. c. *Satis evidenter.*

*d* Credere Dominum Deum

nostrum Papam Conditorum, &c. Extra. Job. XXII. Tit. 14. de verborum significat. cap. 4. Cum inter nonnullos. *Gloss.* Sect. *Declavimus,* prope finem.

*e* Warn-word to Sir Fran. Hastings's wastward, Encount. 1. c. 2. Sect. 10. *f* Apol. pro Hen. GAYN.

Because *[e]* Father *Parsons* affirmeth he could never finde any such expression, though he saith he sought much for it; I have been the more exact and plain in the Quotation, as also to confute *[f]* *Andreas Eudæmon-Johannes*, and some others, who are apt to perswade their Readers, that there is no such thing to be found, at least in those Copies that they can meet withal: for confutation of which, take this Catalogue of Editions which I have met withal, in which they will finde the said words exprestly set down.

## Lugduni.

1526  
1556  
1559  
1572  
\* 1584

## Lutet. Paris.

1522  
1561  
\* 1585  
\* 1601  
\* 1612

Vid. Pet. Moulinvates, lib. 5. cap. 6.

*g* Parceque faisant la guerre contre le Pape, c'estoit la faire contre Dieu, d'autant que le Pape estoit Dieu, & Dieu estoit le Pape. Procez, Examen, Confessions, &c. du Francois Ravailiac, pag. 39. & 15. Ca-saubon. Epist. ad Front. Ducaum, pag. 14. *g* Clement. in Proem. *Gloss.* v. *Papa.*

Several of which, viz. those you see here noted with the *Asterisks*, were printed after Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth had corrected the *Canon-Law*, and were as they confess printed and publish'd according to the *Roman* Copy, by Authority of the said Pope.

And it may be from suchlike wicked expressions as this, that abominable Varlet *François Ravailiac* drew this Blasphemous Doctrine, *[g]* *The Pope is God, and God is the Pope.* And therefore supposing that *Henry* the Fourth of *France* would make War upon the Pope, he thought himself obliged to murder the said King, lest he should fight against God, that is, the Pope. However, though I cannot say that the wisest of them think the Pope really to be God; yet this I am certain of; that they commonly paint one so like the other, with a Triple Crown, and all other Pontifical Garments, that you can scarce know whether they designed it for the Picture of God Almighty, or the Pope.

But others would have us to think, that he is not really a God, no more than he is really a man; but something or other between both, according to our Country-man in their *[h]* *Gloss.*

*Papa*

*Papa stupor Mundi*——

—— *Qui maxima rerum es;*

*Nec Deus es, nec homo, quasi neuter es inter utrumque.*

Pope ! the worlds wonder, greatest in all the world,  
Nor God, nor Man, but between both, thou'rt Purld.

And now can we think that they give these almost-almighty Titles and Power to his Holiness, without sure grounds and good cause? And that of all Reasons and Authorities, the *Canon-Law*, which hath been so carefully composed, and so often revised by their wisest ones, doth not afford the best? No surely, and therefore for a taste, take some of their invincible Arguments, and those too, for more Authority, framed by the Popes themselves, and so infallibly true.

Can any deny that the Pope hath all [a] Temporal as well as Spiritual jurisdiction, seeing the Apostles said, — [b] *Behold, here are two Swords*; and Christ answered, *That it is enough*? Which is also sufficiently testified by Christ's saying, *Peter* [c] *put up thy sword into the sheath.*

What need any man question the [d] Popes Authority to depose Kings, seeing God told the Prophet *Jeremiah*, saying, — [e] *Behold, I have this day set thee over the Nations and over the Kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build and to plant*?

Is it not as plain as a Pike-staff, that there is but one Supreme Authority in the World, and that that is the [f] Pope, because God [g] *created heaven in the Beginning*? for it is not said in the plural number, in the *Beginnings*. And therefore he that believes not that the Pope is the Chief, must be an Heretical *Manichee*.

Again, is it not impudence to deny the [h] Pope to be above any Emperour, (be he East or West) seeing God himself decided long since the Controversie, by creating [i] *two great Lights, viz. the Sun and the Moon*, whereby he did plainly demonstrate, that the Pope is as far above the Emperour, as the *Sun* is greater than the *Moon*? And for the Kings, they are no more to be compared to the Pope, than [k] *Lead is to Gold*.

Upon the strength of these Authorities and mighty Reasons, though not a Rush to the purpose, their Writers vapour with his Holiness over all poor Hereticks. [l] *Rodericus Cypers* thinks that those who *deny the Popes Temporal and spiritual Supremacy, deny also the Gospel*; and the great [m] *Antoninus of Florence*, that he hath power not onely on earth, but in Heaven and Hell. Doctor [n] *Marta* saith, that he is *Judge of all men in the World*. And so any may appeal from their secular Judges to him: He being the [o] *Fountain and Original of all Temporal jurisdiction*, and having all the Power that [p] *Christ* had.

[q] *Henricus à Gondavo* with his Commentator, *Marcus Vitalis, Zuccolius*, and [r] *Alexander Carerius*, with a multitude of others, are great sticklers for this his Authority; and the later of them tells us, that it is the common opinion of all their Divines and Canonists. Nay, *Stephanus* an Arch-bishop, in one of their Lateran Councils, applauded the Opinion, That the [s] *Pope was above all Power both of Heaven and Earth*.

One tells us that he is not onely the *Judge*, but the [t] *Sponse of the Universal Church*, and the *Arbitrator of Heaven and Earth*. [u] Another goeth on, and affirms him to be *King of Kings, Lord of Lords: that there is but one and the same Judgement-seat and Council-house belonging to God and the*

a Extra. Com. de Major. & Obed. c. *unam sanctam*.

b Luke 22. 28.

c Joh. 18. 11.

Mat. 16. 52.

d Extra. Com.

c. *unam san-*

ctam. Greg. de

Major. & O-

bed. c. *Solita*.

e Jer. 1. 10.

f Extra. Com.

c. *unam san-*

ctam.

g Gen. 1. 1.

h Greg. de Ma-

yor. & Obed.

c. *Solita*.

i Gen. 1. 16.

k Dist. 96. c.

*Duo sunt*.

l Comment. in

c. *Opusculat*.

pag. 48. Sect. 9.

m Sum. Parr.

3. Tit. 22. c. 5.

n Tract. de ju-

risdict. part. 4.

cent. 1. cas. 56.

Sect. 1.

o Ibid. Sect. 8.

p Id. cap. 25.

Sect. 20.

q Quodlibet.

VI. Quarst. 23.

fol. 369. 4.

r De Potestat.

Rom Pont. l. 2.

c. 9. Sect. 7. &

cap. 10.

s Concil. E-

dict. Regia.

Tom. 34. pag.

449.

t Jo. Rubens in

Bonifac. VIII.

pag. 216.

u Isidor. Masco-

nus de Maje-

state Militant.

Pope; Eccles. p. 26, 27

a Jac. de Giff.  
fif Decifiones  
auriz, part. 1.  
cap. 31.  
b D. Guido  
Decifiones,  
Quzft. 589.  
c Jafon Alayn.  
Concil. 145.  
Sect. 7. & Vol.  
3. Conf. 68.  
Sect. 14.

Pope, and fo all the world obliged to ftand to his judgement : for fhould all people bandy againft it, their fentence would be of no force. A third proceeds, and maintains that he *cando* (a) *all things that God himfelf can do*, *onely fin excepted*. And another from the fame Authority affures us, that he (b) *can take away any mans right, and give it to another* : Nor need we to think much at this, fince they allow him to (c) *do any thing above all right, againft all right, and without all right* : That he is the *Cause of Causes*, and can declare *square things to be round*. And then I warrant you that we are Hereticks, if we do not believe that the square thing is really round.

Si dixerit tibi,  
quod dextera  
fit finiftra, vel  
finiftra dexte-  
ra, talis fen-  
tentia eft te-  
nenda. Nic. de  
Lya in Deuter.  
c. 17. 11.

d Hift. of the  
Quarrels of  
Pope Paul the  
Fifth, with the  
Venetians, lib. 1. pag. 96.

The Rabbins told their Jews, that they were to believe the Judges, though they told them that *the Right-hand was the Left, and the Left-hand the Right*. And this knack of credulity, was lately indeavoured by the Jesuites to be an Article : the famous and judicious Father Paul affuring us, that the third of their Rules found at Padoa 1606 was, that — (d) *Men must believe the Hierarchical Church, although it tell us, that that is black which our eye judgeth to be white*. And something like this, is the Doctrine which Bellarmine himfelf layeth down, in thefe words, — (e) *If the Pope fhould err, in commanding Vices or prohibiting Vertues; then is the Church obliged to believe that Vices are good, and Vertues are evil, unlefs ſhe would ſin againſt her Conſcience*.

e Si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Eccleſia credere vitia eſſe bona, & virtutes malas, niſi vellet contra conſcientiam peccare. Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. lib. 4. cap. 5. Sect. *quod autem*.

f Contra Bark-  
laum, cap. 31.

And I doubt he is willing to give to St. Peter, and by his conſequence to the Pope, the (f) *power of making ſin to be no ſin, and that which is no ſin to be a ſin*. Certain I am, that when Pope Clement the Eighth deſired the ſaid Cardinal to draw him up ſome private Rules and Directions for the benefit of the Church; he could not in that Paper of ſecrecie, keep himſelf from flattery, by telling the Pope, that (g) *he had no limits or bounds in the whole world, but thoſe which the world it ſelf had*.

g Jac. Fulgati-  
us vita Card.  
Bellarm. lib. 3.  
cap. 5.

h Laur. Banck,  
Roma Trium-  
phans, p. 216.

Id. pag. 81, 82.  
Herm. Convin-  
gius Caſtigat.  
de Elect. A-  
lexand. 7.  
p. 55, 56.

About twenty years ago, Innocent the Tenth being choſen Pope, Cardinal Columna, as he delivered him St. Peters Keys, told him, that (h) *the Angels in Heaven revered him, the Gates of Hell feared him, and the whole world adored him*. But this ſnip of flattery is nothing to the Blaſphemous Paper preſented to the ſame Pope by the hands of the German Jeſuit Melchior Inchofer (though himſelf was not the Author of it) then living at Rome.

The Elogy it ſelf, with the bold alluſions to the Popes Sir-name *Pamphilio*, whereby he would make him better than our Saviour, take as followeth; though we may gueſs that they were compoſed a little before his Election.

Eminentiffime & Reverendiſſime

D. CARDINALIS PHAMPHILI.

I. PHILIUS Dei (*ſuperlativus amor Patris, quia ciſtat⁹, ideo Philius dict⁹*) *ex eterna ejus charitate, qua ſe Deo Patri obtulit, in aman- tiſſimum Interceſſorem ac Mediatorem Dei ac hominum ab inſtanti Conceptionis in*

*in utero B. Mariæ Virginis, factus fuit Sacerdos in æternum, secundum Ordinem Melchisedech, ac Primus Pontifex Optimus Maximus.*

II. *Sed Filius fuit Philius, non fuit PAMPHILIUS.*

III. *Fuit intercessor Dei & hominum.*

IV. *Non fuit Universalis Mediator Angelorum & hominum, seu PAMPHILIUS.*

V. *Si ex Nominis analogico æternoq; Anagrammate præfagire licet, Mysterium aliquod in Tempore: Tu ab æterno Prædestinatus es, esse Pamphilius in Terris, ac dici PAMPHILIUS, æmulus filii Dei in Cælis.*

VI. *Pamphilius ergo eris, Universalis nimirum Reconciliator Angelorum & hominum, in Terris hostiliter pugnantium Regum & Populorum.*

VII. *Quod præstabis non nisi electus in Pontificem Opt. Maximum.*

VIII. *In cujus faustissimum augurium Evangelus ego, felixq; Nuncius ter sanctos Pedes Eminentie vestre ex nunc deosculor.*

IX. *Quod etiam Græcè scripsi decem abhinc annis, in Græca nostra Academia Basiliana in Columbe vestre stemmata ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐν μέλει. Rex Pacificus eris & Clementissimus.*

Ter genu flexus Italo-Græcus ego

Joan. Baptista Catum Syritus.

Pope Paul the Second told [a] Platina and others, that *all right and power were lodged in his Breast*, and that his Authority was such, that even according to his own pleasure and will, he could null or approve of other mens actions. And why not? seeing [b] Baronius affirms, that when *Vigilius* sat in the Chair, that then also Christ himself, not onely as he was man, but as he was God also, sat with him. Upon which ground, it may be that Albizzi (made Cardinal, I suppose, by this present Pope Alexander the Seventh) told two Cordeliers, that the [c] Gospel would not be the Gospel, if the Pope had not approved of it. And to go a little higher, those of Palermo having sent their Ambassadors to Pope Martin the Second; these Holy men (as my Author calls them) being come into his presence, having first thrown themselves all along before his feet, thus began their Speech to him:

*O thou! who takest away the sins of the World, have mercy upon us.*

*O thou! who takest away the sins of the World, have mercy upon us.*

*O thou! who takest away the sins of the World, have mercy upon us.*

Paul. Anilius  
Hist. Francor.  
in vita Philippi  
III.

Nor did the Pope finde any fault in this Salutation, but onely that he thought them to be Hypocrites, and to have spoke him fair, when he thought they perfectly hated him.

As for Kings, their [d] Canon-Law tells us, that the Pope is as far above them, as the *Sun* is greater than the *Moon*. Upon which their old Glossator takes upon him to finde out the distance; and according to his skill in *Astronomy*, he makes the Pope to be about forty seven times better than a King: But this seeming too little for his Holiness, it fairly concludes him to be above 7744 times greater than any King.

And though this seems brave, and sound high, yet [e] Stanislaus Orichorius, of a later cut, makes it his business to out-vapour the Gloss, by affirming that a common Priest is as much better than a King, as a Man is better than a Beast. Nay farther, that as much as God Almighty doth excel a Priest, so much doth a Priest excel a King.

And



Ecclesiasticus,  
cap. 147.

Reges Catho-  
lici sunt Afini  
cum Tintinna-  
bulo, &c.

Vid. Tho. Bo-  
zium de Italia  
statu, l. 3. c. 4.  
pag. 298.

Sacrarum  
Ceremonia-  
rum, Edit.  
Rom. 1560.  
lib. 1.  
a Fol. 12.  
b Fol. 25.  
c Fol. 26.

d Fol. 17.

e Ibid.

f Vir. Dona-  
tio vel Privi-  
legium Con-  
stantini.  
g Sacrar. Ce-  
rem, lib. 1.  
fol. 20.

b Fol. 17.

And this may somewhat agree with *Gaspar Scioppius*, a great man amongst them, though of more words and passion, than Charity or Discretion, who in the swindge of his Zeal, alloweth all *Lay-men* to be no better than *Horses, Mules or Asses*; and that with such small distinction, that the *Romanist* himself hath but the honour to be a *tame Ass*, whilst the *Heretick* is a *wilde one*. Nor do the *Kings* of the Popish perswasion get any more addition of esteem from him, then that they are *the foremost or leading Asses with fine jangling Bells about their necks*. And that favorite of their Church, *Charles the Great*, is honour'd enough, as *Schoppius* thinks, by calling him *a wiser and greater Ass than our King James*, because he was obedient to the Pope.

And the truth is, many of our chief Princes, by their too much debasing themselves to that Chair, have rendred themselves little better than *Scioppius* his comparisons; or his *Holiness* must have thought them to be so, in respect of his Almighty Greatness: Witness the great Kings and Emperours who have held the Popes Stirrops, have kiss'd his Toe, have like Foot-boys led their Horses along; witness *Alexander the Third*, for presuming to tread upon the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa's* neck; witness *Gregory the Seventh*, for making the Emperour *Henry the Fourth* to wait upon him three several days in the midst of Winter, bare-foot, bare-headed, and fasting: and several suchlike impudent stories, which may be seen more at large in the prosecution of this History.

And for more confirmation of this Papal Pride and Greatness, let us take a short view of somewhat to this purpose, which they have left upon Record, with a strict injunction to be performed by all Kings and Emperours whatsoever.

The Pope in the Book of their holy Ceremonies, doth command as a Law, That when an Emperour goeth to be Crown'd by a Pope, (a) *he is as soon as he espyeth his Holiness, to kneel and worship him bare-headed; then to approach nearer and kiss his feet: and the same is to be done by the* (b) *Empress when she is Crowned*. When the Emperour is Crowned, at the publick Procession, before a world of people, he is to (c) *go to the Popes Horse, and there to hold the Stirrop till his Holiness mounts on Horse-back; and then like a Lackey must he lead the Popes Rosonante some way by the Reins*. And this piece of service or slavery must the (d) *Emperour, King, or chief Potentate perform, when the Pope is chosen, in his Procession to the Lateran Church*: But if there be two Kings present, then hath the Pope expresly commanded, that (e) *one of them on his Right-side, the other on his Left, must lead his Palfrey along by the Bridle*. And this Office of the Yeoman of the Stirrop, they are confidently pleas'd to tell us, that *Constantine the Great* did it to Pope *Sylvester*. But the (f) *Copy* whence they produce this, I shall prove to be a whisking lye and forgery, in the following History.

The Pope goeth on in his proud Laws, by decreeing, *that the best Lay-man, though he be Emperour or King, must* (g) *carry water for the Pope to wash his hands in*: nor must his trouble and slavery cease here, but he *must also carry up the first dish of meat to his Table*. And as if all this were not enough to debase the Temporal Princes, the same Authority goeth on, commanding, that if the Pope will not ride on horse-back, but be carryed in his Chair, that then the four of the greatest Princes, yea, although the Emperour be one of them, shall put their (h) *shoulders to the said Chair, and so carry him some space*: yet this being a tyranny beyond all expression, therefore somewhat to mitigate it, they provide, that four lusty fellows shall so far assist, as to ease those Royal Shoulders from the great weight.

The truth is, the Pope is wont to call himself the *servant of servants of God*:

God : But 'tis none of the least signs of great Pride, to affect a seeming Title of humility, when in the mean time they make it their design to Domineer over the whole world : and something to this purpose, their *Gloss* upon *Crutian* affords us this Distich :

\* *Servierant tibi Roma prius Domini Dominorum,  
Servorum servi nunc tibi sunt Domini.*

\* I q. 7. c. 240-  
ties Cordis,  
Gloss. Et per  
te.

The greatest Kings once serv'd thee, *Rome*, but now  
To th'least of Servants thou thy neck must bow.

And such another like cheat as this doth his Holiness afford the *Romans*, or rather the holy Scripture, when he is elected and carried to the *Lateran*, where he takes up as much (a) money as he can in his hand, and throws it amongst the people, saying, — (\*) *Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have, give I thee.* A most ridiculous Ceremony for his Infallible Holiness, thus to abuse the words of St. Peter!

\* Sacrar. Ce-  
rem. lib. 1.  
fol. 17.  
\* Acts 3. 6.

And though Pope *Julius* the Third was content to call himself no more than *Gods Vicar*, yet the extravagancy of the expression spoil'd the Complement: For as the story goeth, having once commanded a Peacock to be set by, that he might eat it cold, and being missing when he desired it, forced him into a great rage; and being desired by a Cardinal, not to be angry for such a Trifle, thus replied, — *If God was so angry for an Apple, as to drive Adam out of Paradise; why might not he that was Gods Vicar, be angry for a Peacock of more worth?* And like this was another reply of the said Pope, who wanting his Dish of Pork, and being told that his Physician had forbid it, as not then good for him, thus unholily commanded, — *Bring me my Pork in spite of God.*

H. Esienne A-  
pol. pour He-  
rod. p. 291.

Methinks *Johannes Andreas*, Bishop of *Aleria* in *Corfica*, thought himself no small Wit, when his fancy reached so high, as to call Pope *Leo* the Great, (b) *The Tully of Church-Oratory, The Homer of Divinity, and the Aristotle of Faith*: and this mode of School-boy-allusion is used also by some others, as amongst other Monuments of the Great Duke of *Bourbon* who took *Rome*, this following is at *Gaieta*:

Porra mi quel  
mio piatto al  
dispetto di  
Dio.  
b Epist ad Pau-  
lum II. præfix.  
Opuscul. Leo-  
nis.  
Fran. Sweet.  
pag. 115.

*Consiliis, Calchas, animo Hector, robora Achilles,  
Eloquio Nestor, jacet hic Borbonius Heros.*

And thus the other day a (c) *Romanist* thought he had commended our blessed Martyr King *Charles* the First beyond all comparison, when he call'd him a *Prince wise as Apollo, Valiant as Achilles, Vertuous as Socrates, Pious as Æneas, and Beautiful as an Amazon.* So that it seems to make a noise, any thing that sounds great, be it devilish or wicked, must be brought in; like the people of *Sofala* in the *East-Indies*, who appropriate to their King, by way of commendation, all things that are great, be it good or bad; insomuch, that they call him not onely (d) *Great Lyon*, but *great Thief, great Witch*, and suchlike.

c *Philanax An-  
glicus, or a  
Christian Ca-  
veat against  
Protestants of  
Integrity*, pag.  
57, 58.

But for such allusions of Bishop *Andreas*, I shall let them alone, as impertinent to my purpose, and of as little harm as they are of discretion; I only meddling with those of a higher pitch, such as attribute a *Deity*, or little less, to his Holiness, of which formerly; and to them I might add this Distich set upon a Triumphal Arch at *Rome*, relating to Pope *Sixtus*:

d *Purchas  
Pilgr. Vol. 2.  
pag. 1539.*

*Oraculo vocis mundi moderaris habenas,  
Et merito in Terris crederis esse Deus.*

Da. Magerns  
Transenna  
Theologica,  
pag. 62.

And

*a Paris Crassus  
de Ceremoniis  
Cardinalium,  
& Epist. lib. 1.  
cap. 22.*

*b Mentior si  
non invenian-  
tur hæc scri-  
pta, & ab illis  
etiam qui fa-  
pientes sunt in  
Oculis suis.*

*Jo. Gerson. de  
poteft. Ecclef.  
Confid. 12.*

*\* Apol. pour  
Herod. p. 291.*

And therefore they command us *(a)* to bow at the name of the Virgin Mary and the Pope, as well as at the name of Christ. And if these and suchlike Extravagances (not to say Blasphemies) have not been asserted, yea, and by those who think themselves the wisest, concerning the Pope, I shall desire the same censure that the famous *Parisian* Chancellor *Gerson* (by themselves stiled the *most Christian Doctor*) did in the same case, viz. to be held a *(b)* lyar.

But to end all with a story or two: the famous *Stephanus* assures us, that a Priest at *Tours* told his Auditors, that if \* *Christ and the Pope were by him, and one commanded him one thing, and the other another, that he would obey the Pope rather than Jesus Christ.* And this Doctrine agrees somewhat with the *Cardinal*, who told his Confessor, That he had rather adore the Pope than God, because one was visible, and the other not.

*Jo. Bale. Acta  
Pontif. Rom.  
1.6. p. 253.*

And these Extravagances, and the Popes taking upon him to domineer over all mankind, made the *Greek Church* send this short Complement to his Holiness, *John XXIII.* — *We do really acknowledge thy high Authority over thine own Subjects: but we cannot indure thy great pride, nor are we able to satisfie thy avarice: So the Devil be with thee, and the Lord with us.*

*Da. Magerus,  
Tranfenna  
Theologica,  
pag. 65.*

Thus when we finde their Grandees, and those who think themselves the wisest of their Religion, to ascribe such excessive Power and Prerogatives to his Holiness, we may the less wonder at the simplicity of the poor people of *Limosin*, who (according to the story) hearing and so believing that the Pope was not onely Gods Vicar, but a God too, and so had such great power in Heaven and Earth, &c. and also knowing that the then Pope was their Country-man, and so near them at that time, as in *France* at *Avignon*; and so full in hope (for Relation-sake) to receive some comfort and help from him; sent to him, laying open the poverty of his and their Country, scarce any thing growing in it, but Rapes, Chesnuts, and a little Corn to serve them on Sundays; and therefore humbly beg'd that his Holiness would be pleas'd to make their poor Country so fruitful, that they might have two Harvests in a year.

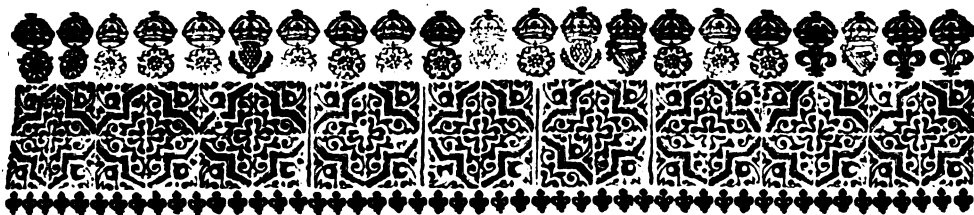
The Pope after long consultation with his Grave Council about this weighty matter, was pleas'd very graciously to grant their request; but upon this condition, that for the future they should not reckon twelve, but twenty four Months for the year. The Messengers glad at heart of this unspeakable favour and benefit, return merrily into their Country with this good news, to the great rejoycing and triumph (no doubt) of their Neighbours.

*c B. bel. Facet.  
1.3. p. 184.  
d Id. 1.1. p. 56.  
e Mart. Zeiller.  
Hispan. Itiner.  
pag. 199.*

However these people, with those of *Munding* in *Schwaben*, who knew not the difference between a *(c)* Crab, Pigeon and Stag, and contended in voice with a *(d)* Cuckow; and those Inhabitants of *(e)* *El Campo* in *Estramadura*, who knew not three Miles beyond their own homes: and our *Virtuosi* of *Gotham* may be, for ought that I know, as honest, though they are not the wisest of their four respective Nations.

But though the Pope may think himself above all Power in this World, and so not liable to any censure whatsoever; yet against this, I remember a droling story. A Fryar *Minorite* having proved that the Pope might be Excommunicated, by this, as he thought, invincible Dilemma: — *Either the Pope is a Brother, or not; if he be a Brother, he may be Excommunicated by a Brother; if he be not a Brother, why doth he say Our Father?* The Pope not knowing how to answer this, a merry Courtier undertook the solution, and so to ease him of his troubled minde, by this advice: — *Let your Holiness never say the Lords Prayer, and the Argument is void, and of no force against you.* And so I leave his Holiness in deep consultation with his Cardinals in the Consistory, what to do in this case; not troubling my self a Rush what advice he shall follow

THE



THE  
TREASONABLE  
AND  
Rebellious Principles  
Of the  
ROMANISTS.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

*Their fancying that the Pope hath Power and true Authority to depose Emperours and Kings, and dispose of their Dominions.*

**H**AVING hitherto taken a short view of the Glories (as they fancie) of the *Romish* Church; let us now see some of their Destructive and Treasonable Principles, whereby we shall perceive that Heathens in some things have better Tenets, than those who call themselves the truest Christians.

For though *Attabalipa* King of *Peru* told that *Cacasnoco Dominican Vincent Valverde*, That the Pope, who would thus dispose of Kingdoms, was not only Impudent, but a great Fool, to give that which was none of his own: Yet they may suppose, that the *Inca* spake this not like a *Romanist*, but an Heathen as he was; for their Writers anon will tell us another Doctrine: and yet all parties smile at the Fool in *Athens*, for thinking all other menships to be his own.

Whether the Pope hath any real Reason for the exercising of this his suppos'd Prerogative, is nothing to the Purpose; as *Thomas*

*Pontificem insigniter fatuum & Impudentem esse, eo facile prodi, quod aliena tam liberaliter largiatur. Hier. Benzo. Hist. Novæ Orbis, lib. 3. c. 3.*

H

*Bozins*

\* Sitq; aliquis  
Rex jure, so-  
lers, industrius  
Potens, Catho-  
licus, pius; ta-  
men Pontifex,  
Episcopi;  
Pontifice ap-  
probante, jure  
naturali Divi-  
no in Divinis

Scriptis expresso ac tradito per Christum & Apostolos — valent, huic auferre Imperia, Regna, alteriq; nul-  
lum jus aliq; habenti adjudicare, ubi judicave. int id esse non modo necessarium sed expediens. *Tho. Bozius*, de jure  
status, lib. 3 cap. 4.

De Italia sta-  
tu, p. 300. &  
311.

Dante aut auferente Imperia Regnaq; opu-  
lentissima & omnium Maxima, Orbem ter-  
rarum distribuens, ac partibus, inter maxi-  
mos omnium Principes veluti inter filios.  
Ib. pag 301.

Id. pag. 305.

Id. pag 430.

\* Est vero naturaliter, moraliter & Divino  
jure cum recta fide tenendum, Principatum  
Romani Ponr. esse verum & unicum immedi-  
atum Principatum totius Orbis, nedum quoad  
Spiritualia sed quoad Temporalia, & Princi-  
patum Imperialem esse ab ipso dependentem,  
& mediatum, ministerialem, & instrumentalem  
eidem subministrantem, & deservientem, foreq;  
ab eo ordinatum & institutum, & ad jussu  
Principatus Papalis mobilem, revocabilem, cor-  
rigibilem & punibilem.

Prod. de San-  
doval. Anno  
1520.

Papa enim Cæsares deponit, jura  
Imperia transfert, & Reges Regnis  
privat. &c. *Lal. zecch. Tract. Theo-  
log. p. 82, 83.*

\* De potest.  
Rom. Pont. l.  
2. c. 3. Sect 18.  
Adversus im-  
pios Politicos  
& hujus tem-  
poris Hereticos  
b De Testa-  
ment. cap. 6.  
Sect. 19.

c De planctu  
Ecclesiz, l. 1.  
cap. 13, 37, 56.

*Bozius* affirm'd to Pope *Clement* the Eighth, and all people else :  
\* For although, said he, that the King be lawful, and not onely  
so, but understanding, careful, powerful, one of the Popes Religion, and  
godly too; yet can the Pope take his Empire or Kingdoms from him,  
and give it to another, although there be no necessity for so doing, it  
being enough if he think it onely convenient. Nor is this all; for he  
attributes the same Authority to the Bishops, which is of sufficient  
validity, if the Pope do but approve of their actions.

This *Engubian* in other places of his Writings, harps much upon  
the Popes power in deposing of Kings, and dividing the World a-  
mongst them, as if they were his Sons, and he the  
Father of all. And then would seem to thrust  
into the World an Opinion of bad conse-  
quence, of none being held for Kings, but those  
who were anoynted and Crown'd: but the  
Priests *Watson* and *Clark* 1603 found that this Plea would neither  
quit them from Treason, nor save their lives.

Amongst other things, to Buoy or bolster up this his Opinion of  
the Popes Spiritual and Temporal Power, he (a) brings the Authority  
of one *Roderigo Zanchez*, Bishop of *Zamora*; and the truth of it is,  
that where wording is all, this *Spaniard* may carry the Bell away,  
boldly affirming, \* That by Natural, Moral,  
and divine Law, we must believe that the Pope  
hath the immediate and onely Rule of the  
whole World, in Temporals as well as in Spirit-  
uals; all imperial Authority depending so  
much upon him, that it is alterable, punishable,  
or null'd as he shall command. The small  
esteem which this Bishop thus declared to  
the World by his Pen, he had of Temporal  
Greatness. Another of the same Sea, viz.

*Antonio de Acuna*, by his Sword declar'd his approbation to it,  
though upon different accounts; by his turbulent spirit, adding  
fresh Fuel to the Treasonous humours then raging in *Spain*: this  
old *Don* still charging in the head of above four hundred Priests,  
which he had under his Command well armed, his Word being, *Here  
my Priests*. But at last by a strangling, he paid for his Rebellion's a-  
gainst his Sovereign *Charles* the Fifth, Emperour of *Germany*.

*Lalzus Zecchus* a great man with them, both for Law and Dignity,  
is earnest for this jurisdiction of the Popes, affirming  
that he can depose both Emperours and Kings, being  
absolute Lord of the Christian World. And another  
*Italian Lawyer*, viz. (a) *Alexander Clericus* is much

of the same opinion, and declares that he writ this Book against the  
wicked Politicians and Hereticks of his time; amongst the rest, whe-  
ther he intended Cardinal *Bellarmino*, let others judge, since he  
hath several whole Chapters against him. But a greater Lawyer  
than the former, and one of more Learning and Modesty, viz.  
(b) *Didacus Covarruvias*, is willing to let himself be perswaded by  
the Canon-Law to imbrace this King-deposing Opinion. And his  
Country-man, though of an ancient Cut, (c) *Alvarus Pelagius*, our  
of the same Box swallows down the like Poyson. *Gaspar*

*Gaspar Scioppius* that unruly *German*, though of the same wicked judgement, yet he will pretend to give you some pretty Reasons for it; as, that because the Pope is the Head, as he saith, and the Emperour and Kings but Arms or Hands to the same monstrous Body; therefore if these do not their duty in being careful to preserve the Body, the Head as Lord and Master may cut them off. A pretty simile, to make the supposed wise Head cause of its own ruine. But if this do not please you, he will give you another as good, from the great benefit, forsooth, that some Countries have received by this Temporal Power of the Popes: As, by this *France* had their Antient Family of the *Meroveens* thrust out from being Kings, and the *Carlovingiens* popt into the Throne. That *Germany* by this hath got the Western Empire; but not a word of the Emperours wanting *Italy*. And as for *Spain*, it's obliged to hug and defend this unlimited Prerogative of *St. Peter*, since it gain'd the Kingdom of *Navarre* by (a) *no other Right nor Title*, but onely because it so pleas'd the Pope. In the mean time, was not *Don John* of *Albret*, and his Wife *Catharina*, King and Queen of *Navarre*, and their poor Subjects also, much beholden to Pope *Julius* the Second, for his thus ruining of them by the hands of their Enemies? By this Argument, *Schoppius* might maintain the knack of *Plagieri*, he gaining at first the name of some Learning by his lye transcribing of his Masters Notes; but never the more honesty or right stuck by him; nor had he mended his manners, had he lived to the age of his great Grand-father or great Grand-Mother, the first living one hundred and ten, and the other one hundred and five years: what spirit he was of, may in part be seen by his violent perswading to the ruining of all Protestants in his *Classicum Belli Sacri*, and his ranting and calling of it (b) *Dathanismus* and *Abironismus* in King *James*, because he would not believe that the Pope had power to depose Kings.

But enough of *Schoppius*; let us now see the Judgement of one greater than he, *Martinus Becanus*, a man of great Parts and Learning, yet is pleas'd to compare Kings and Princes to Dogs, That by their bitings and force do defend the Church from the Assaults and Incursions of Hereticks. And these he saith, upon some occasions, may not onely be (c) *Excommunicated*, of which he endeavoureth to give some Instances, but also (d) *deposed by the Pope*. And therefore a little after, he affirms that none can with a safe Conscience take our *English Oath of Allegiance*, because amongst other things it declares that the Pope upon any account cannot depose a King; which Assertion he saith all Catholicks hold to be (e) *false*, and against the *Lateran Council*.

Itaq; si Reges non nutrant neq; vestiant Corpus--- certe manus aut brachia munere non funguntur ----- itaq; velut membrum----- inutile capitis Imperio amputantur. Gasp. Sciop. ecclesiasticus, c. 141. p. 511, 512. a Hispania, Navarre Regnum nullo alio titulo, nisi quia capiti Ecclesie Pontifici sui visum fuerit, obtinuit. Ib.

Per Canes --- partim Reges & Imperatores qui morfu & externa vi defendunt Ecclesiam ab Incurfione Hæreticorum & Infidelium, Mart. Becan. Controvers. Angl. p. 131, 132. c. Bec de Republ. Ecclesiast. l. 3. c. 4. Sect. 48, 49. d Reges & Principes quando negligentes sunt in arcendis vel expellendis Hæreticis excommunicandos, & a Pontifice deponendos. Controvers. Angl. Ib. Id. Tom. 3. Part. 2. Theologiæ Scholasticæ, cap. 15. q. 5. pag. 421. & Id. Resolutione Tort. Torti. p. 13.

e Catholici judicant hanc propositionem aperte falsam esse, Id. pag. 139.

*Gabriel Vasquez*, one of the most famous School-men of *Spain*, is also of f opinion, that it is in the Popes power to (f) *punish Princes*; and that the crime of Heresie against him is of such force, that none of such Conditions are capable of Rule, so that the Kingdom must chuse some body else. But if it so chance that the whole Kingdom be not of the *Romish* perswasion, then the \* *Pope can assign them one*, whom the people must not deny; for if they do, his Holiness, forsooth, may bring him in by force of Arms.

Com. in 1. 2. Thom. Tom. 2. Dist. 152. Sect. 8. Si omnes de stirpe Regia Hæretici sint, una devolvitur ad Regnum nova Regis electio: nam justè à Pontifice omnes illi successores Regno privati possunt. Id. disp. 169. Sect. 42, 43.

\* Quod si Regnum infectum esset, Pontifex --- assignare posset Catholicum Regem --- & ipsum vi armorum, si opus esset, introducere, Ib.

H 2

Nor

--Reges--Re-  
gnis suis abdi-  
care, & omni  
potestate dig-  
nitatēq; priva-  
re potest. Com.  
in *Esther*, p. 82.

a Papa dat Im-  
perium & Reg-  
na--- iis de  
causis rite de-  
ponuntur ab  
eo. *Jul. Ferret-*  
*ius de re & di-*  
*sciplina Mili-*  
*tari*, p. 156.  
Sect. 113.  
b Id. pag. 354.  
Sect. 16.

Nor can we expect any better Doctrine from *Franciscus Fen-ardentius*, his very name somewhat shewing the fury of his Zeal: this *Franciscan* is resolved for the Popes pulling down of Kings; and yet he could wish that in these things his Holiness would consult with the holy Consistory of *Cardinals*. *Julius Ferrettus*, though not so hot-headed as the former, and one that could indure cold as well as any *Italian*; yet though he seldom used a Fire, his Doctrine was Zealous enough in behalf of the Pope, affirming that he could (a) give Empire and Kingdoms, nay, and depose the Possessors, because he is judge of all, and instead of a God on Earth. And in another (b) place he concludes with the same Doctrine against the Emperour: And yet this Doctrine he intended for *Charles* the Fifth, and assured it to his Son *Philip* the Second. And for all this bad Doctrine, this Lawyer was in great Repute, as appears both by his great Preferments and Employments: and the latter end of his Epitath may serve for a hint.

*Jura Poli atq; fori belli terræq; marisq;  
Descripsit, tandem conditur hoc Tumulo.*

c Conspicuum  
sit omnibus a  
summo Ponti-  
fice deponi  
privariq; Im-  
peratores, & e  
contra eligi.  
*Mancin. de*  
*jurib. Princip.*  
*l. 3. c. 3. p. 76.*  
d Reges nostri  
in multis casu-  
bus possunt de-  
poni, five per  
Papam, five ip-  
sis Regnicolis.  
*Tostat. Com. in*  
*III Reg. c. 11.*  
*q. 35.*  
e De potestate  
coactiva, cap.  
12. Sect. 17.  
f De adorat.  
pedum Pont.  
cap. 7.  
g In 2. 2 Tho.  
q. 12. art. 2.  
col. 478.  
h Tom. 3. disp.  
1. q. 12. punct.  
2. col. 439.  
443.

i Rom. Pont.  
— & punire  
quosvis Prin-  
cipes potest,  
& si rei neces-  
sitas exigat  
Regno privare.  
Tom. 1. pag.  
710. Contr. 3.  
q. 5. Art. 2.  
— Nampe per  
populum ip-  
sum, cujus est  
eligere suum  
Principem, aut Ordines Regni, vel Senatum Civitatis — At vero si istud non succedat — potest per se immediate  
procedere, dando illud Regnum alteri Orthodoxo Principi, vel primo Victori Orthodoxo illud assignando. Ib. Sect.  
4. p. 711.

And *Celsus Mancinus*, Friend, Towns-man born, viz. *Ravenna*, and of the same Profession with the former, is just of the same Opinion. (c) Nor need this be any such wonder to us, when a greater than either of them, doth not onely affirm that this (d) King-deposing Authority is not onely in the Pope, but in the very people too: and of this Opinion is no less man, than the voluminous *Tostatus*; so that the word *Treason* will become null'd. Although his Country-man (e) *Josephus Stephanus* doth not speak any thing of this Power in the people, yet he is as forward as any to give it to the Pope; especially if the Kings be not of his *Romish* Religion: and in another of his (f) Books, gives you a Catalogue of some Emperours and Kings unthroned by the Pope. For those Opinions, and other his Writings in honour of the Porphyry-Chair, he was made Bishop of *Oribuela* in *Valentia*; and his learning might deserve some preferment, being well studyed in Church-Antiquities. Another *Spaniard*, viz. (g) *Dominicus Bannez* allows the same power to the Pope of King-deposing; but had this *Guipuscoian* in his old age studyed Loyalty more than *Hebrew*, he might have alter'd his judgement, and it might have been more for his credit. And with this noted son of *Mondragon*, doth another *Spaniard* (h) *Gregorius de Valentia* agree. And though their Orders be Enemies, yet like *Herod* and *Pilate* they can shake hands to propagate Rebellion.

But we have a Country-man of our own, as famous as either of the other two, both for his Learning, and his stedfastness in this wicked Opinion; and this is *Thomas Stapleton*, who boldly declares, that for *Hereſie* the (i) Pope may not onely punish, but also deprive Kings of their Countries. And to have this done, he thinks this the best way; he would have the Pope to work about by the people, or the Parliaments; but if these will not fadge, either because they cannot or will not, then his Holiness may do it himself, by giving that Kingdom to another Prince, or let them have it that can get it. It may be it was for these pretty Doctrines that *Clement* the Eighth was so taken with this mans Writings, that he would have his Books read to him whilst he was at *Viſuals*; and besides other large liberalities, had once a minde to make him *Cardinal*.

We



We have formerly seen the Opinion of *Thomas*, and now let us see what his Brother *Franciscus Bozzius* saith, and we shall presently perceive them to be Birds of a Feather; this fobbing up the same Pope *Clement* the Eighth with the same Language that the other had, telling him, that though (a) *he should not take away lawful Rule, yet upon just grounds he might depose Emperours*: and this he saith hath been several times done by Popes, as in another (b) place he endeavours to shew by several Examples.

a Justis de causis posse deponi Imperatores, transferri Imperia. Fr. Boz. de Tempo-

ral. Eccles. Monarch. lib. 3. cap. 16. pag. 553.

Possunt ab Ecclesia legestemporales condi, novi creati Reges, justis de causis auferre Regna, quod sæpe actum esse constat à summis Pontificibus. Id. lib. 5. cap. ult. pag. 823.

b Id. lib. 2. cap. 21. pag. 225. & c.

And to this purpose was *Gregory* the Fourteenth claw'd by his Protonotary, *Anastafius Germanus*, by affirming what great power he had over the world; he could (c) *throw down Emperours and Kings, and put others in their places*: and if any man doubt of this Authority in the Pope, he plainly calls him a *Madman*; and that he *can alter the place of Election, allow or throw by him that is elected, quit Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance*, and several suchlike tricks as these can he do.

c Imperatores enim Reges aliosq; magnos Principes Principatu Regno atq; imperio privat, necnon a-

lios cum libet in eorum locum sufficit, subrogat — nemo — sanz mentis dubitare debet, quin facere valeat, faciatq; cum opus sit. *Anastaf. German.* de Sacrorum immunitat. lib. 3. cap. 3. Sect. 38, 39.

Hu jus est Imperium ex uno in alium locum transferre electionem, aut admittere, aut rejicere electum ac confirmatum ex justis de causis deponere, subditos à fidelitatis juramento absolvere, & alia id genus facere. Id. lib. 3. proem. Sect. 9, 10.

And as for (d) *Petrus Albinianus Tretius*, do but compare the Contents with the Text of the next Section, and you will see him fairly grant the Pope to have power (e) without the consent of his Cardinals to depose the Emperor. And another *Italian Lawyer* (f) *Ludovicus Bologninus*, from the *Canon-Law*, tells the world that he may do it clearly of himself. And I think that (g) *Johannes Andreas* doth not much vary from him, when from the same Authority, he saith, That he *can take away any mans Right and give it to another*. But *Julius Caesar Madus* doth not mutter in his Teeth, but speaks boldly out, that upon some Reasons, the Pope hath Authority (h) *to turn the best of them out of their Kingdoms and Sovereignty*. And the same doth another *Italian*, *Antonius Sanctarellus*, one that hath made some noise in the World, not onely by his confident Assertion of the Popes Power in (i) *deposing Kings, and quitting their Subjects from their Obedience*; but by the story which hapned at *Paris*, upon its being censured there: For the Court of Parliament perceiving the Book to be printed at *Rome*, by permission of the Superiors, and approbation of *Vitelescus* General of the *Jesuits*; the Fathers of that Order in *Paris* were sent for by the Court, and demanded, *Whether they believed as their General did, concerning this Book*? They answered, That their General living in *Rome*, could not but approve that which was agreeable to the Court of *Rome*. But being demanded then, what they believed? Answered, That they believed the clean contrary. Being again askt, *And what would you do, if you were at Rome*? Answered, *As they do at Rome*. Which made some of the Court say, *Have these men one Conscience at Rome, and another at Paris*? God keep us from such Confessors.

d De Pontif. potestate, Sect. 19.

e Papa potest deponere Imperatorem sine consensu Cardinalium. Id. Sect. 20.

f Solus Papa etiam sine Concilio potest deponere Imperatorem. *Lud. Bolo.* addit. ad *Cataldinum de Boncompagnis* de translatione Concilii *Basil.* Sect. 5.

g Quæst. Mercuriales, Q. 25. Sect. 3.

h Eos à Regnis & Principatibus eorum deponere posse.

*Mad.* de Sacris Ordinibus, cap. 9. Sect. 17.

i Potest non solum eos excommunicare, sed etiam Reg-

no privare, eorumq; subditos ab illorum obedientia liberare. *Sanctarell.* de Hæresi. c. 30. p. 293.

*Johan. Baptista Vivianus*, agreeth very well with the former, and their *Canon-Law* and Court of *Rome*, by maintaining their Article, that the



a Papa Imperatorem depone-  
re potest  
ex causis legiti-  
mis. Jo. B.  
Vivian. Ratio-  
nale, l. 2. p. 283.  
b Lucubrat. in  
Baribol. Tom. 1.  
fol. 83, 84.  
c De potestate  
Papæ, part. 1.  
Sect. 67.

\* Merito qui-  
dem Hæretici  
— Regno pri-  
vantur—Hurt.  
de Mendez.  
Scholasticæ,  
disp. 21. Sect.  
304.  
d Decisiones,  
quæst. 89.  
e De jure pub-  
lico, lib. 3. Tit.  
13. Sect. 2.

f Constituit namq; dominus vicarium suum super gentes  
& Regna, potestatemq; ei dedit amplissimam, ut evellat  
& distruat, & desperdat, & ædificet, & plantet B. Nard.  
Expunctiones, cap. 4. pag. 172, 173.

g Clarum est  
hodie quod ex  
justa causa Pa-  
pa potest Im-  
peratorem de-  
ponere & pri-  
vare. Jo. à Ca-  
piß. de Papæ  
sive Ecclesiæ  
autorit. fol.  
61. 4.

the (a) Pope for some Reasons may depose the Emperour; his Imperial Majesty and all others being subject to him, and to be punish'd by him according to their faults. And to him we may joyn a great Cardinal, *Johannes Hieronymus* of *Alba*, who tell us, (b) that the Pope being Judge of all things, nothing in the world can quit themselves from his jurisdiction: and that *Dante*, that famous *Italian* Poet, was in a manner condemn'd as an Heretick, because he did not think that the Empire held its being from the Church; and in another of his (c) Books, gives us the names of some Kings depos'd by the Pope.

*Petrus Hurtadus de Mendoza*, might by the rudeness and incivility of his Country *Biscay*, suck in with his Milk some Principles of Rebellion; that Country having an Antipathy against Bishops and good Government: But these might somewhat be corrected by his severer Studies, were it not a Principle amongst them, that \* *Heretical Kings against their Church are deservedly deposed, and others put in their places*. Yet methinks 'twas somewhat of boldness of him, to present this Doctrine to his Sovereign, the Present King of *Spain*, *Philip* the Fourth: yet this wonder will scarce last nine days, when we see (d) *Guido* and (e) *Leander Galganettus*, those famous Lawyers, affirm the same by their own Canons; and the latter to dedicate this falsity to no less than to *God* himself, and the *Virgin Mary*. And *Bartholomæus Nardius* saith, We have no reason to look upon this Authority as

a strange thing, since (f) *God set the Pope over the whole World, not onely to establish and plaint, but also to abolish and destroy*.

And no less man than *Johannes de Capi-*

*frano* tell us, that of this power we need not doubt, it being now as (g) *clear as the Noon-day*, that the Pope may sometimes depose the Emperour: And at this positive Doctrine, none must so much as smile, or seem offend- ed; for of this Book, thus sings his Country-man *Antonius Amicius*:

*Quis te Docte liber vel subsannare cachinno*

*Audeat aut se vorodere dente queat?*

*Cum graviter referes decus & sublimia sceptræ*

*Pontificis summi Conciliiq; simul.*

And a great deal of ado, and some money hath been spent by the *Franciscans* and others, to get this man Sainted; but how it thrives, I know not.

b Quæst. Cri-  
minales, p. 173.  
Sect. 9.

i De Benefici-

is, lib. 1. cap. 4.

k Bibliotheca

selecta, lib. 1.

cap. 1. pag. 17.

l In 2. 2. Tho.

q. 66. Art. 1.

p. 461. Sect. ad

Tertium.

m Loca ple-

raq; ex B. Pauli

Epist. ad Galat.

locus 67. pag.

316, 317, 327,

378.

As (b) *Didacus Cantera*, from the *Canon-Law*; so (i) *Franciscus Duarenus*, by few Examples and as little Reason, assert the Popes Authority in deposing Kings. And I think (k) *Antonius Possëvinus* will not be displeased with the Prerogative, since he tells us that the Scepters of Kings humble themselves to the Popes feet; and that Christian Kings are not so positively of Gods appointment, but they must have his Holiness to confirm their Crowns. And (l) *Franciscus Sylvius*, Doctor and Professor at *Doway*, though he will not allow the Pope to depose Kings upon every toy, yet he denyeth not, but that there may be Reason sometimes for thus pulling down of Kings. And if we consult (m) *Gregorius Polydorius*, we shall finde him rather to outstrip than come short of the former: And this he thought would not be displeasing to *Urban* the Eighth. And to this *Italian* we may add *Antonius Cordubensis*, who in this cause speaks out free-

n Potest non solum omnia quæ possunt Principes sæ-  
culares, sed etiam facere novos Principes, & alios tollere &  
Imperia dividere & unire, &c. Ant. Cord. Quæst. Theolog  
lib. 1. q. 57. p. 495.

ly, that the (n) Pope cannot onely do every thing that secular Princes can, but also make New Princes, and pull down the Old. And to this

this *Spaniard* may be joyned (a) *Franciscus Ghetius* of *Corno*, being of the same Opinion, moved thereto by pretty Reasons, viz. Example, as if Emperours had not formerly done the same to Popes; and because, as the soul rules the body, so may the Spiritual Popes triumph over Temporal Monarchs.

If these Arguments of this *Milanois* do not sufficiently convince you, *Kutilius Benzonius* a trusty *Roman*, will think to do it with his thrid-bare Allusion of Heretical Kings to *Wolves*; and so they may be (b) *turned from their Kingdoms, not onely by the Pope*, but also by the people, forsooth: yet he would have them to take advice of his Holiness, before they began their Rebellion; and then I warrant you, they are as surely free from that Crime we call Treason, as the Chappel of *Loretto*, of which this Author was Bishop, was properly carried by Angels through the Air. And in the Popes great Power in Temporals, in another of his (c) Books he gives us some hint.

a Theolog. Moral. Tom. 2. v. Papa, Sect. 10.

b Jus depoenendi, & abdicandi est solio Reges ac Principes, non solum Ecclesie, sed interdum populis competere ratione, & exemplis ostenditur —

Potest [i.e. the Pope] — ipso Principes ac Reges, si ex ore aut ariete evadant lupi, i.e. ex Christiani fiant Hæretici — private dominio, &c. *Rur. Benzon. Com. in Canticum Magnificat. lib. 3. cap. 27. dub. 6. p. 134.*

c Disput. de Immunitate Eccles. contra Venetos, pag. 68.

And yet if after all these thwacking Arguments, you do not finde your self convinced, and will not believe the truth and honesty of this King-deposing Article, you may assure your self to be no less than an Heretick; for *Johannes de Solarzano* tells us plainly, that not to believe that the Pope can depose Kings, is, and that deservedly too, declared and damn'd for an Heresie. This may be good Doctrine to preach amongst the *Indians*: the *Spaniard* pleading most of his Right from the Popes Gift. And so whether the Author by his Office relating to those places, might be encouraged to propagate such Principles, let others conclude; yet probably he might have spared his dedicating of them to the present King of *Spain*, who, two to one, if the State came in Question, would scarce consent to the Canon, let the Heresie lye where it would.

— Hæc opinio — merito ut Hæretica jam pridem damnata est. Jo. de Solarz. de Indiarum jure, lib. 2. cap. 22. Sect. 4.

From the same Root doth his Country-man (d) *Petrus de Aragon* draw his Authority, that Princes may sometimes lawfully loose their Rule over their Subjects: and so doth the great *Portugal* Lawyer, (e) *Augustinus Barboza*, that the Pope can depose the Emperour. (f) *Marius Alterius* runs upon the same account; and so doth Bishop *Johan. Maria Bellettus*, but that he thrusts up the Authority a little higher than the former, affirming that this deposing of the King, may not (g) onely be for his Heresie, or Schism, but for any other intolerable Crime, or, if he be not sufficient, and not fit to Rule. To which there needs no Reply, but what if the Lyon do judge the Fox's Ears to be Horns?

d In 2.2. Tho. pag. 224.

e Pastoral Sollicitud. part. 1. p. 250. Sect. 90. 91.

f Disputat. 1.3. c. 5. p. 371.

g Et non solum propter Hæresim, aut Schisma, sed etiam propter aliud crimen intolerabile,

ac etiam propter insufficientiam. Jo. Mar. Bellet. Disquisitio Clericalis, part. 1. pag. 282. Sect. 109, 100.

With all this doth agree *Raymundus de Pennafuerte*, telling us, that if he be (h) negligent to extirpate Heresie, to do Justice in his Government, unprofitable or loose, the Pope may then take his Kingdom from him. Whether this Doctrine was any motive, not long ago, to *Clement* the Eighth, for Canonizing this man for a Saint; or those vast sums of money gather'd in *Catalonia* (where this *Raymond* was born) for the same purpose, was best known to the Court of

Rome

h Non solum propter Hæresim, sed etiam propter negligentiam contra Hæresim extirpandam, potest non solum excommunicari ab Ecclesia, sed etiam deponi, — fuerit inutilis, dissolutus & negligens circa Regimen & justitiam observandam. S. Raym. Summa, lib. 1. Tit. de Hæreticis, Sect. 7. pag. 41.

Rome, and is not two pence matter to our design. But yet for all his Saintship, his great admirer and Glossographer, *Johannes de Friburgo*, will not agree with him about the Popes direct Authority, though he allows him an indirect one to depose Kings: and it is not a farthing matter whether he kill a man with his right or left-hand.

With the former Saint, doth another, but of a far older date, viz. *St. Bonaventure*, in the main agree, affirming with the rest, that (a) *Priests and Popes for some Reason or other, may put down Kings, and depose Emperours*. But though our Learned Countryman, *Alexander of Hales*, used to say by this famous and pious Cardinal his Scholar, That it seemed to him, that Adam had not sinned in Bonaventure; yet for all his Title of *Invincible*, he shall not persuade me, but that our *Seraphical Doctor* was wide from Truth, in this his King-deposing Assertion.

Much about the same time with the former, lived another famous Cardinal *Henricus de Segusio*, but now better known by the name of *Hosienfis*, who is as resolute as any for the (b) *deposing of Kings by this Power, if they be either negligent in the administration of their Government, or do not extirpate all Hereticks out of their Dominions*, then comes a clap of Excommunication, and the Land lyeth gaping for him that can first take it. To this Cardinal, we shall add another of as great esteem as any, and one that had formerly been Master *del sacro Palazzo*; and this is *Johannes de Turrecremata*, who affirms that the Pope cannot onely use his Ecclesiastical Censures against Kings, but also (c) *depose them*. And with this Spaniard, doth a Sicilian, one of their most famous Canonists (d) *Abbas Panormitanus* agree. And (e) *Gabriel Biel* an old German Divine, upon the same foundation raiseth the same destructive Principles.

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d In V lib. Decretal. de Hæreticis, cap. 13.  
e Super Canone Missæ, lect. 23. fol. 41. pag. 1. col. 1.

To these subscribe the Sicilian Lawyer (f) *Antonius Corsetus*,

the Italian (g) *Petrus Andreas de Gambara*, and his Country-man (h) *Bartholomæus Ugolini*, who also some years (\*) after, affirm the same Power to lye in *Paul* the Fifth; nor doth the *Pavian* Lawyer, (i) *Boschus Codecha* differ from the rest. Thus do they madly seem to dote upon this Papal jurisdiction, as the *Mantuan Galeatius* did upon a young Woman of this City, who upon her jeasting command drown'd himself.

Nor is multitude of their Lawyers wanting to confirm this their

Seditious Doctrine: for here might we bring (k) *Johannes Baptista Ferretus*, (l) *Stephanus Aufreerius*, (m) *Garstas Mastrillius*, yet for all this Principle imploy'd by the Catholick King about *Sicily*; (n) *Arnaldus Albertinus*, Inquisitor General of *Valentia*, and Bishop of *Patti* in the former Island; and *Lancelotus Conradus*, amongst other Priviledges and Prerogatives attributed to the Pope, for the Twentieth saith, that he (o) *deposeth both Emperours and Kings*.

*Franciscus*

a Possunt Sacerdotes & Pontifices ex causa amovere Reges, & depouere Imperatores. S. Bonavent. de Ecclesiast. Hierarchia, part 2. cap. 1.

b Domini Temporales non solum propter suam Hæresim, sed etiam aliorum, quosdum possunt, admoniti, exterminare negligunt, Excommunicari possunt, & Terræ ipsorum exponi Catholicis occupandæ — idem si Princeps negligens inveniatur circa Regni Regimen & justiciam faciendam. Hosienf. Summa, lib. 5. Tit. de Hæreticis. Sect. Quæst. 11.

c Verum etiam eos notabiliter negligentes à dignitate depouere. Jo. de Tur. Summa de Eccles. cap. 14. propos. 44.

d In V lib. Decretal. de Hæreticis, cap. 13.

e Super Canone Missæ, lect. 23. fol. 41. pag. 1. col. 1.

f De Potestate Regia, Q. 76.

g Tract. de officio legari de latere, lib. 2 Tit. de variis ordinariis nominib. Sect. 220.

h De censuris Ecclesiasticis, Tab. 2. cap. 23. Sect. 9. num. 8.

i De iustitia & validitate Monitorii Pauli V in Venetos, pag. 16.

j Repet. Rubr. de Constitut. Sect. 76.

k Repet. in C. Canonum Statut. de Constitut. Sect. 32.  
l Repet. in Clem. ut Clericorum de offic. ord. Sect. 40, 43.

m De Magistratibus, lib. 1. cap. 2. Sect. 5, 7, 8.

n Repet. in Rubr. de Hæret. Quæst. 9. Sect. 5. Rep. in C. quoniam de Hæret. Quæst. 15. Sect. 34, 36.

o XX. Deponit Imperatorem propter ipsius iniquitates, & etiam Reges, Lanc. Conrad. Templum Omnium judicium, pag. 613.

*Franciscus Vargas* being desired by Pope *Pius* the Fourth, with whom he was very gracious, to inform him of the jurisdiction and authority of himself, and other inferiour Bishops, (then somewhat discours'd of in the Council of *Trent*) tells his Holiness plainly, That it belongs to (a) *him alone to depose Kings and Emperours, and put others in their places*; and then for more confirmation of it, names some so used. And whether *Fernandus Rebellus*, the famous *Portugal* Jesuit be not of the same opinion, let indifferent parties judge, and they will soon conclude, that his Name did not much differ from his Principles; telling us, That the *Portugal* had one title of right to the *Indies*, by the gift of *Alexander* the Sixth, and the (b) Bishops of *Rome* have a great power in giving and taking away from Princes. And this he dedicates to *Clandius Aquaviva*, then General of the Jesuits; nor could he scarce hit upon a better Patron for such Doctrines, seeing by his *Licence* he had formerly Priviledg'd several such principles of Sedition.

But now we have one that speaks to the purpose, viz. *Ludovicus à Paramo*, a great Lawyer of *Sicily*, and Divine of *Leon*, who maintains in several places of his writings the (c) *Popes power in deposing Kings, and setting up new ones, and proceeding against all heretical or schismatical Princes with the same Authority*; and at last falls into a fury, and rails pertly against those, who think that the (d) Pope hath no jurisdiction this way in *France*, nor can depose Hæretical Kings. This is good stuff, but of a far older date than this *Spanish* print: for above three hundred years ago, *Augustinus Triumphus de Ancona*, being desired by *John XXII*, to vindicate the Papal jurisdiction, amongst other grand Privileges which he attributes to his Holiness, are these two, the (e) *election of Emperours and Kings*, and the (f) *deposing of them again*: and of this latter, he saith, *there is no doubt*.

sa existente, per seipsum possit Imperatorem eligere. *Aug. Tri. de potest.*

f 35. Art. 1. Quest. 37. Art. 5. Quest. 46. Art. 3.

Id. Quest. 4. Art. 1. Potest ergo terrenum Imperatorem deponere.

Id. Art. 2. Merito Imperator est deponendus.

Id. Quest. 46. Art. 2. Papa potest Reges deponere—dubium non est.

This Poysonous Principle is also maintained by the *Venetian* (g) *Petrus à Monte*, Bishop of *Brescia*, and the Methodical *Dominican* (h) *Sylvester de Prierio*; and therefore might well expect a golden Rose from Pope *Leo* the Tenth. And to him we shall joyn a learned *Spaniard* of the same Order, (i) *Dominicus Sotò*, who, though Confessor to *Charles* the Fifth; yet probably never troubled him about this point. And next to this shall follow another of the same Country, and Relation to *Charles* the Fifth; (k) *Alphonsus a Castro*, who affirms it to be without dispute, That if a King turn Heretick, he hath no right to his Kingdom; and so no man ought to think it strange if the Pope depose him.

k — Hoc dominium etiam amittitur per hæresim manifestam, ita quod Rex factus Hæreticus ipso jure & Regia suo privatus—nec mirari debet aliquis, quod Papa propter Hæresis crimen Regem à Regia dignitate deponat, & Regno privet. *Alph. à Castro de justa Hæreticorum punit.* lib. 2. c. 7. col. 1245, 1246.

But

a Hæcitem ea Potestas est quidem summus Pont. & non alius Imperatores & Principes nonnunquam privat, alioquin eorum locum sufficit. *Fr. Varg. de Episcoporum jurisdictione & auctorit. Pontif. Confirm.* 10. Numb. 7, 8.

b Quibus --- jus competit super omnes Principes Christianos concedendi & auferendi, ordinandi retendi ea quæ opus fuerint ad finem supernaturalem salutis gentium tam fidelium quam Infidelium. *Fer. Rebel. de Obligationib. justitiz, Part. 2. l. 18. Q. 23. Numb. 26.*

c — Potest summus Pont. antiquos Reges & Imperatores deponere & novos instituere. *Lud. à Param. de Origini & progress. S. Inquisit. l. 1. Quest. 1. Opin. 4. Numb. 55.*

Id. Numb. 49. Posse mutare Regna, & uni auferre atq; alteri conferre.

Id. Numb. 58. Potest non solum omnia quæ Princeps secularis possunt, sed & facere novos Principes, & tollere alios, & Imperia dividere, &c.

Id. Numb. 94. Si Princeps aliquis aut hæreticus, aut Schismaticus electione fieret, tum etiam possit Papa uti gladio temporali, & adversus eum procedere usq; ad depositionem, & expulsionem illius à Regno.

d Id. Numb. 145.

e Unde puto quod Papa — justa & rationabili causa Eccles. Quest.

g De Imperat. Magist. Orig. Quæro, 4. Numb. 7.

h Summa v. Papa. Numb. 10, 11.

i In quantum sentent. diff. 25. quæst. 2. art. 1. Numb. Tertio. Ad horum tamen secundo ad eandem.

\* Si Princeps  
hæreticus sit,  
& obstinate vel  
pertinaciter  
intolerabilis  
deponi potest.  
Cuner. de Offic.  
Princip. c. 8. p.  
76, 77.  
b Potest non  
solum omnia  
quæ Principes  
seculares pos-  
sunt, sed & fa-  
cere novos  
Principes &  
tollere alios, &  
Imperia divi-  
dere & pleraq;  
alia. Fr. à Vi-  
dor. Relect.

Theolog. Relect. 1. Sect. 6. Numb. 12.

c De successione Regum. dub. 1. Numb. 30.

d In Mo'inzum, pag. 106.

e Repet. in C.  
canon. Statuta  
de Constitut.  
Numb. 9.  
f Cod. de le-  
gibus, l. Si Im-  
periali,  
Numb. 4.  
g Cod. de pre-  
cibus Imperar.  
offeren. l. Re-  
scripta. Numb.  
8.

h Repet. in C.  
Novit. de ju-  
dic. Numb.  
127.

i Speculum,  
lib. 1. Parric. 1.  
Tit. de legato,  
Numb. Nunc  
offendendum,  
Numb. 17.

k In Cod. lib.  
1. de sum. Tri-  
nit. & fid. Cath.  
Numb. 13.  
l Practica Cri-  
minialis,  
quæst. 35.  
Numb. 6.

m Adde quod  
Imperator à  
Papa potest deponi, & excommunicari propter hæresim, Sacerilegium, Perjurium & exinactionem feudi, quod ab Ec-  
clesia tenet, &c. Jo. Bap. Baiard. Additiones ad Julii Clari Prædicam Criminalem, Quæst. 35. Numb. 6.

n In lib. Sapt-  
ent. Numb.  
200.

But *Ploydon*, when he saw himself concern'd, could say, *The case is altered*; and there is never a Ruler amongst them, but would think it odd to loose a Kingdom by a *Fiat* from *Rome*; yet they go on to propagate this doctrine: and amongst the rest, *Cunerus* Bishop of *Leweerden*, thinks it very fitting, for an [a] *heretical King to be deposed, and another appointed in his place*. And next to him shall follow, one, though no Bishop, yet of such noted learning, that *Vittoria*, the chief Town of *Alava* in *Old Castile*, doth think it no small honour to have brought forth and given a Name to such a famous *Dominican*, as *Franciscus a Vittoria*; yet for all his parts, he dotes too much upon this Papal Authority, affirming that he cannot onely [b] *do what our secular Monarchs can do, but also turn them from their Thrones, and set up new Potentates*. And from the *Canon-Law* doth the Lawyer [c] *Guilielmus de Monserrat* suck in the same Doctrine. And though another of the same Profession, [d] *Remondus Rufus*, seem unwilling either to meddle with the Popes power in this case, or when he took upon him such Authority; yet by his signs and hints one may have some reason to suppose his agreement with the rest.

But some other Lawyers of a far greater account, leave off hinting, and speak more boldly to the purpose, as [e] *Petrus de Ancharano*, the famous *Italian*; [f] *Bartolus de Saxaferrato*, and his no less learned Pupil and Scholar, [g] *Baldus*; the noted *Frenchman*, [h] *Johannes Quintinus*; [i] *Guilielmus Durandus*, commonly known by the name of *Speculator*, Bishop of *Mande*, and Scholar to *Hostiensis*, and [k] *Johannes Faber*; nor doth [l] *Julius Clarus* permit the Pope to part with this jurisdiction. And if you any way doubt of the meaning of the last; *Urbanus Cancellarius a Spoletto*, will refer you to an *Expositor* in this quibbling Distick.

*Clarior ut fiat Clarus, sua Clara Johannes  
Baptista his jungit Lumina luminibus.*

That *Clarus* might be more clear, *Don John Baptista*  
Add his clear lights, to take away the mist-a.

And in obedience to his Poetry, let us consult the Annotations of *Johannes Baptista Baiardus*, and the case will be as plain then as a Pike-staff; there he telling us, that the [m] *Pope may depose the Emperour for several Reasons*, amongst which he puts *Perjury* and *Sacrilege*, two notable pretences for the Pope, ever to take hold on, at a dead lift.

Our Country-man [n] *Robert Holcote* saith, it belongs to the Bishop of *Rome* to make the *Emperour*, and to see that fit Kings be chosen: but *Alphonsus Alvarez Guerrero* concerns himself most with the Popes power in pulling down Monarchs, and therefore he tells

tells us that (a) *Julius* the Second did declare *John Albret* King of Navarre, to be a *Schismatick*, *Hæretick*, an enemy to the Church; nay, and a *Traytor* too: and so to give his Kingdom away from him to the *Spanish* King; for he forthwith hath power to depose Kings. And much about the same Opinion is *Petrus de Palude*, affirming that the Pope can not onely (b) depose a King for *Heresie*, *Schism*, or such like crimes; but also, if he be insufficient, by being either weak in understanding or body.

lum propter Hæresim, aut Schisma, aut aliud crimen intolerabile in populo: Sed etiam propter insufficienciam, utpote si quis Idiotæ sensu vel impotens viribus in Regno præflet— talis certum est qui mireretur deponi. *Petr. a Palud.* de causa immediate Ecclesiasticæ potestatis. Art. 4.

very well and justly to de-

a Nonne igitur iussit *Julius II.* *Johannem* Regem *Navarra* schismaticum, hæreticum, Apostolicæ sedis hostem publicum atq; reum lesæ Majestatis, declaravit? Regnumq; & omnia ejus bona publicavit primo occupanti, atq; nominatim Catholico Regi *Hispaniarum* concessit? — Potestq; ita Papa Principes Apostolice fidei privare dominio temporalit, quod habent super fideles. *Alph. Alvar.* Speculum vel Thesaurus, cap. 16. Numb. 8. & cap. 31. Numb. 17.

b — Potest deponere omnem talem, non solum.

A man might think it strange, that such good and honest-meaning men, as the famous *Spanish* Lawyer, (c) *Martinus Azpilcueta*, but better known by the title of *Doctor Navarrus*, should be for this King-deposing power of the Pope; but that it is a wicked Principle maintained as we see by their chiefest Writers, doting too much upon that irrational body of their *Canon-Law*: And this also makes his Country-man (d) *Michael de Aninyon* subscribe with him to this Doctrine. And *Johannes Driedo*, that *Lozan* Doctor, is so earnest for it, that he seems to be careful, lest he should forget to tell the people, that the (e) Pope out of the greatness of his power, can deprive them of their Kings.

c Relict. in C. Novit. de judicii Notab. 2. Numb. 3. 99.

d Traet. de unitate civilis, c. 23. Numb. 12.

e Verum hoc non est licentio præter-

undum, quod Papa ex plenitudine potestatis super universos Christianos Principes, potest hæreticos Reges ac Principes propter crimen hæresis privare suis Regnis atq; Imperiis. *Jo. Dried.* de libertate Christi. lib. 1. cap. 14.

And this is no new opinion, it seems: for, above five hundred years ago, *Stephanus* or *Harrandus*, the XIV Bishop of *Halberstat* in *Saxony*, declared to *Valtramus* of *Magdeburg*, that he that was an (f) *Hæretick* and *Excommunicated* by the Pope, could have no right to rule over those who were true Christians. And the truth of it is, *Childerick* the Fourth, King of *France*, found by experience, that the Pope above nine hundred years ago took upon him to depose Kings.

f Dominus *Henricus* hæreticus est, pro quibus nequandis malis ab Apostolica sede excom-

municatus, nec Regnum, nec potestatem aliquam super nos, quia Catholici sumus, poterit obtinere. *Dodechinus* Append. ad chronicon *Mar. Scoti*, anno 1090. pag. 460. col. 1.

*Donyſus a Rickel*, or *Leenwis*, but now better known by the name of *Carthusianus*, from his Order; though for his Piety, he procured the name of *Doctor Extaticus*; yet this Doctrine of King-deposing, though it was no part of Holiness, however it may be, that the Pope and others might have a better opinion of him for it, because it is not (g) once onely, but (h) twice, and for ought that I know oftner, that he boldly affirmeth it, let the King have never so much right to the Throne. And to him we may add (i) *Petrus Bertrandus*, who to confirm his opinion, saith, that *Christ* had not done wisely, if he had not left the Pope such power: and had he been of another judgement, probably he had gone against his

g Imperatorem potest deponere, & Reges — Regnis suis privare. *Dion. Carthus.* de Regimine Polic. Art. 19.

h Id. de autoritate Papa & gen. Concil. 1. 1. art. 6.

i De origine jurisdictionis. Quest. 4. 5. 6.

Church

- a* Concil. Church. The great Cardinal [*a*] *Francis Zabarella* affirming, that it  
 154. Numb. is not only a received Opinion, but that the *Canons* also declare such  
 1. power to lye in the Pope. And if a man so modest, impartial, and  
 learned, as this honour of *Padoua*, affirm thus much; we need not ad-  
*b* De Eccle- mire that the *Lozan* Doctor [*b*] *Jacobus Latomus*; the *Italian* Do-  
 sia, c. 14. minican, [*c*] *Umbertus Locatus*; the same Country-Lawyers,  
*c* Judiciale [*d*] *Tiberius Decianus*, [*e*] *Paulus de Castro*, [*f*] *Restaurus Castal-*  
 Inquisitor dus; and our Country-man [*g*] *Johannes Bacon*, or *Bacondrop*, are  
 verbo, *Dom-* carryed along with the same current; and the latter (of whom 'tis  
*mini* *tempo-* said, that he writ so much, that his little Body could not carry his  
*rales*, p. 90. great Writings) might have left this out, though not for its weight,  
*d* Crimina- yet for the trouble of penning it, but that he would be according  
 lis, lib. 4. c. to his name *Doctor Resolutus*; and in all things with the rest, pin his  
 15. Numb. 6, 10. & lib. Faith upon the *Roman Sleeve*.  
 5. c. 52. Numb. 8.  
*e* Super Dig. de legibus, l. non ambigitur, Numb. 6.  
*f* De Imperatore, Quest. 53. Numb. 3. & 3.  
*g* Super sententias, lib. 4. in Prologo. Quest. 11. Art. 4.

And from these, we shall not have the *German Leopoldus de Beben-*  
*burg*, above three hundred years ago Bishop of *Bamberg* in *Franco-*  
*nia*, dissent, plainly telling the world, That a [*b*] *King not onely for*  
*heresie, but other crimes also may be deposed*; and shews himself very  
*valiant for the Pope*. And whether it was his zeal for that Chair,  
 that procured him after (as I think) to be translated to the Arch-bi-  
 shoprick of *Mentz*; let others judge: Nor do I know whether this King-  
 depoling Opinion was the result meerly of his judgement, or his de-  
 pendance as Prelate of *Bamberg* upon the Pope; that *See* having  
 been formerly snatcht from the Metropolitanship of *Mentz*, by *Cle-*  
*ment* the Second, once Bishop of *Bamberg*, and annext to the disposi-  
 tion of the Pope.  
*h* Posset ta- men propter crimen hære- sis vel aliud gravius cri- men notari- um de quo incorrigibilis appareret à Regno depo- ni, *Lud. de Bebenb. de Juribus Reg- ni & Imperii*, cap. 12. pag. 65.

- i* Comment. in Directori- um Inquisi- tor. *Nicol. Eimerici*, part. 3. com. 158. p. 661. And let it displease who it will, so it be but according to the Canon, it will be maintain'd, and held authentick, by the *observant* Fryar  
*k* Rosella *Minorite* [*k*] *Baptista Trovomala* in his *Rosella*; the noted Lawyers,  
 Casuaria, vel summa Ro- [*l*] *Johannes de Selva*, [*m*] *Augustinus Beroius*; and the Learned  
 sella, v. *Ha-* *Neopolitan*, [*n*] *Jacobus Antonius Marta*, though both by himself  
 reticus, and others, vulgarly call'd *Doctor Marta*, who in this place is some-  
 Numb. 11. what large in proving it: yet probably his reputation of the Pope  
*l* De Bene- was somewhat slackned before his death; if he and the *Novus Horno*  
 ficio, part 4. (sent to the Emperour, our King *James*, and some others, by way  
 Quest. 8. of supplication against *Paulus V.*) were one and the same person, as  
 Numb. 25. of hath been supposed.  
*m* Concil. 147. Numb. 22.  
*n* De jurisdictione, part. 1. cap. 23. Numb. 1.  
 Potentiam habet privandi Reges & Principes ex causa Temporalis, alioq; —instituenti. *Marta*.

*o* Flosculus de Clericorum excel- [*o*] *Dionysius Paulus Lopez* with the Ca-  
 lentis, Part. 2. Numb. 77. non-law affirms this power in the Pope;  
 and as if perswaded by the same authority and practice,  
 Castillo



(a) *Castilio de Bovadillo* steers the same course, though with as much truth and right, as when at the same time he joyns to our Queen *Elizabeth* the name of *Stuart*. *Abad* y otros dicen, que en los graves y arduos negocios, y en las muy grandes dificultades, que causan Ycandalo en la Christiandad, podria el *Papa* usar contra legos de la potestad temporal, que tiene de Dios, y no de otra manera, y mudar el solo Imperio, y los Regnos con justa causa de Oriente à Occidente, y de una u otra Gente --- y el *Papa Zacharius* privo à *Chulderino* del Regno de *Francia*.  
 And to him we shall put a *Catalonian Lawyer*, (b) *Gabriel Berart*, one, I warrant you of no small esteem; *Ludovicus de Cassanate*, looking upon him as the honour of his Country; *Franciscus de los Herreros* tells us, that if we have a mind to know in a manner all things, we must get his Books, in which he assures us, there is not one fault, though I cannot say so of his Verse:

*Accipiat Speculum quod dat sine mendo Berardus.*

and to make up the Distick, we will allow you the *Pentameter* of *Antonius de loredo Coronos*, who thus rants it out in the Authors praise;

*Berart suus liber sapiens & leo est.*

yet for all this, you may acknowledge the Authors Doctrine to be as false as his friends Verses are.

Another Spanish Doctor, *Johannes Blasius*, at large assures us of the Popes authority, not onely in (c) depriving Bishops, but also Kings, and absolving their Subjects from the Obedience due to them. Another of the same Nation, but of greater repute than the former, viz. *Rodericus de Arriaga*, a learned Jesuit, and no less man than

c Reges ac temporalis Principes Regnis spoliare, illorumq; subditos à fidelitatis sacramento, quo suis Principibus erant astricti absolvere. *J. Blas.* de sacro Ecclesiæ Principatu, lib. 2. c. 12. fol. 63.

Chancellor of the University of *Prague*; exactly followeth in this case, those who went before him, teaching how Kings may be deposed, and their Kingdoms given to others. And to these, I think, I may add another of their Country, and of a greater sway than either of them, (d) *Antonio Zapata*, Cardinal, Protector, and Inquisitor-General of Spain: because amongst other instances, in his late Index of prohibited Books, he is so expressly earnest against that which supposeth the Pope to have no such Authority over Princes, witten by *Roger Widrington*, though his true name was *Preston*, a *Benedictan* Monck.

Unde necessum fuit ut Ecclesia posset eos excessus fremare, si non posset rationibus & monitionibus, saltem Centuris, si vero neq; his, privando illos sua potestate, dandoq; aliis secularibus licentiam, ut possint etiam vi eos privare jurisdictione, Regno, *Rod. de Arriaga*, disput. Theolog. in 1. 2. S. Tho. Tom. 2. disp. 18. Numb. 74.

d Index novæ librorum Prohibit. 849.

And now that we have entred into Spain, before we leave it, let's consult a noted Scholar of *Toledo*, *Alphonsus Salmeron*, the fifth Jesuit in the world; in some places he tells us, That the (e) Pope hath power to punish Kings by deposing them, and giving their Kingdoms to others: and not onely that this Authority lyeth in the Pope, but that other (f) Bishops, though never so poor and weak may throw down Kings. Though in some places he is a good Expositor; yet here I fear he uttereth Doctrine that *St. Paul* was never used to: And if at *Ingolstadt* in his Sermons upon these

e — Potest eos imperio & Regno privare, vel eorum ditiones alteri Principi tradere. *Alph. Salm.* Tom. 4. Part. 3. Tract. 4. Numb. Tertiæ potestatem, P. 410. & Tom. 13. in Epist. ad Rom. lib. 4. disp. 4. Numb. ad objecta vero, P. 679. & in Epist. B. Pauli, lib. 1. Part. 3. disp. 12. Numb. Jam de postremo, Pag. 251.

f Ergo per Episcoporum sententiam possunt deponi & debent, etiam si Pauperes Principi & incermes. *Id.* Tom. 13. Pag. 251.

Epistles,



Epistles, he taught his Auditors these Principles; the Duke of *Bavaria* was too liberal of his Reward, who instead of punishment, built a famous Colledge for him and his Brethren.

*Johannes Paulus Windesck*, though he speak nothing of our inferior

*a* Hinc firmiter deducimus Papam posse Principes deponere & alios instituere. *P. Wind.* de Theolog. jureconsultorum, Pag. 23.

*b* — Jure potest summus Pont. Regno privare non modo Regem ipsum hereticum, sed etiam ejus discendentes. *Menoeb.* Concil. 808. Numb. 76.

*c* Fidei Catholicæ veritati aperte repugnare.

*d* Ethnicismum mihi videntur, sapere, Numb. 4. See the letter itself, in Respons. Apologetica *Rog. Widdringtoni*, Pag. 153.

*e* Cas. Conscient. lib. 5. cap. 10. Numb. 14. P. 442. f Comment. in D. Thom. in 2. 2. quæst. 10. art. 10. disp. 1. & quæst. 11. art. 4. disp. 1.

Though another of our Country-men, viz. *(e)* *Gregorius Sayer*, of the same Order with *Preston*, be not so furious as his enemy *L. C.* yet he seems to comply with this Papal jurisdiction over Kings and Kingdoms: And I believe, I shall not any way displease a learned *Roman Doctor*, *(f)* *Alexander Pefantius*, if I bring him in amongst the Champions against absolute Monarchy; for besides that he makes it his business to prove that the Pope can deprive Infidels of their Rule over Christians, and by the interpretation of his Margin assures us, that Pope *Zacharias* turn'd out the King of *France*; in the next Question he takes a step farther, and affirms, that for *heresie*, a man doth not onely loose as a Father the Rule over his Children, as an Husband the same over his Wife, and so she not obliged in any thing to be obedient to him, and the same as a Master over his Servants; but also though a Prince and Ruler, yet by this fault, he quite looseth his Right and Authority over his Subjects.

*g* De Catholicis Institut. Tit. 46. Numb. 74, 75. & Tit. 23. Numb. 11.

Propter Hæresim Regis non solum Rex Regno privatur, sed & ejus filii à Regni successionem pelluntur. *Salman.* Tit. 9. Numb. 259.

Of the same humour is *(g)* *Jacobus Simancas*; and with this Doctrine, as the former claw'd *Paul* the Fifth, so doth this *Spaniard* fob up *Gregory* the Thirteenth: Nor will he have the *Father* onely to loose his Kingdom, but he also agrees with these, who throw out the *Children* too. Though this Author would once dispute whether a Divine or Lawyer would make the best Bishop; yet here we need make no Controversie, which of

the Faculties amongst them is the best assertor of this seditious Doctrine; since we see by experience, that both Parties do their utmost to uphold it. 'Tis said, that the fields adjoining to *Badaioz*, of which this *Simancas* was Prelate, are so pestered with the multitude of Locusts, that the King is forced to provide many men for the burning of them. And it would do well, if he and others by punishment would restrain the publishing and maintaining of such mischievous

*h* De justitia, Tom. 1. Tract. 2. disp. 29. col. 213, 214.

Principles within their Dominions. Another *Spaniard*, and a famous Jesuite, *(h)* *Ludovicus Molina*, though at first he seems a little modest in respect of the Pope, but would

would have the Subjects take upon them to chastise their Kings; yet that a little advice from his Holiness would do no harm: However, the farther he goeth, the more he imbraceth this jurisdiction of *Rome*; and then at last in several places, boldly affirms the (a) Popes power in deposing Kings: A Doctrine, which I dare say he never learned from that pious Manuel, of his darling and daily companion, *Thomas à Kempis*; and yet, this durst he offer to the King of *Spain*.

a Poteft summus Pontifex depone Reges, eosq; Regnis suis privare. *Mo. lin. de juft. Tom. 1. col. 217.*

*Id. Col. 225.*—Imperatoris depositionem ex iusta causa pertinere ad summum Pontificem. *Id. Col. 220.* poffe summum Pont. deponere Reges, eaq; ratione merito tranftuliffe Imperium à *Græcis* ad *Germanos*; depoluiſſeq; *Hildericum*, & privaiſſe Regni adminiſtratione quendam *Luſitanice* Regem. *Id. Col. 221.* ſi Princeps aliquis Hæreticus aut Schiſmaticus fieret, poſſet ſummus Pont. uti adverſus eum gladio Temporalis, procedereq; uſq; ad depositionem & expulſionem illius à Regno.

Another *Spaniard*, but a Dominican, *Petrus de Ledefma*, tells the people pretty ſtories how to get rid of their Kings: for if the Prince, as he ſaith, be an Heretick, and that crime by his cunning, cannot be ſufficiently proved againſt him; then let him publickly be excom-

municated, and all is as ſure as a gun: for by this means he is *absolutely deprived of all Rule whatever, and his Subjects are obliged (if they be able) to raiſe war againſt him, and root him out*; for (as he ſaith) by the aforeſaid Excommunication, they are all *absolved from their Obedience and Oath of Allegiance, which they formerly owed to him*. And this he tells us, is the judgement of *Thomas Aquinas* and all his followers. And I think in this, he doth not at all

Post ſententiam declarativam de crimine hæreſis aut Apoſtaſis Princeps iniuſte poſſidet Principatum, & inique dominatur in Subditos, qui ſi viribus polleant tenentur ſe eximere ab ejus obedientia, & bellum ipſi inferre. *Petr. de Ledefm. Theologia Moralis, Traſt. 1. cap. 7. conſuſ. 6, 7.*

*Id. Conſuſ. 5.* Quam primum quis declaratur excommunicatus propter Apoſtaſiam à fide aut hæreſim, privatur dominio & juriſdictione in ſubditos ſi quos habet, & ſubditi abſolvuntur à juramento fidelitatis quo antea tenebantur.

wrong this famous School-man, who was ſo great a Champion for the *Romiſh See*, that at laſt he was Canonized by *John XXII.* yet for all his title of *Angelical Doſtor*, he could maintain the black poſition, that Subjects were not to obey nor acknowledge Ex-

—Quam cito aliqui per ſententiam denuntiatur excommunicatus propter Apoſtaſiam à fide, ipſo facto ejus ſubdito ſunt abſoluti à dominio ejus & juramento fidelitatis, quo ei tenebantur. *Tho. Aquin. 2. 2. q. 12. art. 2.*

communicated Princes. And ſome of the *Thomiſts* to make the Authority of Temporal Monarchs leſs valid, make uſe of his Book *de Regimine Principis*, but to what purpoſe, I know not: However, (b) *Franciſcus Panigarola*, the preaching and worded Biſhop of *Aſti* is no enemy to the Popes coercive Authority over Princes.

That the *Italian* Dominican, (c) *Paulus Carraria* is a great magnifier of the Popes power in Temporals, need not be long in proving, if we do but conſider, what Laws and Examples he makes uſe of, to ſhew that Kings may be depoſed, and Kingdoms given away by him. And to him we may joyn another of the ſame Order, (d) *Johannes à S. Geminiano*, ſince they both go the ſame way, and upon the ſame errand.

b Deſceptat. *Calvin. pag. 152.*

c De literali ac Myſtica Regularum juris Canon. interpretat. *Queſt. 2. art. 4. punct. 2. Numb. 25.*

d 26, 27. & *Queſt. 3. art. 9. Numb. 101. pag. 270.*  
d *Summa de Exemplis, lib. 2. cap. 60.*

*Gregotius Nunnius Coronel*, though but a *Portugal Auguſtan* Mendicant Fryar, yet is as furious and proud as the beſt of them againſt Temporal Government: and it may be for this fault, *Clement* the Eighth, and *Paul* the Fifth, were ſo kinde to him, and got him to *Rome*

to be neer them. He declares that if they (a) will not be obedient to

a *Greg. Nun. Cor. de vera Christi Eccles. lib. 9. pag. 345. Tam regalibus insignibus, quam regia potestate privare, ex muneris sui vi & autoritate cœlitus tibi tradita, æquissimo jure valent.*

b *Id. Pag. 369. In illos arma capiant, & tanquam Regio diademate indignos à sede dejectos agnoscant.*

c *De optimo Reipub. Statu, lib. 3. c. 13. pag. 508, 509. & p. 511. Rex impiis hæreticorum dogmaticis obfirmato animo adhærens à Regni sede & ab administratione Imperii quod in Christianos habet amovendus est.*

d *Id. Cap. 14 pag. 521. Si Reges & Principes gravissimis scint dediti sceleribus effector proculdubio, ut ex his duabus causis justissime Rom. Pont. possit acriter in Reges animadvertere, & eos a Regali folio muneris sui potestate deturbare.*

e *Cap. 16. pag. 545. Non solum propter hæresim aut schisma, aut aliquod aliud intolerabile scelus, verum etiam propter insufficientiam.*

f *Id. Pag. 547. Possit sum, Pont. ex sui muneris autoritate Principes è folio deturbare, si ob eorum negligentiam, & infirmitatem, aut malitiam, justitia conculcatur, & Status Reip. periclitatur.*

g *Id. Pag. 557. Legantur tam veteres, quam recentiores Theologi & utriusq; jurisprudentes, certe omnes una mente una & voce hanc sententiam amplectuntur.*

h *Pag. 558. Non modo à veritate quam longissime aberrare, verum etiam insanire mihi videantur;*

i *Id. Cap. 14. pag. 520.*

k *De vera Christi Eccles. pag. 433, 434.*

I need not trouble you at length, to tell you the humour and spirit of this *Portugal*, when you do but know how heartily he desired the (k) Murder of our Queen *Elizabeth*, affirming it to be but just, that her head should be cut off, her body not to be honoured with a burial, but by the Hang-man left, to be torn in pieces and devoured by Dogs. And yet was this hot-spur, his Books and Doctrine in great favour and esteem at *Rome*: and *Gratianns*, one of the chief of his Order, could thus sing in commendation of him and his Writings:

*Lumen es, & Columna fidei, restiq; Magister.*

— *Responsaq; sana ministras;  
Nempe facis, per te, crescat ut Urbis honor.*

This *Nunnius* hath Cardinal *Ascanio di Colonna* Patron to one of his Books; and though I believe amongst their *Eminencies* he could not aim amiss, yet this 'tis probable, he did by choice, as being well acquainted with his compliance with this Doctrine, of which, at the desire of *Paul* the Fifth, he gave some hints to the world, in his (l) Tract against the *Venetians*.

Of this *Nunnius*, to shew the Popes power over Emperours and Kings, (m) *Thomas a Talamello*, of the same *Mendicant* Order, makes

l *Sententia contra Reip. Veneta Episcopos, p. 27.*  
m *Rationale utriusq; potestatis, pag. 198, 102.*

makes some use, and give you also St. *Geminianus* word for word. He tells you also in one place, that the Pope hath as (a) much power <sup>a Id. Cap. 3. p. 39.</sup> in Temporals as in Spirituals: Nay, that (b) in either of these, he can directly do more than any King; and that Kings depend as much <sup>b P. 41. c Id. Cap. 11. p. 109.</sup> on the Pope, as effects on their Causes: and then makes use of the (c) Canon-law to prove his Authority in deposing of Emperours. And an Italian Lawyer (d) *Camillus Gallinius*, from the same puddle, draws out the same muddy Principle, of the Popes right to de-throne Kings. <sup>d De verborum significatione, lib. 10. cap. 17. § 24.</sup>

What was the Opinion of Cardinal *Perron*, and the chief of France in this case, this following story will somewhat inform us. *Lewis* the Thirteenth being come to his Majority, about fourteen years old, summoned the three Estates to meet: two of them, viz. the Clergy and Lords [*la Noblesse*] presently agreed for these two Propositions, Decemb. 1614. Jan. 1615.

1. That the Council of Trent be publish'd and received in France.
2. That the selling of Offices be suppress'd.

The third Estate, [whether to stop these two, some of them favouring the Protestants, others of them having places, which they might sell, as well as they bought; or out of meer loyalty (however they reasoned stiffly against the Trent-Council) having had the two Kings before this murdered,] made a third Proposition, much like our Oath of Allegiance; which being of publick concern, the cause of great disputes and animosities beyond Seas, and as I think, as yet not known in English, take as followeth with the Original.

*Que pour arrester le Cours de la pernicieuse doctrine qui s'introduit depuis quelques annees contre les Roys & puissances Souveraines establies de Dieu, per Esprits Seditieux, qui ne tendent qu'a les troubler & subverter: Le Roy sera supplie de faire arrester en l'Assemblée des states, pour loy fondamentale de Royaume, qui soit inviolable & notoire a tous; Que comme il est reconnu Souverain en son estat, ne tenant sa Couronne que de Dieu seul; il n'y a puissance en Terre quelle qu'elle soit Spirituelle ou Temporelle, qui ait aucun droit sur son Royaume, pour en priver les personnes sacrées de nos Rois, ny dispenser ou absoudre leurs sujets de la Fidelite & obeissance qu'ils luy doivent, pour quelque cause ou pretexte que ce soit.*

*Que tous ses sujets, de quelque qualite & condition qu'ils soi-*

To hinder the spreading of the pernicious Doctrine lately taught and maintain'd by some seditious spirits, enemies to good Government, against Kings and Sovereign Powers: His Majesty shall be humbly desired, that there shall be establish'd by the three Estates, for a Fundamental Law of the Land, to be kept and known by all men;

That the King being acknowledged head in his Dominions, holding his Crown and Authority onely from God, there is no power on Earth whatever, spiritual or Temporal, that hath any right over his Kingdom, either to depose our Kings, or dispencc with, or absolve their Subjects from the fidelity and obedience which they owe to their Sovereign, for any cause or pretence whatever.

That all his Subjects, of what quality or Condition soever, shall keep

K

ent, tiendront cete loy pour sainte & veritable comme conforme a la Parole de Dieu, sans distinction, equivoque ou limitation quelcun- que : Laquelle sera juree & signee par tous les Deputes des E- tats, & d'oresnavant par tous las Beneficiers & Officiers du Roy- aume, avant que d'entrer en la possession de leurs Benefices, & d'estre recens en leur Offices : Tous Precepteurs, Regens, Docteurs & Predicateurs tenus de l'enseigner & publier, Que l'opinion contrai- re, mesmes qu'il soit loisible de tuer & deposer nos Rois, s'elever & Rebeller contr'eux seconer le joug de leur Obeysance, pour quel- que Occasion que se soit, est impie, detestable, contre Verete & contre l'Etablissement de l'Estat de France, qui ne depend immedia- tement que de Dieu.

Que tous livres qui enseignent telle fausse & perverse Opinion, seront tenus pour seditieux & damnables : tous Estrangers qui l'escriront & publieront, pour En- nemis jurees de la Couronne : tous sujets de sa Majeste qui y adhereront de quelque qualite & Condition qu'ils soient pour Rebel- les, infracteurs des loys funda- mentales du Royaume, & Crimi- nels de lese Majeste au premier Chef.

Et s'il se trouve aucun Livre ou discours escrit par Estranger Ec- clesiastique, ou d'autre qualite, qui contienne Proposition contraire a la dite loy directement ou indi- rectement, seront les Ecclesiastiques des mesmes Ordres establis en France, obliges d'y respondre, les impugner & contredire incessam- ment sans respect, ambiguite ny Equivocation, sur peine d'estre punis de mesme peine que dessus, comme fauteurs des ennemis de cet Estat.

Et sera ce premier Article leu par chacun an, tant es Cours Souveraines, qu'es Bailliages & Seneschauces du dit Royaume,

keep this Law as holy, true, and agreeable to Gods Word, without any distinction, equivocation, or limitation whatsoever; which shall be sworn and signed by all the De- puties of the Estates, and hence- forward by all who have any Be- nefice or Office in the Kingdom, before they enter upon such Be- nefice or Office; and that all Tu- tors, Masters, Regents, Doctors, and Preachers shall teach and publish, that the contrary Opini- on, viz. that it is lawful to kill and depose our Kings, to rebel and rise up against them, and shake off our Obedience to them, upon any occasion whatever, is impious, detestable, quite con- trary to Truth, and the establish- ment of the State of France, which immediately depends upon God onely.

That all Books teaching these false and wicked Opinions, shall be held as seditious and damna- ble : All strangers who write and publish them, as sworn En- mies to the Crown : and that all Subjects of his Majesty, of what Quality and Condition whatever, who favour them, as Rebels, vio- lators of the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and Traytors a- gainst the King.

And if there be a Book or discourse writ by any forraign Church-man, or any other, that then the Clergy of the same Or- ders establish'd in France, shall be obliged continually to answer, oppose and confute them, with- out any respect, ambiguity, or e-quivocation, upon pain to be pu- nish'd, as abovesaid, as a fa- vourer of the Enemies of the State.

And this Article shall be read every year, in the Sovereign Courts, Bayliwicks and Seneschal- ships of the said Kingdom, and at

*a l'ouverture des audiences, pour estre garde & observe avec toute severite & rigueur.*

at the opening of their Courts of Audience, that they may be the better preserved and observed, with all rigor and severity.

This startles the Clergy, who with the *Noblesse*, presently set themselves against the third Estate (somewhat like our House of Commons) with a resolution to expunge this honest and loyal Proposition; yet declared their continuable obedience to their King: And as a main Engine to carry this their design about, they desired *Jaque Davie*, the famous Cardinal of *Perron*, to endeavour to work over to them the third Estate, knowing that his voluble Tongue, used to be carryed on with so much Learning, Judgement and Sweetness, that it seldom mist of that it spoke for. Accordingly attended with some Lords and Bishops, (as Representatives of their respective Estates; and so to shew to the Commons, that both the other did agree so in judgement in this case with the learned Cardinal, that he spoke not onely his own, but their Opinions too) He, though at that time somewhat indisposed, went accordingly, where he made a very long Speech to shew the unreasonableness and absurdity of the fore-said proposition, endeavouring to prove by Reason, that sometimes Kings should, and by Example that they had been deposed, their Subjects being justly quit from their Oaths of Allegiance, and so not bound to obey them. The Harangue it self being large, I refer you to it in his *Diverses Oeuvres*.

Yet this Oration wrought little upon the third Estate, which hugely troubled all their Clergy, and the Popes Nuntio then at *Paris*; and (a) *Scipion Dupleix*, one of the Kings Historiographers can accuse the Article with manifest absurdity, by which he shews his compliance with the rest in this Doctrine. But the Pope *Paul* the Fifth shew'd himself most troubled, in his Letter to *Perron*, dated from *Rome*, *Febr.* 1615. he call'd it a *Detestable Decree*; and the voters of it, *Enemies to the Common good and quietness, and mortal adversaries to the Chair of Rome*. But at the same time gives the Cardinal all the commendations and thanks that can be. But our King *James* was not so complemental, nor had he Reason: For the Cardinal in his Speech, having several reflections against the Government of *England*, the cruelty of her Laws, the persecution of the *Roman Catholics*, and shew'd himself mainly concern'd against our Oath of Allegiance, which did not a little reflect upon the King himself: upon which his Majesty looking upon this Cardinal as somewhat too busie in putting his Oar in another mans Boat, and so concern'd to have somewhat of justice done him, by his Ambassador publickly complain'd of this affront to the young King, the Queen-mother and others, and himself publickly answered the Speech. But this was no trouble to the Cardinal, who was hugely complemented and magnified from several Bishops, and other great persons, for this his Speech, and valiantly defending the right of the Church.

a Hist. de Louis XIII. Pag 49.

But how to end this grand Controversie amongst the Estates, was the cause of some Consultations: at last the King was cunningly perswaded to take it to himself; which he did, affirming he understood his own Right and Possession, and so forbad them to determine any thing about it. However, the two Estates were gallantly cared for by two *Breves* from the Pope, stufft with Commendations

ons and thanks for their Doctrine, and valour for the Church.

But enough of *Perron* and the *French Estates* (now in a manner neglected in that Kingdom.) And should we look upon our own *Oath of Allegiance*, made onely upon a politick account, for the prevention of Treason, we might see it as strongly opposed and girded at, as that of *France*: For no sooner was it made [that horrid *Gunpowder-plot* being a main *Motive*] but *Paul* the Fifth absolutely forbade it to be taken, by two *Breves* sent into *England*; and presently began a Paper-scuffle on all sides, *Bellarmino*, *Gretzer*, *Parsons*, *Coquæus*, *Scioppius*, and many others by might and main opposing its taking; but they were instantly answered, not onely by King *James* himself, but several of his learned Subjects, as Bishop *Andrews*, Dr. *Abbot*, *Carleton*, *Donne*, *Prideaux*, *Burbill*, *Widdrington* or *Preston* a *Benedictan* Monk (for which, there were Rods laid in piss for him by the *Romanists*) and several others.

Amongst those who zealously opposed it, was one *Adolphus Schulckenius*; but whether a true name or no, I know not: yet he is very furious in behalf of the Popes deposing of Kings; and this he tells us the Pope may do, by the (a) Opinion of all Divines both Ancient and Modern, of all Catholick Lawyers, of Occumenical Councils and Id. P. 26. Popes: and that in this, there is no (b) disagreement amongst them, Id. P. 59. this power being (c) given to the Pope by God, and he cannot be held Id. P. 128. a Catholick that is against it: For not one (d) Catholick Author can Id. P. 163. be brought out, who expressly denyeth it; nor can any (e) Reason be brought against this Authority of the Pope: And that *Zacharias* did not well, when he deposed honest *Childerick* King of *France*, cannot be Id. P. 596. said (f) without great rashness and Blasphemy.

Another there is somewhat voluminous in this point, and of the more note, because a *French-man*, and a great favourite, both there and in *Italy*; and this is *Leonardus Coquæus*, a Mendicant *Augustine*

g Habet auctoritatem excommunicandi & coercendi & proscribendi Reges hæreticos ovili Christi perniciosos. *Lem. Cog. Examen præfat. Monit.* pag. 103.

Fryar, who in Opposition to King *James*, saith that the (g) Pope cannot onely Excommunicate, bridle or punish Kings, but also turn them out of their Kingdoms. And to make this more convincing, in another place he (h) endeavours to prove by Example, that this hath been done: Nor is this any

h Id. Pag. (i) usurp'd Authority of the Pope, but it is properly belonging to him; 142, 143. for as *Coquæus* saith, Christ had not been careful enough of the Id. P. 49. Church, and salvation of Souls, if he had not left the Pope a power k *Antimor-* over Kings. And in a larger (k) Book, he harps very often in be-  
nau, Tom. half of King-deposing.  
1. pag. 380,  
523. Tom. 2. p. 6, 17, 21, 105, 128.

*Gregorio Servantio* a *Dominican* and Bishop of *Trevico*, being angry with the *Venetians*, gives the Pope power over them and other

Temporal Princes: and to carry on his design the more cleverly, he makes a great deal of do with the common allusion, that if the King, from a Sheep turn Wolf, and tyrannize over his Subjects, or let Heresie enter amongst them, or become a timorous Dog, that then the Pope may turn

Temporal Princes: and to carry on his design the more cleverly, he makes a great deal of do with the common allusion, that if the King, from a Sheep turn Wolf, and tyrannize over his Subjects, or let Heresie enter amongst them, or become a timorous Dog, that then the Pope may turn

turn out the Wolf, or put in a more valiant Dog. And for more confirmation of this, he makes use of the Canon-Law. And much to the same Authority is hinted at, and imply'd by (a) *Giovanni Fiteo di Asti*, to make good the Popes power in the disposing of Kingdoms and Kings.

contra la Signoria di Venetia, pag. 16. & pag. 59.

a Nuova Ri-  
sposta sopra  
le Censure  
di Paolo V.

Of this humour of King-deposing, is the famous Spaniard

(b) *Franciscus Suarez*: And if the Pope do deprive him, and give his Kingdom to another, the other may (c) justly invade and take it. And this power of the Pope over Kings, he affirms to be as (d) true and as certain, as that the Church is infallible in Faith. And to prove this, I suppose was one of the main Reasons, if not the chief of his (e) writing that Folio, wherein he would gladly persuade King James, that he was in an (f) error in denying the Popes power in deposing Kings.

b Potest & talem Principem dominio suo privare. Suar. Defensio fid. Cathol. l. 3. c. 23. Numb. 21.

c Id. Lib. 6. cap. 4. Numb. 19. Si Pontifex aliis Regibus potestatem tribuat invadendi tale Regnum, tunc julle fieri potest.

d Id. Lib. 3. c. 23. Numb. 16.

e Hic est ut dixi cardo & præcipuus scopus præsentis Controversiæ. Id. l. 3. c. 23. Numb. 1.

f Id. Lib. 6. c. 4. Numb. 22.

And what was the sentiment of some of our English Priests in this case, you may perceive by these following Remarks.

August 1. 1581.

**E**dmond Campion being demanded ---- whether he doth at this present acknowledge her Majesty [Queen Elizabeth] to be a true and lawful Queen, or a pretended Queen, and deprived, and in possession of her Crown onely *De facto*; He answereth, ---- That this Question depends upon the fact of Pius the Fifth, whereof he is not judge, and therefore refuseth further to answer.

Edmond Campion.

This was thus answered and subscribed by Edmond Campion, the day and year above written, in the presence of us,

Owyn Hopton, Jo. Hammond,  
Robert Beal, Thomas Norton.

**A**lexander Briant, He is content to affirm that the Queen is his Sovereign Lady: But he will not affirm, that she so is lawfully, and ought so to be, and to be obeyed by him as her Subject, if the Pope declare or command the contrary. And he saith, That that Question is too high and dangerous for him to answer.

May 6. 1581.

Before Owen Hopton Knight, John Hammond, and Thomas Norton.

The Examination of Ralphe Sherwin, November 1580.

Being askt whether the Popes Bull of deprivation of the Queen, were a law sentence or no, he refuseth to answer.

Being ask'd whether the Queen be his lawful Sovereign, and so ought



ought to continue, notwithstanding any sentence that the Pope can give: *He doth not Answer.*

Being again ask'd whether the Queen be his Sovereign, notwithstanding any sentence that the Pope can give, *He prayeth to be asked no such Question as may touch his life.*

Novemb. 12. 1580.

Ralph Sherwin.

**Articles ministred to the Seminary Priests, who were in the Tower, and were condemned; with their Answers to the same. May 13. M. D. LXXXII.**

I.

*a* It depofed the Queen by Declaration, and absolved her subjects from their obedience due to her. **Whether the (a) Bull of Pius the Fifth against the Queens Majesty, be a lawful sentence, and ought to be obey'd by the Subjects of England?**

II.

*b* Who upon the score of Religion, Rebellion'd against her, anno 1569. or no? **Whether the Queens Majesty be a lawful Queen, and ought to be obeyed by the Subjects of England; notwithstanding the Bull of Pius the Fifth, or any other Bull or sentence that the Pope hath pronounced, or may pronounce against her Majesty?**

III.

*c* Sent into Ireland by Gregory XIII to foment the Rebellion. **Whether the Pope have or had power to authorize the Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland, and other her Majesties Subjects, to rebel or take Arms against her Majesty, or to authorize (c) Dr. Saunders, or others, to invade Ireland, or any other Dominions, and to bear Arms against her; and whether they did therein lawfully anno 1569. or no?**

IV.

**Whether the Pope have power to discharge any of her Highness Subjects, or the Subjects of any Christian Prince from the Allegiance, or Oath of Obedience to her Majesty, or to their Prince, for any cause?**

V.

*Both of them affirming that Kings may be depofed by the Pope.* **Whether the said Dr. Saunders in his Book of his visible Monarchy of the Church; and Dr. Bristow in his Book of Motives [writing in allowance, commendation and confirmation of the said Bull of Pius the Fifth] have therein taught, testified, or maintain'd a truth or a falshood?**

VI.

**If the Pope do by his Bull or sentence pronounce her Majesty to be deprived, and no lawful Queen; and her Subjects to be discharged of their Allegiance and obedience unto her; and after, the Pope or any other by his appointment and authority, do invade this Realm; which part would you take? or what part ought a good Subject of England take?**

**The Answer of Mr. Luke Kirby.**

**L**uke Kirby. *To the First he saith that the Resolution of this Article dependeth upon the general Question, whether the Pope may for any*

any cause depose a Prince? *Wherein his Opinion is, that for some causes he may lawfully depose a Prince, and that such a sentence ought to be obeyed.*

## II.

*To the second, he thinketh that in some cases, (as infidelity or such-like) her Majesty is not to be obeyed against the Popes Bull and sentence; for so he saith he hath read, that the Pope hath so done, de facto, against other Princes.*

## III.

*To the third, he saith, he cannot answer.*

## IV.

*To the fourth, that the Pope (for Infidelity) hath such power, as is mentioned in this Article.*

## V.

*To the fifth, he thinketh, that both Dr. Saunders and Dr. Bristow might be deceived in these points in their Books: but whether they were deceived or not, he referreth to God.*

## VI.

*To the last he saith, that when the case shall happen, he must then take counsel what what were best for him to do.*

Luke Kirby.

John Popham, Da. Lewes,  
Thomas Egerton, John Hammond.

## Mr. Thomas Cottoms Answer.

**T**homas Cottom. *To the first, in this and in all other Questions he believeth as the Catholick Church (which he taketh to be the Church of Rome) teacheth him. And other answer he maketh not, to any of the rest of these Articles.*

*By me Thomas Cottom Priest.*

John Popham, Da. Lewes,  
Thomas Egerton, John Hammond.

## Mr. Lawrence Richardson's Answer.

**L**awrence Richardson. *To the fifth he answereth, that so far as Dr. Saunders and Dr. Bristow agree with the Catholick Doctrine of the Church of Rome, he alloweth that Doctrine to be true. And touching the first and all the rest of the Articles, he saith, that in all matters not repugnant to the Catholick Religion, he professeth obedience to her Majesty, and otherwise maketh no answer to any of them; But believeth therein, as he is taught by the Catholick Church of Rome.*

Lawrence Richardson.

John Popham, Da. Lewes,  
Thomas Egerton, John Hammond.

Mr.

## Mr. Thomas Ford's Answer.

## I.

**T**homas Ford. *To first he saith, that he cannot answer, because he is not privy to the circumstances of that Bull; but if he did see a Bull published by Gregory the Thirteenth, he would then deliver his opinion thereof.*

## II.

*To the second he saith, that the Pope hath Authority to depose a Prince upon certain occasions: and when such a Bull shall be pronounced against her Majesty, he shall then answer what the duty of her Subjects, and what her right is.*

## III.

*To the third he saith, he is a private Subject, and will not answer to any of these Questions.*

## IV.

*To the fourth he saith, that the Pope hath Authority upon certain occasions (which he will not name) to discharge Subjects of their Obedience to their Prince.*

## V.

*To the fifth he saith, that Dr. Saunders and Dr. Bristow be learned men, and whether they have taught truly in their Books mentioned in this Article, he referreth to answer to themselves, for himself will not answer.*

## VI.

*To the last he saith, that when that case shall happen, he will make answer, and not before.*

Thomas Forde.

John Popham, Da. Lewes,

Thomas Egerton, John Hammond.

## Mr. John Sherts Answer.

**J**ohn Shert. *To all the Articles he saith, that he is a Catholick, and swerveth in no point from the Catholick Faith: and in other sort to any of these Articles he refuseth to answer.*

John Shert.

John Popham, Da. Lewes,

Thomas Egerton, John Hammond.

## Mr. Robert Johnsons Answer.

## I.

**R**obert Johnson. *To the first, he saith, he cannot answer.*

## II.

*To the second, he cannot tell what power or authority the Pope hath in the points named in this Article.*

## III.

*To the third, he thinketh that the Pope hath authority in some cases*

cases to authorize Subjects to take arms against their Princes.

## IV.

To the fourth, he thinketh that the Pope for some causes may discharge Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to their natural Prince.

## V.

To the fifth, he saith, the Answer to this Article dependeth upon the lawfulness of the cause, for which the Pope hath given sentence against her: But if the cause was just, then he thinketh the Doctrine of Dr. Saunders and Dr. Bristow to be true. Whether the cause were just or not, he taketh not upon him to judge.

## VI.

To the last, he saith, that if such deprivation and invasion should be made for temporal matters, he would take part with her Majesty: but if it were for any matter of his Faith, he thinketh he were then bound to take part with the Pope.

Robert Johnson.

John Popham, Da. Lewes,  
Thomas Egerton, John Hammond.

Mr. John Harts Answer.

## I.

John Hart. To the first he saith, that it is a difficult Question, and that he cannot make answer thereunto.

## II.

To the second he saith, that her Majesty is lawful Queen, and ought to be obeyed, notwithstanding the Bull, supposed to be published by Pius the Fifth. But whether she ought to be obeyed and taken for a lawful Queen, notwithstanding any Bull or sentence that the Pope can give, he saith he cannot answer.

## • III.

To the third he cannot answer; and further saith, that he will not meddle with any such Questions.

## IV.

To the fourth, he saith, he is not resolved, and therefore he cannot answer.

## V.

To the fifth he saith, he will not deal with any such Questions, and knoweth not whether Saunders and Bristow have taught well herein or not.

## VI.

To the last he saith, that when such a case shall happen, he will then advise what becometh him to do, for presently he is not resolved.

This he did acknowledge to us, after he had fully perused the same, but refused to subscribe to it.

John Popham, Da. Lewes,  
Thomas Egerton, John Hammond.

L

Mr.

## Mr. William Filbee's Answer.

## I.

**W**illiam Filbee. *To the first he saith, the Pope hath authority to depose any Prince : and such sentences when they be promulgated, ought to be obeyed by the subjects of any Prince : But touching the Bull of Pius the Fifth, he can say nothing ; but if it was such as it is affirmed to be, he doth allow it, and saith that it ought to be obeyed.*

## II.

*To the second he saith, it is a hard Question, and therefore he cannot answer it ; but upon further advisement, he answereth as to the first.*

## III.

*To the third, he knoweth not what to say thereunto.*

## IV.

*To the fourth, he saith, that so long as her Majesty remaineth Queen, the Pope hath no authority to warrant her Subjects to take Arms against her, or to disobey her ; but if he should depose her, then he might discharge them of their Allegiance and Obedience to her Majesty.*

## V.

*To the fifth, he saith, he will not meddle with the Doctrine of Dr. Saunders and Dr. Bristow.*

## VI.

*To the last, when this case happeneth, then, he saith, he will answer : and if he had been in Ireland, when Dr. Saunders was there, he would have done as a Priest should have done, that is, to pray, that the right may have place.*

William Filbee.

John Popham, Da. Lewes,  
Thomas Egerton, John Hammond.

And because some of these Answers depend upon the writings of Bristow and Saunders, we must understand, that a little before this, one Richard Bristow [or Bristolus] born in Worcester-shire, and bred up a Priest in Flanders, had made a little Book, which he call'd his Motives [which was after, either by himself or others hugely enlarged.] In this writing, he did not onely twit Queen Elizabeth for not obeying the (a) Excommunication-Bull of Pius the Fifth against her ; but also that (b) Subjects may sometimes be discharged from their subjection, and Princes deposed : and then publicly declares that the foresaid Earl of Northumberland, the Nortons, Plumtree and others, to be (c) most glorious Martyrs of the Catholicks, though they were deservedly executed as Traytors, for their notorious and actual Rebellion in the North against the Queen. Yet (d) Dr. Thomas Worthington of Lancashire [who translated the larger Motives into Latine] doth give great Commendations to Dr. Bristow, for his learning and valour in thus defending the Popes Authority ; whereby he may justly go with those who favour the Opinion of King-deposing.

a Motive 6.

b Motive 40.

c Motive 15.

d Compend.

viz Ric.

Brist. 6.

As for *Nicholas Sanders*, he was born in *Surrey*, and at *Rome* got his Orders and Degree of Doctor: *Pius* the Fifth had him in great esteem, knowing him to be a man of mettle, and a great Zealot for the Authority of that Chair, as he shews at large in his great (e) Book dedicated to *Pius* the Fifth; in which he is so far from acknowledging *Queen Elizabeth* to be a true Queen, that he calls her several times by no other title than the (f) *Pretended Queen*, and other times onely plain (g) *Calvinistical woman*: He saith that the Popes power reacheth to the (h) *altering of Kingdoms*; that the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth was most (i) *justly deprived* of his Empire by *Gregory* the Seventh; greatly (k) commends those, who impiously rebell'd against the *Queen* in the North, and calls them *Noble Martyrs*: and this he aims at again in another of his (l) *Tracts*.

e De visibili Monarch. Ecclesiz, Vid. lib. 2. cap. 4.  
f Id. p. 734, 736, 737.  
g Pag. 275, 355.  
h Pag. 430.  
i Pag. 458.  
k Pag. 730,

731, 732, 733, 734, 735, &c.

l De schismate Angl. p. 363.

From this *Sanders*, we may collect what was the judgement in this case of *John Story* an *Oxford* Doctor of Law; he in *Queen Maries* time ruled the roast in our *English Inquisition*, and in *Queen Elizabeths* Raig being accused in *Parliament* of a great deal of cruelty in the administration of his foresaid Office, replied like himself to this purpose, That he had offended in nothing, but that whilst he cut off some Branches, he neglected to pull up the Root; which if he had done, Heresie had not got up again. And this he meant of the *Queen*, to whom he denyed himself to be a Subject, looking upon the King of *Spain* as his Sovereign, and the *Queen Elizabeth* by the *Popes Bull* of *Excommunication* utterly deprived of all Rule and Government: upon which cause he scorned to plead for himself, taking the Judges under such a Princess to have no power or judgement over him.

And if any doubt of the Popes Authority in deposing Kings, *Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis* will tell them that they need not, since both *Civil* and *Canon-law* doth allow it, and the learned Doctors of them; and all his Posterity may be deprived too, for which he produceth the Example of *John Albret*, King of *Narvarre*, whom he doth not onely call *Schismatick* and *Heretick*, but, which is the prettiest of all, a *Traitor*, though he doth not tell us to whom: But the King of *Spains* Historian must write any thing to vindicate his Masters *Rapine*: And yet they'll think it hard that the *Portugals* should redeem their own, or that *Gaspar Sala* and others should vindicate the late revolt of *Catalonia*.

Per leges quoq; Pontificias & Civiles, Johan. Navar. Rex vere potuit Regno spoliari, ex eo quod schismaticus & schismaticorum fautor,

atq; proinde Hæreticus & aq; Majestatis reus, atq; eodem jure intestabilis ipse, & omni eius Posteritas Gentilico Regno mulctanda, quod utriusq; juris Consultissimi Doctores multis argumentis, & rationibus, exemplisq; Probant. Ant. Nebriss. de bello Navar. lib. 1. c. 1.

*Antonius de Sousa de Macedo* in all his writings hugely zealous for the honour of his Country, *Portugal*, is as fierce against any pretence of the *Castilians* as any; yet when he is the most endeavouring to fasten the Crown on the head of *Braganza*, he makes his Master so open and weak on one side, that not onely that Family, nay, Nation may loose the sway; but they may once more fall a prey to their politick Neighbour; For he acknowledgeth that the Pope may

L 2

depose

*m* Lusitan. li-  
berata, pro-  
cin. 2. 2.  
25. pag.  
117, 118.  
*n* Id. Lib. 2.  
cap. 4. pag.  
510, 511.  
*o* Id. L. 2.  
c. 1. 7.  
*p* Proem. 2.  
p. 116.  
*q* Opus de  
dignitatibus,  
lib. 1. c. 2.  
pag. 9.  
*r* Dehereticus, lib. 4. cap. 14.  
*s* Hierarch. Eccles. lib. 5. cap. 14, 15. fol. 260, 266.

(*m*) depose his Master, by the same power he hath over other Kings ; and that they may sometimes be thrust from their Thrones, upon their evil (*n*) administration of Government. And another dangerous Principle he maintains, of a Kings not Ruling unless he hath been (*o*) *sworn and Crown'd* : And somewhat to this purpose he speaks in another place concerning the ancient way of (*p*) *Anoynting*. To these Opinions I perceive him not a little perswaded, by Example, and the sentiments of others : Arguments of so great force to the Divine Dr. (*q*) *Nicolasus Rebbe*, and the Lawyer (*r*) *Couradus Brunus*, that they also upon the same account embrace this King-deposing Opinion : And of the same judgement is the Learned (*s*) *Albertus Pighius* ; and as for a good proof to it, he several times remembers you with the action of Pope *Zachary*.

*r* Hora in simili casi & alai appartenenti alla Fede, niuno puo dubitare, che l'autorità dei sommi Pontefici non se stenda assolutamente sopra qual si voglia dignità Temporale. *Cerrio* Risposta per la verita. F. pag. 111.

*Giulio Cerrio* having been somewhat large (in respect of the bulk of his Tract) in examples of the Popes power in deposing Kings, fairly concludes, that (*t*) *no man must doubt of the Popes absolute jurisdiction over Kings, in some causes* ; and this may be interpreted to the worst sence well enough, since the whole drift of that Letter [*F*] is in opposition to those who deny this deposing power to be in the Pope.

To tell any man what Cardinal *Bellarmino* was, would be impertinent, since his name is come into a Proverb. They say that many were formerly much beholden to *Ljranus* for his Writings :

*Nisi Lyra lyraffet,  
Nemo nostrum saltasset.*

Some think *Cambden* as much beholden to *Leland*, *Pitfews* to *Bale* : however, we know that several have walk'd in English habit for Authors, which in truth have scarce been so good as Translations ; and so *Samuel Clark*, the poor botching *Presbyterian-story-teller*, is a voluminous partial Plagiary beyond all mercy, one as fit to write the Church-history, as *Alexander Ross* to continue Sir *Walter Raleigh*. As for *Bellarmino*, you may look through him like a Multiplying-glass, and perceive multitudes of people toying themselves out of his Bowels to get themselves published in the world, that if he had never writ, the *Romish* Church had wanted at least an hundred Authors to augment their Catalogue ; and in this sort our Country-men make as bold with him as any, to thrust their little English Pieces, both for gain and honour, amongst their party in these Nations.

This learned Cardinal was a true son of his Church, as he shews through all his writings, especially when he is concerned for her greatness and authority : in one place he saith, that the Pope can

*u* — Potest mutare Regna, & u-  
ni auferre atq; alteri conferre. — *Bel-*  
*larm.* de Roman. Pont. lib. 5. c. 6.

*x* Ib. c. 7.

*y* Nec ulla eis injuria fiet, si depo-  
nantur. *ib.*

sometimes (*n*) *change Kingdoms, take away from one and give to another*, he being the judge (*x*) *to determine whether a King be fit to be deposed or no* ; and if it be thought fit that he should be deposed, then (*y*) *there is no wrong done to him, if he be turned from his Throne* : And this jurisdiction he de-  
fends

sends in another of his (a) Books; and in another (b) Book he declares that this Opinion is agreed upon by all; and this power he affirms in another of his (c) Books.

a — Possit eos Regnis atq; Imperiis exuere, eaq;

Regna & Imperia ab aliis ad alios transferre. Id. De Translat. Imper. Rom. lib. 1. c. 12.

b Si quidem inter omnes convenit, posse Pontificem maximum Hæreticos Principes jure deponere, & subditos eorum ab obedientia liberare. Mas. Tort. Respons. pag. 9.

c Contra Barchinam, cap. 27.

Though 'tis (d) said of him, that he would never remember, that he either ever told lye in his life, or beguill'd the truth by excuse or jcasts; yet I shall scarce believe that he speaks altogether truth, in his thus attributing so great authority in temporal things over Monarchs to the Pope: yet for all that he was the Chief Champion of that See, and allow'd to its Bishops all the aforesaid power and jurisdiction; yet we are assured by the Testimony of a learned *Romanist*, (e) *Guglielmus Barclaius*, that Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth was sometimes thinking to *Censure* and extinguish all *Bellarmines* works, because, as he thought, he allow'd him too small authority in Temporals.

d Jac. Fuligatto, vita Card. Bellarm. l. 1. c. 2.

e De potestate Papæ, cap. 13. pag. 101. & cap. 40. pag. 329.

There were two of different Orders, viz. *Johannes* (f) *Andreas Coppenstein* a *Dominican*, and (g) *Baldwinus Junius* a *Franciscan*, who have severally Epitomiz'd this Cardinals Controversies; and with him, they embrace this *King-deposing* Maxime: They were after translated into *French*, by the appointment of Cardinal *Perron*.

f Epitome Controvers. ex Bellarm. part. 2. quest. 21. p. 180.

g Solida Christianor. fidei demonstratio, lib. 3. cap. 10.

*Jacobus Gretserus*, as an industrious a *Jesuite* as ever *Germany* brought forth, whose resolution, zeal and speedy pen, made his Books almost innumerable; and as in all other things, so in this of the Popes authority, he endeavours to vindicate (h) *Bellarmino*, and seems to wonder at King (i) *James* for denying such power to be in the Pope: nay, when he seems to make it his business to vindicate his *Society* from the suspicion of Rebellion, and to tell to all the world what brave Subjects to temporal Kings they are and will be; even then doth he ruine all their loyalty by one exception; (k) *But yet*, saith he, if the Pope should deprive any King for heresie, marry then I do freely confess, that we shall submit our selves to the Popes judgement. A very good *Item*, for which they deserved the teeth as well as the heart of *Henry* the Great.

h Gretseri defensio Controversiarum Card. Bellarm. Tom. 2. col. 1153, 1154. &c.

i Commentar. Eregit. in Reg. Britan. c. 6. 7.

k At si Pontifex ali-

quem ab hæresin à regno arceat, ne subditos in hæresin inducat: tum libere fateor, nos nostrum judicium ad Pontificis judicium aggregare, satiusq; reputare. Defens. Apol. Gal. pag. 591.

Another of the same Order, (l) *Petrus Alagonia*, and (m) *Johannes Honorius van Axel*, with the Canon-law write down the same Principles in their Compendiaries: and the *Carmelite* Fryar, *Giovanni Antonio Bovio*, finds fault with Father *Paul* the *Venetian* (famed for his learning, judgement, moderation and integrity) that amongst the Offices belonging to the Pope, he doth not set down, (n) his *translating of Empires, setting up and pulling down of Kings, since he hath such authority*. An Article, that I dare say *Bovio* never learned from the *Virgin Mary*, whom they brag to be the Patroness and Foundress of their Order.

l Juris Canon. Compend. 984.

m Juris Canon. Compend. lib. 5. Tit. de Hæret. c. 13.

n Doveva anco, se voleva numerare tutte le

Opere del Carico Pastorale, fac mentioner dellotrasferire de gli Imperii d'Oriente in Occidente, habitare & inhabilitare alli Regni, istituere & destituere i Re, che anco questo possono fare i supremi vicarii di Christo in Terra, quando cio bisogni per conservazione della fede & Religione Christiana, & l'hanno fatto, quando è venuto l'occasione, & ha hanuto effetto, è stato cio riceunto & appovato da tutta la Christianita. Anton. Bovio, Risposta alle consideratione del M. Paolo, pag. 69.

William



*William Allen*, or *Allain*, born in *Lancashire*, a great darling with the secular Priests, for whom he was the first that made Seminaries at *Doway*; a severe enemy to the Protestants, and as fierce a maintainer of the power of *Rome*, and the King of *Spain*; of both which this one Example may satisfie. *Queen Elizabeth* having sent some aid into the *Netherlands* against the *Spaniard*, *Sir William Stanley* was made Governour of *Deventer* in *Over-Issel*, which he presently (betraying his trust) deliver'd with himself and Garrison to the *Spaniard*; by which he lost, by common consent, the reputation of Subject, Gentleman and Souldier; but *Dr. Allain* thinking to quell these rumours, and to encourage the new *Renegado's*, by a Letter from *Rome*, sends *Stanley* and his Regiment not onely thanks and Commendations for this their action, but as he thought, a sufficient vindication too, part of which take in his own words. —

*Dr. Allain's*  
Letter touch-  
ing the Cen-  
sure of *De-*  
*venter*, pag.  
27, 28.

*Tea, I say no more unto you Gentlemen, seeing you desire to know my meaning fully in this point: That as all acts of Justice within the Realm done by the Queens authority, ever since she was by publick sentence of the Church, and see Apostolick declared an Heretick, and an enemy of Gods Church, and for the same by name excommunicated, and deposed from all Regal Dignity; as, I say, ever sithence the publication thereof, all is void by the Law of God and Man; so likewise no war can be lawfully denounced or waged by her, though otherwise in it self it were most just: because that is the first Condition required in a just War, that it be by one denounced, that hath lawful and Supream power to do the same, as no Excommunicate person hath; especially, if he be withal deposed from his Royal Dignity by Christ his Vicar, which is the Supream power in Earth, and his Subjects not onely absolved and discharged of their Service, Oath, Homage and Obedience, but especially forbidden to serve or obey any such Canonically condemned person.*

And in another place of the same Pamphlet, he thus tells them their doom, if they had been faithful to their trust and the Queen;  
a Id. pag. 30. — (a) *Any Excommunicate or Canonically condemn'd Prince, whom no man by law can serve, nor give aid unto, but he falleth into Excommunication.*

Thus we see what small esteem he had of his Sovereign, and how easie it is for these men to ease themselves of loyalty and Obedience. And that the Pope may thus trample upon Kings, observe his Doctrine in another of his Writings, — (b) *The Pope may in some cases excommunicate, for some causes deprive, and in many respects fight and wage War for Religion.* — And gain, — (c) *Plain it is, that Kings that have professed the Faith of Christ, and the defence of his Church and Gospel, may be, and have been justly both excommunicated and deposed, for injuries done to Gods Church, and revolt from the same, as sometimes also for other great crimes tending to the Pernition of the whole subject unto him.* — And gain, — (d) *By the fall of the King from the Faith, the danger is so evident and inevitable, that GOD HAD NOT SUFFICIENTLY PROVIDED FOR OUR SALVATION, and the preservation of his Church and holy Laws, IF THERE WERE NO WAY TO DEPRIVE or restrain Apostata Kings.* — And then plainly declares to the world thus: — (e) *Therefore let no man marvel, that in case of heresie the Sovereign loseth his superiority and right over his people and Kingdom.* And in these (f) Opinions he endeavours

b Defence of  
English Ca-  
tholicks, a-  
gainst the  
book call'd  
The executi-  
on of justice,  
pag. 143.

c Id. p. 207.

d Id. P. 114.

e Id. P. 115.

f Id. P. 72,  
73.

VOURS

vours to prove that there is no harm: And gives the Earl of (a) *Westmerland* for his Rebellion great commendations, and of his fellow-Traytor gives you this Character, *The renowned Count of Northumberland dyed a Saint and holy Martyr.* Id. 43.

When the *Spanish Armado* invaded *England*, he printed a pernicious *Admonition* to the Catholicks of these Kingdoms, stuf with horrid Rebellion and Treason, perswading them by all means to take part with the King of *Spain*, and to Root out their own Queen. What effect his Doctrine took, I know not, but 'tis well known that the Fleet came to nothing: and enough of this *Allen*, who for his zeal to the *Spanish* Faction, and the authority of *Rome*, was made Cardinal *de S. Martino* by Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth, at the desire of *Philip* the Second.

And now let us see what a man with a long name will tell us in this cause; *Andreas Eudemon-joannes*, a man suspected at first to sculk under a wrong denomination; but when we know his Country and temper, we shall not think him ashamed to own any thing, though never so bad or false: he was born in the Island *Crete* (now better known by the name of *Candia*) at *Canea* (by the ancients call'd *Cydon* or *Cydonia*) but bred up from his youth at *Rome*, and a Jesuite. If that be true, that in the Island of his birth no venomous or harmful Creature can live, 'twas well that he was forthwith transplanted to *Italy*; for his native soyl, and his malicious humour could never agree: His writings are onely stuf with railing and vain repetitions; hath impudence to deny any thing, and affirm what he pleaseth: his whole books are composed of contradictions, all along affirming that Kings may be deposed, nay, and sometimes cut off; and yet at the same time vindicating himself and his Order from disloyalty; and yet so shie in his affirmations, though bald in his hints, that his books may be read over to as much purpose and satisfaction, as one of the *Brethrens* preachments, or *Olivers* Speeches: so that I should wonder that such a generous Pope as *Urban* the Eighth, and such a learned Cardinal as *Bellarmino* should have him in such esteem and favour, if interest had no sway in this world. And though all along one may know his meaning by his Moping; yet sometimes he speaks plain enough, and declares that the (a) *Pope can depose Kings*, and that this (b) *hath been done, and may be done sometimes lawfully.*

a Potuit enim non ut dominus, sed ut Minister

Christi deponere Principes. *Andr. Eudem-joan.* Respons. ad Epist. Is. *Casauboni*, pag. 12. b Id. *Parallelus Torti & Tortoris*, cap. 4 pag. 197. — ultro concedamus, & facta à Pontificibus & jure atq; ordine fieri potuisse, ut contumaciam ac Tyrannidem Principum excommunicatione ac depositione ulcisceretur.

In the year 1594, one *Jehan Chastel* intending to stab King *Henry* the Fourth of *France* with his Knife, struck him into his Mouth, and though he mist of his aim, yet he struck out two of his teeth, and wounded him sore: For this Treason the Villain is excuted, but presently one *Franzoiis de Verone* writes an Apology for *Chastel*, affirming that he had done nothing but what became a true Christian and Catholick; his reasons being, because the King, as he said, was an Heretick, and so might lawfully be *kill'd* or *deposed*.

That he was absolutely perswaded so in the latter [the first we shall treat of in its proper place] you may judge by his declaring these following Propositions to be Heretical.

That

## I

*Fran. de Verone Apologie pour Jehan Chastel, Part 2. cap. 15. pag. 95.*  
*Qu'un Heretique relaps, & nom-  
 mement excommunié du S. Siege,  
 ne perde le droit de la Couronne.*

## II.

*Que tel est Roy legitime, donne  
 & Ordonne de Dieu.*

## III.

*Que l'Eglise ne le peut priver de  
 ce droit, ny les Estats, ny general-  
 lement les Princes, de leurs dig-  
 nitez, ou Royanmes, pour crime  
 ou Heresie quelcunque.*

## IV.

*Ny absoudre les subjects de  
 l'Obeissance & fidelite a eux deue.*

## V.

*Qu'il fault resister a tels juge-  
 mens, & qu'ils n'obligent en con-  
 science.*

## VI.

*Qu'il ne se fault enquirir des  
 actions, ny de la Conscience de son  
 Prince.*

## VII.

*Qu'il n'est loysible de resister a  
 un Prince Heretique.*

## VIII.

*Qu'un Roy Catholique peut per-  
 mettre deux Religions en son Roy-  
 aume.*

## I.

That a relaps'd Heretick, and  
 by name excommunicated by the  
 Pope, doth not loose the right of  
 his Crown.

## II.

That such an one is a lawful  
 King, given and ordained of God.

## III.

That neither Church nor Par-  
 liament [ *Estates* ] can deprive  
 them of that right; nor that  
 Princes for any Crime or Heresie  
 whatever, can be deprived of their  
 dignities.

## IV.

Nor that subjects can be absol-  
 ved from their obedience and fi-  
 delity they owe to their Kings.

## V.

That such sentences as these are  
 not to be obeyed, being not obli-  
 gatory in Conscience.

## VI.

That the Actions and Consci-  
 ences of Kings are not to be pry'd  
 into.

## VII.

That it is not lawful to resist  
 an Heretical Prince.

## VIII.

That a Catholick King may per-  
 mit two Religions in his King-  
 dom.

Id. Apol.  
 pag. 29.

What this *Verone* was I know not, onely we may observe, that a-  
 bout the same time there was a *French* Jesuit of the same name, who  
 afterwards writ some Books: And that the same year, viz. 1595. that  
 this Book was Printed, one *Le Bell* was punished for endeavouring to  
 convey one *François Veron*, a Student at *Poitiers*, out of *France*. This  
 same *Verone* also in the same Book vindicates *Jacques Clement* for  
 murdering *Henry* the Third.

The which horrid murder was also publicly maintain'd as an act  
 most lawful and glorious, by another *French-man*, call'd *Bouchier*; and  
 he that will thus boldly affirm the greater, you may justly sup-  
 pose he will not deny the less, viz. the *deposing* of them. And this  
 he

he tells us, the Pope can do if there be need of it, and the Prince contemn his inferiour censures.

Cum ille Christi vicarius sit, ut videat ne quid

Christe, ne quid ejus Ecclesie ac Religioni injuria fiat, ne quid vel populi vel Regni, vel Regum ipsorum salutem impediatur (cujusmodi sunt Hæreses, schismata, perjurium, apostasia, & similia, quæ sine gravi Ecclesie detrimento in Regibus esse nequeunt) id ei licere, ut cum nihil leniter admonuisse profuerit, cum censuras contemni audierit, cum periculum grave Ecclesie à tali regimine imminere, deponi denique & utile & commodum esse agnoverit, tum populos Obedientie vinculo eximat, deique operam, ut alteri commodiori grege à Christo redemptus committatur. De justa Henrici III. abdicatione, lib. 1. cap. 5. pag. 13.

Nay, probable that a greater Authority than this *Boucher*, can more than Countenance the deposing of Kings: For anno 1589, a little before the said King *Henry* the Third was murdered, the Colledge of *Sorbone* in *Paris*, being then present about seventy Doctors, declared that all the Kings Subjects were freed from their obedience to him; of which, Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth was informed, and desired to compleat by his Authority.

Id. P. 398, 399, 370, 373. Jan. de Serres.

One tells us with confidence, that the Pope can create and depose Kings. Another wonders that some German Divines should deny him to have power to translate Empires. And a third tells Cardinal *Montalto* (Nephew to the foresaid *Sixtus* the Fifth) that amongst other Priviledges which belong to the Pope, is to give Titles to Emperours and Kings, to translate Empires from one Nation to another, and to judge Princes. And our Country-man, *Thomas Harding*, when he sees *Childerick* of France deposed by the Pope, cannot refrain from telling us — (a) *What a strength of Authority is in that See, which is able with a word to place and displace the mightiest King in Europe.* And this is also approved of by his good friend and great admirer, (b) *John Rastell*. And the Portugal (c) *Emanuel Rodericus*, in several places of his Works, fob'd up by the Canon-law, tells how the Pope can alter Kingdoms, and depose Kings.

Vid. Phil. Horn. Theaur. Pol. p. 318, 319, 323, 361, 362.

a Confutation of the Apology, fol. 181. b.

b A brief shew of the false wares in the Apology, fol. 93.

c Questiones Regulares, Tom. 2. Quest. 49.

art. 1. & Quest. 63.

art. 7. & Tom. 4. Tit. 4. c. 3.

Answer to the Penal Statutes against Catholics, pag. 81, 82.

What force either Loyalty or Obedience is with some Roman Catholics, may in part be seen by their cavilling at our Oath of Allegiance, as where it saith, that the Pope hath no power or authority to depose the King — or discharge any of his Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to his Majesty, upon any cause or occasion whatsoever. — They answer to the first: — *A strange prevention to stir up humour, and to alter them with DANGEROUS Physick without necessity.* — And to the second, they thus retort; — *Although the King should force them to be Mahometans, Jewes, Pagans, or Infidels.*

To that part of it, which calls the opinion of the Popes power to excommunicate or deprive Kings *Impious and Heretical*; — They onely say, — *How came the English Parliament by Authority to censure Doctrine? who delivered them this power? who made them assurance of Gods infallible Spirit?* — To that part which saith, That they do believe that the Pope, nor any other hath power to absolve them of this Oath; — They deny the Article by their thus reasoning: — *If they do not believe it, NOR INDEED CAN BELIEVE IT WITHOUT GROSS IGNORANCE, why should they inforce them to swear False? or what get they by this?*

And to the last part of it, where 'tis said, that — *They do acknowledge this Oath to be administred unto them lawfully, and by good and full Authority, and that they do renounce all dispensations and pardons*

to the contrary;—They quite null the Proposition by this their answer : —

*He that sweareth false, had need of absolution from the sin, but needeth no dispensation, because the Oath hath no force to bind, as in this case.*—

By which means they declare their approbation of these following Propositions.

## I.

To affirm that the Pope hath no power or authority to depose the King, is dangerous.

## II.

That in some cases [as if the Prince should force his People to be  
(a) Mahometans, Jewes, Pagans or Infidels] the Pope may discharge his Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience otherwise due to him.

## III.

That the King, Bishops, Peers and Commons in Parliament, cannot declare or censure the opinion which alloweth the Popes power to excommunicate and deprive Kings, to be Impious and Heretical.

## IV.

That it is gross Ignorance and False, not to believe that the Pope or any other have power to absolve Subjects of their Oaths of Obedience and Allegiance.

## V.

That this Oath of Allegiance, though taken, is not obligatory, nor hath any power to binde.

Thus we see the foundation of Government shaken, Oaths and Obedience brought to be but trifles, and Supream Authority and Rule, upon the common-canting whining pretence of Religion consumed to nothing.

*Leonardus Lessius*, a Jesuite of great repute, under the false name of *Guilielmus Singletonus*, is very zealous for this Authority to be in the Pope : Tells us in one place, that if the Pope (b) have not this power, then the Church of necessity must err, because it teacheth such jurisdiction to lye in the Pope : but to affirm so of the Church, viz. that she erreth, is Heretical ; nay, that this error, viz. that the Pope cannot depose Kings, (c) is more pernicious and intolerable, than an error concerning some of the Sacraments : for 'tis a (d) certain and undoubted received Opinion of the Church ; and therefore he (e) conjures all Catholicks, as they love the salvation of their Souls, to have a care of doubting of it, or believing the contrary : for it (f) belongs to faith, or agrees so neer with it, that it cannot be denied without great injury to sound Doctrine.

Principe per sententiam summi Pont. abdicato, omnes subditos ab ejus obedientia esse solutos, & ditionem ejus ab alio posse occupari, ut ex Conciliis constat.—Discuss. Decret. Concil. Lat. pag 46.

c Id. Pag. 90.—Hic enim error longe perniciosior erit, magisq; intolerabilis, quam error circa aliquod Sacramentum.

d Id. Pag. 100.

e Id. Pag. 123.

f—Ad fidem pertinere, sive ita cum rebus fidei & Religionis esse conjunctam, ut absq; sanz Doctrinæ injuria non videatur posse negari.

And

And whether this *Lessius* in another of his Books concerning the  
(a) *Popes power*, maintains any Tenents more dangerous than these, <sup>a De potestate summi Pontifici.</sup>  
I know not, no more than I do the reasons that made them suppress it, though many years ago printed.

The Lawyer, (b) *Paris de Puteo*, from the Canon-law, and other such- <sup>b De findicatu, Summar. 4. 56, 57, 58, 59.</sup>  
like authorities, gathers that the Pope may depose Kings or Emperours; and the old (c) *Glossator* upon *Gratian*, standing upon the same sandy Foundation, maintains the same proposition against the latter; and with these agree another Lawyer, (d) *Johannes Baptista Plotus*. <sup>c Dist. 40, Si Papa. Gloss.</sup>

d— Et Imperator debet confirmari à Papa tanquam superiore, & ab eo examinare, approbari ac incongruè consecrari & coronari, si est dignus, vel rejici si est indignus, puta si esset sacrilegus, excommunicatus, licet esset electus, ab Electoribus Imperii. *Jo. Bapt. Plot. Consilium.* 64.

In the year 1619. *Frederick* Elector Palatine of *Rhine*, being overperswaded by the *Bohemians* [who had then denyed *Ferdinand* the Emperour to be their King] to take upon him the Government over them, was after some Wars overcome by the Imperialists, and bereft not onely of that Kingdom, but the rest of his Territories. Upon this, great consultation is had privately at *Rome* to get another *Elect* into his place, and for the person they need not study long. The Duke of *Bavaria*, having his great expence in this War against the *Bohemians*, and the Jesuits, [to whom he was a great Benefactor, had a particular Devotion, and was in all things sway'd by them] to speak loud in his behalf; and besides, which was no small mover, his Zeal for the cause of *Rome* (*Frederick* being a Protestant, and thus laid by) would thus over-sway the reformed Electors in number, whereby the Empire probably would still be ruled by that Religion. These and other like reasons, made Pope *Gregory* the Fifteenth, and his Nephew and Favourite, Cardinal *Ludoviso* [who was also made Protector of the *Irish*] to be earnest with the Emperour about it; which at last (though the *Spaniard* at its first motion, seem'd not to like) took effect, and *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*, obtain'd that honour 1623.

But that which I most aim at in this story, is the Paper of advice or reasons to perswade to this action, presented to the Pope and Cardinals by *Michel Lonigo da Esle*, belonging to his Holiness: in which is strongly pleaded for *Bavaria*, ranting and boasting in a whole beadrole, what pretty pranks and tricks the Popes have formerly acted over Kings and Emperours, by interdicting, excommunicating and deposing them; altering and changing of Empires and Kingdoms: and in one place speaks boldly and plainly thus: — *It is in the Popes hands, as appeareth by all Histories, to renew the Emperours in their Empire; to translate the authority of one Nation to another, and utterly to abolish the right of Election.*

And that *Rome* did think her power over Kings by way of punishment, to be just and really her own, you may partly guess from this following story.

No sooner came forth our Oath of Allegiance, for the preservation of the King, and security of his Kingdoms, but Father *Parsons* at *Rome* solicited the Pope for his *Breves* against it, which were obtain'd; but before they were sent into *England*, this Jesuite wrote a Letter hither, to intimate (though falsely) that he was for mitigation, but <sup>Re. Widdrington's Theological Disputation, cap. 10. Sect. 2. 52, 53. &c.</sup>  
that

that (true enough) the rest were for the Popes power against the King ; but take his own words, as they are delivered to us by an honest *Benedictine*.

About some four or five Months ago, it was consulted by seven or eight of the Learned<sup>st</sup> Divines that could be chosen, who gave their judgement of it. Their Reasons are many, but all deduced to this; that the Popes Authority in chastising Princes upon a just account is *de fide*, and consequently, cannot be deny'd, when it is call'd into Controversie, without denying of our Faith; nor that the Pope, or any other Authority can dispense in this.

For if the Question were *de facto*, and not *de jure*; to wit, whether the Pope might justly in this or that occasion, excommunicate or depose this or that Prince, upon these or these causes; or whether precedent Popes have done well therein or no, then might some of those reasons, which you say your Friends do alledge, be admitted into consideration; to wit, whether it would be in *ædificationem* or *destructionem*, do hurt or good, be profitable or unprofitable, or whether the causes be sufficient or no; for without cause none holdeth that the Pope may depose, or whether the due form of admonition, touch'd in your Letters were observed. But for as much as the Question is *de Potestate*, of the See Apostolick power; what it may do upon any cause, or against any Catholick Prince whatsoever, these considerations of temporal hurt cannot enter.

Besides these, I have conferred the matter with Cardinal Bellarmine, and sundry others of great Learning and Conscience; and all are of Opinion in this case, that the form of the Oath as it lyeth, is Heretical, and no way may be admitted by him that will not deny the Catholick Faith.

I have had occasion twice to speak with his Holiness; the first in company of Mr. Thomas Fitzherbert, where we proposed certain manners of Mitigation suggested by Friends, &c. Whereto his Holiness answered, That as for any actual using Censures against his Majesty, he meant not, but rather all courtesie; but as for the Authority of the See Apostolick (to wit, for using of Censures) he was resolved, and would rather loose his head, than yeild one jot. The second, he being informed that some Priests did seem to incline to the taking of the Oath; he answered, He could not hold them for Catholicks, &c.

What an enemy this Parsons was to his Native Country, we may discourse of hereafter; only at this time we shall go no farther, than what belongs to the Popes power now in hand; yet we may observe by the by, that whatever he writ, he never put his own name to it, but sometimes false ones, and sometimes onely two Letters, which he commonly alter'd in every new Pamphlet, stuff up onely with evasions; resolved to let the *Romanists* know what he meant, but would never acknowledge any thing to be proved against him; yet an indifferent Judge will acknowledge his hints to be bold enough. In one place, thus he tells the Learned *Morton*:

P. R. Quiet  
and sober  
reckoning,  
pag. 64.

— You know that deposition of Princes is an effect of Excommunication, and can never happen by Ecclesiastical Authority, but where Excommunication hath gone before. And I would ask M. Morton, in good earnest out of his Divinity, when a Christian Prince is lawfully excommunicated, and shut out from all society of Christian Communion, and he persists Impenitent, how can he be head of a Christian Commonwealth, for so much as he is no member, nor hath any place, or part at all in the whole body, the head-ship being the chief part of all others?

In

In another place he telleth thus his own Principles from his learned Opponent.

—*Catholick Subjects do believe that in some cases there is power left by God in the Church, and the Head thereof the Bishop of Rome over Princes, to use not onely spiritual Censures for restraint of Exorbitant Excesses, but Temporal Remedies also, either directly or indirectly, when urgent necessity of the Common-wealth should require.* Id. Pag. 80.

*All Catholick Subjects also of other Countries do hold and acknowledge this Doctrine.* Id. Pag. 81.

In another of his Books against the foresaid Oath of Allegiance, to the objection that some Roman Catholicks had taken it, he thus answereth:—

—*I cannot but in charity assure myself, that they being Catholicks, took the said Oath (for so much as concerneth the Popes Authority, in dealing with Temporal Princes) in some such lawful sence, and interpretation, as [being by them expressed, and accepted by the Magistrate] may stand with the integrity and sincerity of true Catholick Doctrine and Faith; to wit, that the Pope hath not Authority without just cause to proceed against them.* The judgement of a Catholick English-man, in a Letter touching the Oath of Allegiance, p. 18. 30.

*But concerning the general Question, to deny simply and absolutely, — That the Pope is Supream Pastor of the Catholick Church, hath any Authority left him by Christ, either directly or indirectly, with cause or without cause, in never so great a necessity of the Christian Religion, to proceed against any Prince whatsoever Temporally, for his restraint or amendment, or to permit other Princes to do the same: — This, I suppose, was never their meaning, that took the Oath, for that they should thereby contradict the general consent of all Catholick Divines, and confess that Gods Providence for the Conservation and Preservation of his Church and Kingdom upon earth, had been defectuous, for that he should have left no lawful Remedy, for so great and excessive an evil, as that way might fall out.* Ib. Pag. 19. 31.

And if you look but a little (a) farther, you will see where the Shoe pincheth; and that to deny the Popes power to depose Kings, is one of the main reasons they have against this Oath; the Affirmative being one of the greatest Pillars that upholds their puissant Hierarchy, right or wrong. And in another of his (b) Pamphlets, you will see him close with Cardinal Allen, Sanders, and suchlike, against Princes, in behalf of the Popes power over them. Nor need we question his attributing this Authority to the See of Rome, when he alloweth the same to the People, not onely telling them, that they may Rebel against, (c) but depose their King too, and it may be worse, of which in its due place.

But enough of Robert Parsons at this time, unless he were better. And if we consult some others abroad, we shall finde (d) Johannes Wiggers, (e) Hieronymus de Medicis the Dominican, (f) Luisus Turrrianus the Spanish Jesuit, (g) Johannes Malderus, Bishop of Antwerp; and (h) Johannes Antonius Delphinus, allow that Kings may justly be deposed, and that by the Pope: and to these we may add, Carolus Scribanus the Dutch Jesuit, under the false name of (i) Clarus Bonarscius.

Id. P. 85. 25.

b Temperate Ward-word p. 53, 54.

c See his R. Dolemans conference about the Crown.

d Con. in 2. 2. D. Tho. pag. 63. 151.

e Com. in 2. 2. Aquin. Quest. 12. art. 2.

f In 2. 2. D. Tho. in Sum-

mario Conclusionum, d. 57. conclus. 2. g Com. in 2. 2. Quest. 1. art. 10. disp. 8.

h De potestate Ecclesiastica, fol. 154. Potest & Papa jure optimo à gradu & dignitate sua omnem Regem & Principem deicere, non solum propter Heresim & Schisma & propter quamvis aliam sceleratam impietatem; verum etiam propter secordiam, negligentiam, & ad regendum ineptitudinem, si præsertim ejusmodi sit ut Regnum periclitetur Christianorum.

i Amphitheatrum Honoris, lib. 1. cap. 12.

What



Jo. Trevisa  
translat. of  
Ranulph of  
Chesters Po-  
lyoroni; l. 7.  
c. 26.

a Ut autem  
id fixum  
menti ejus  
hæreret,  
nempe dare  
custodire,  
conservare, & auferre, si causa exigeret Imperium esse in voluntate Romani Pontificis: ejusmodi voluit  
commonuisse exemplo. Baron. Annal. Tom. 12, anno 1191. c. 12.

What was the Opinion of that great-read Cardinal *Baronius*, you may guess by this which followeth: *Henry* the Sixth [by the *Italian* Writers call'd *Henry* the Fifth] the eldest son of the famous *Frederick Barbarossa*, Emperour of *Germany*, being at *Rome* with his Empress, *Constance* Daughter to *William* King of *Sicily*; and being willing to be both Crowned there: Accordingly Pope *Celestinus* the Third, being set in his Pontifical Chair in *St. Peters* Church, held the Imperial Crown between his Feet, whence both of them, humbling themselves, by bowing down their heads, received the Crown: but the Pope presently with his Foot kickt the Crown from the Emperours head to the ground. Upon this *Rogerus* in short tells us, that the Pope did it, to shew that he had power to depose the Emperour. And this is hint enough to a wise man: But *Baronius* liketh the action so well, that he must make a discant too, it being his design all along to magnifie the greatness of the Pope; and his Comment is this, (a) That the Emperour might remember, that it is in the pleasure of the Pope to give, keep, preserve, and take away the Empire, if there be cause; and that this Example might put him in minde of it. And this he in (b) another place makes no doubt of.

b An. 1157. c. 13.

c Vindiciz  
Concilii La-  
teranens. p.  
45.

I cannot but wonder at (c) Dr. *Thomas Vane*, (if he be the Author, for some think, that by agreement, he fathers other mens writings) to be so strangely in passion, as to call Dr. *Cozens* (now Bishop of *Durham*) *Beast*, *Forrainer* and *Runagate*, and suchlike unhand-some language, since both were *English-men*, and both then living in *France*, one as freely as the other, though their going over upon different accounts, the Bishop for his loyalty being persecuted over, and probably in this reviling Dr. *Vane*, forgot himself to be an *English-man*, considering the King himself took *Asylum* abroad upon the same account: and a prudent man would not cast it as a Reproach upon Dr. *Cozens*, for not chopping and changing Religions as Dr. *Vane* did. But do but view over a few (d) pages of his little Book, and then tell me, if he do not allow that the Pope in some cases may deprive Kings.

d Vindiciz  
Concil. La-  
ter. pag. 69,  
70, 71.

e Comment  
in D. Tho.  
Tom. 1. col.  
145.  
f Papa po-  
test depone-  
re principes,  
si nimis gravant subditos. De Principibus, Quest. 7.

(e) *Michael Bartholomeus Salon*, amongst other priviledges which in some cases he grants to the Pope, is that of *deposing Kings*. And the Lawyer (f) *Martinus de Carazis Laudensis*, is of the same Opinion, though he seems to desire that good reason should be given for so doing.

Id. Imperator non debet deponi à Papa, nisi subit maxima & gravissima causa, ultra quam dici potest periculosa. Imperator & alii Principes non possunt deponi sine maximis periculis. Id. Quest. 35.

g Tom. 2.  
lib. 10, cap.  
8. & lib. 11.  
cap. 5.  
h De Privi-  
leg. Eccles.  
Art. 16. c.  
2.

And this is also agreeable to the Learned, and one of the best Casuists of the Jesuits, *Johannes Azorius*, who in several places of his (g) *Institutions*, confirms the same. (h) *Johannes Philippus Maynardus* in his zeal against the *Venetians*, not onely with the rest of his Followers in that Quarrel, exempts the Clergy from the secular jurisdiction, but also alloweth the Popes Authority to depose the Emperour; and

Thomas

(a) *Thomas Campanella* throweth his Politicks upon the same Pontifical Priviledge: And with him agreeth (b) *Gregorius Capuccinus*. Nor need we marvel to finde (c) *Gilbertus Genebrard* of the same Opinion, when many times his choler and zeal was some discredit to his great learning.

a Nullus possit esse Monarcha, nisi dependeat à Papa, De Monarch, Hispan. c. 9.

b Enchirid. Eccles. Tit. de Salariorum vasall. fol. 140.

c Chron. Tom. 2. pag. 882. & pag. 899. Edit. 1581.

Of the same extravagancy and passion was the *Helvetian* Jesuit, *Laurentius Forerus*, one who thought to procure to himself no small name by his multiplicity of Pamphlets, and Zeal for his Order; yet when he makes it his whole design to clear them from any thoughts of treasonable or bad Principles, even then he confidently affirmeth, that himself, and the rest of his Order, do and did always maintain, that the (d) *Pope hath power to depose Princes*; and for this, he saith the *Jesuits* ought not to be slandered or thought bad subjects, because they affirm no more (e) *than all other Catholick Doctors do*.

d Mantissa Anti-Anatol. Sect. 1. pag. 21, 22, 23, 25.

e — Quæq; alii Theologi communiter ante ipsum [viz. *Greg. de Valentia*] docuerunt, — apertissimum fit à plurimorum sæculorum decursu, eandem à maximis Doctoribus Ecclesiæ & traditam & defensam fuisse, pag. 23. — Dudum ab aliis Catholicis Doctoribus communissime tradita & recepta, pag. 25.

Nay, the famous *Piedmontois* Geographer (f) *Giovanni Botero*, (the first, I may say, that undertook prudentially to discover the world) runs along in the same error with the rest of his Religion, and will not onely allow the Pope to depose Kings, but seem vext and angry against any that should deny it, and reasons the case with them too as largely as if he had been chosen the sole Champion for his Church: and declares himself a profest enemy against those who think that Kings have no Superiour but God in this World.

f L'altra sorte di corruzione, si è lo scandolo dei Principi, che è per malignità depravato el ben publico, è l'edificazione della

chiesa di Dio; è per negligenza lasciano ruinare la Religione ne gli stati loro, per l'uno e per l'altro capo, li Pontifici, se il male è incorrigibile, si vagliono della scomunica, e dell' Interdetto. E si queste arme fanno poco effetto, li dichiarano in capaci de gli stati, e indegni del grado nel qual Dio gli ha posti: assolvano dal giuramento della fedeltà i subditi e trasferiscano i Regni, e gli Imperii all' altri. E la ragione si è perchè nella Chiesa di Dio, la potestà secolare e quasi corpo, la spirituale quasi anima: onde quella deve ubbere, questa commendare in tutto ciò, che si appartiene al ben publico di essa Chiesa. E i Principi scandalosi sono: come membri purridi, o pecore scabbiose, che si debbono trancare dalle parti sincere, o cacciarne fuora del gregge. Et è cosa ridicola quella, che in questi tempi dicono e scrivono alcuni Politici Francesi, che il Re loro dipende immediatamente da Dio; così, per la sua vanità, indegna di esser refutata: conciosia che tutti i Regni legittimi hanno, hanuto origine dall' Electione de i Popoli: e per questo, nella loro incoronazione li Re giurano di osservar i Privilegi à i Popoli; e i Popoli d'esser fedeli a loro, e Dio hà dato ogni autorità di legare e di sciogliere il vincolo del giuramento al Pont. Rom. come habbiamo dimostrato sopra, &c. *Botero* le Relationi Universalì, Part. 2. lib. 4. pag. 125, 126, 127.

(g) *Lessius* the Jesuit, in behalf of the Pope, makes use of *Johannes Parisiensis*; but (h) *Roger Widdrington* a *Benedictine*, affirms that *Parisensis* and *Antonius de Rosellis*, are rather for the Peoples power to depose Kings than the Popes; though be it as it will, one is as bad as the other, and neither barrel better Herring.

g Discussio Decreti Concil. Lateran. pag. 29.  
h A Theolog. Dispute concerning

the Oath of Allegiance, Appendix, pag. 402.

*Johannes de Bromyardo*, an *English Dominican*, and famous in his time for his many writings, is also an assertor of this King-

*a* Opus Tri- (a) King-deposing Doctrine; nor is it any strange thing amongst our  
vium, verb. Country Romanists: for wherefore else should (b) *Edward Rishron*  
Regimen. commend *Saunders* for his Rebellion in *Ireland*? Wherefore else  
*b* Epist. ad should *Watson* the Author of the (c) *Quodlibets* desire that the  
lectorem, Pope had, and would exercise as much power now in *England*, as he  
præfix. N.c. did in *Henry* the Second, and Kings *Johns* time? Wherefore else  
Sander. de should *Everard Hanse* the Priest say, that he hoped *Pius* the Fifth did  
Schilmate not err in declaring against Queen *Elizabeth*, and absolving her sub-  
Angl. jects from their Allegiance? Wherefore else should *John Mundine*,  
c Pag. 327. being asked at his Tryal, if he thought that the Pope could depose  
the Queen; or if another Prince should invade *England*, whether he  
Concertat. would assist the Queen or the Invador, desire to be excused from an-  
Ecclesi. Ca- swering? Wherefore else should *James Fenn*, at his Tryal, declare  
thol. Edit. that the Pope had power to depose the Queen and other Princes?  
1594. fol. 78, Wherefore else should *James Bele* declare that he would assist the  
140, 153, Pope, or any other against the Queen?  
154, 163,  
169, 170,  
171.

Coppie d' une lettre envoye d' Angleterre au seminaire des Anglois à D'unay, contenant l'Hist. du Martyre de 4. Prestres, An. 1616. pag. 10, 18, 49, 53.

Why should *John Finch* affirm the same, or Father *Thomas Maxfield*, that no man under damnation could take the Oath of Allegiance? And *Nicholas Atkinson*, refuse to take the said Oath, though he was promised his life, if he would take it: As they promised the same mercy and favour to *John Thulis*, and *N. Voren* at *Lancaster*.

*d* Vid. O.E. And we are (d) informed from the Records of the Memorials of  
a new cha- the Council at *Torke*, that a House being searched for a Priest, stiled  
lange made to *N. D. p.* *David Engleby* [their own Catalogues mentions one *Francis Ingleby*,  
116. & Mar. who suffer'd there 1586] there were found in the said house these  
Sutcliffe's Positions:

challenge  
concerning  
the Romish  
Church, pag. 187.  
That the Queen before the Popes Bull was not a lawful Queen.  
That Catholicks are not to defend her, or fight for her, if any come to  
execute the Popes Bull.

That it is lawful to take arms against her, and to do what they please  
with her, if they be sure to obtain Victory.

*e* Vid. Rob. And the onely reason that Father (e) *Garnet* had against some in-  
Abbot. An- surrection against the King, was because they wanted the Popes Au-  
tologia, pag. thority or approbation. And if I mistake not, 'tis no less man than  
156. Father (f) *Parsons*, who thinks it no small honour for his cause,  
f A letter of that *Robert Drurie*, *Matthew Flatthers*, and *George Gervis*, three Priests,  
a Catholick would rather dye than take the Oath of Allegiance, when life was  
touching the offer'd them upon that condition.  
Oath of Al-  
legiance,  
pag. 47.

g De Rom. But what need I trouble my self with particulars, when *Abraham*  
Pont. cap. 46. *Bzovius*, who thought himself fit to be joyned with *Baronius*, tells us,  
pag. 621. that all the (g) *English* Priests, who suffer'd in *England*, absolutely  
h Id. Cap. maintain'd that the Pope might depose Kings; and he (h) himself is  
45, 46. of the same pernicious Principle.

i Emporium Of this Opinion also is the great *Spanish* Lawyer, (i) *Pet. Augustin*.  
utriusq; juris *Morla*: and to him it would be no news to add a Souldier of the  
Part. 1. Tit. 2. same Kingdom, and one that by the assistance of this *Maxime*, was to  
de j. iudic. prove his Sword could do no wrong by taking away another mans  
omnium judi- Kingdom, and joyning of it to his Masters. And this is *Fadrique de*  
cum, Quæst. *Toledo*,  
4. 12.

Toledo Duke of *Alva*, who in a large Speech, told the people of *Navarre*, pretty stories of the Popes power in giving away Kingdoms. But the conclusion was, that by the same Authority, the Kingdom of *Navarre* was given to his Master of *Spain*, and King *Albret* justly deposed. And 'tis no great matter whether he or his (a) Historian pen'd the *Harangue*. And no question, but that his Grand-childe, *Don Fernando d'Alvares de Toledo*. Duke of *Alva*, was altogether of the same judgement, when he conquer'd *Portugal* to the same Crown.

Nor is (the great, but none of the best Text-men) the *Spanish* Preaching Jesuite *Johannes Osorius* of any better Principles. For amongst other priviledges granted to the Popes, he tells his Auditory, that he can (b) appoint and depose Kings. And in another of his (c) preachments, he tells the people that by this Text, *Behold here are two swords*, is signified the Spiritual and material Swords of the Church, whereby she doth assault, beat, and rob Kings of their Dominions and Authority.

tollere. Concion. Tom. 3. Concio in *Cathedra St. Petri*, col. 2.

b *Ecce duo gladii hic*. Duas Ecclesiarum potestates, quibus in peccatores animadvertit, significat. Ecclesiasticam & secularem, gladium Spirituale & materiale, quo Ecclesia uti potest, cum oportuerit Reges expugnando ac debellando, & a potestate Regia expoliando. Tom. 4. pag. 87.

Of the same judgement is the *Italian* Lawyer and Divine too, (d) *Cesar Carena*, of so great repute at *Cremona*, and a favorite of the *English* Overseer, Cardinal *Francisco Barberino*, Nephew to *Urban* the eighth.

But of this subject we have been too long, and so I shall conclude all, with the *Dominican*, (e) *Sixtus Senensis*, a man of great Reading: but in this case he thought it not amiss to sin for company with the rest of his Party; now affirming that the Pope, at his own pleasure, without any cause, can depose of Kingdoms; yet a little after, he is willing to have a Reason, and then the deposition is lawful enough.

tos ad Principatus, Regna, & Imperia, utcumq; ei visum fuerit, assumere, assumpto vero etiam sine *Causa* ab iisdem Regnis deponere, & ea Regna ex uno ad alterum pro suæ voluntatis arbitrio transferre.

— Quod si forte in reprobum sensum traditi has [i. e. the Popes Censures] quoq; contempserint, tunc Pontifex (si tamen id Ecclesiasticæ tranquillitati expedire cognoscet) populos absolvere poterit à juramento Obedientiæ quo se Dominiis illis devinxerant, cum adhuc justè imperarent, ei quoq; licitum erit, ipsos Dominos incorrigibiles & Ecclesiæ Rebelles, Principatuum suorum jurisdictione privare, & eorum Jura ad alios Orthodoxos Principes transferre. *Sixt. Senens.* Bibliotheca, lib. 6. Annotat. 72.

## CHAP. II.

*That the Pope can absolve subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, and their Obedience due to their respective Princes.*

**M**E thinks 'tis an odd humour, that the Pope should be so much on Cock-horse above all the world besides, as to expect that all Emperours and Kings should swear absolute obedience to him, and yet allow other earthly Monarchs to have but a conditional subjection from their Subjects: And this Allegiance, though never so strongly tyed up with Oaths and Duty, yet must the people be perswaded, that an *Item* from *Rome* can quit them from its Obligation, as poor *Hortensius* believed himself to be King of *Poland*, because *Roguish Francion* and otherstold him so.

Though we abhor the action, yet we cannot chuse but smile sometimes, to see how many by the knavery of some Politicians, are gull'd into villany: many of our wicked States-men, (as the Devil turns himself into an Angel of Light) wrap themselves in Religion to catch those who know nothing of it but the word. And though we be tyed to Allegiance, with the strictest bonds of Birth and Oaths; yet from these, if occasion serve, the *Grandees* of Faction will ease us, either, as one Nail drives out another, by taking a contradictory Oath to the former, or some way or other, procuring or making of and to our selves an Absolution; the *Pope* and *Disciplinarian* being the Chief Masters of this Faculty.

Our *Presbyterians*, after they had above two years impiously rebell'd against their King and Church, to make their actions more plausible to the Vulgar, took that abominable *Covenant* against both, and so declaring their disobligation to either, as if a latter unlawful Oath could quit one of the former, which, Law, Religion and Nature did bind him to. And I cannot but think here of the impious *Guisan* league in *France*, who having fought a great while against their King *Henry* the Third, and declared themselves not obliged to their *Allegiance* to him; yet as a pretty trick to fool the world, they sent to *Pope Sixtus* the Fifth, that he would declare their war to be lawful, and quit them from their Obedience to their Sovereign: both Knaves of a double dye, first to Rebel, and then to make that sin lawful.

Vestram,  
Beatissime  
Pater, opem  
imploramus.  
— Primum  
ut juramen-

to, quo nos *Henrico* III. quondam abstrinximus, & soluti declaremur. Deinde, ut bellum, quod cum publica Religionis ac libertatis oppressere necessario gerendum est, justum esse decernatur. De iusta *Hen.* III. abdicatione, pag. 398.

And that the Pope hath this power to absolve people from their Obedience, is stilly maintain'd by the *Roman* Champions. Amongst the rest, *Martinus Becanus*, is thus perswaded, and he saith, *That nothing is more certain*, amongst the *Roman* Catholicks, than that the Pope may do not onely so, but command the Subjects not to obey their Prince.

— Pontifex  
absolvat sub-  
ditos à debi-  
to, seu vincu-  
lo subjecto-

nis, quo obligati sunt suis Regibus, nam sublato hoc vinculo ex parte subditorum, jam sponte cessat potestas & jurisdictio Regnum in subditos — Pontifex qui utriusq; [i.e. King and People.] preest in rebus ad salutem pertinentibus, potest mandare & decernere, ut subditi non teneantur præstare fidem regibus, quando Reges non servant ipsis fidem, nihil certius apud Catholicos. *Mart. Becon.* Controvers. Angl. pag. 133. & 135.

With

With him agreeth another of the same Order, viz. a Jesuite, but more voluminous, and of greater esteem, and this is *Franciscus Suarez*, telling us in one place, that the (a) *Pope can absolve Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance*. And in another place, saith, that to affirm the contrary, is to act (b) *against the Custom of the Church, the use and approbation of General Councils, the consent of Catholick Doctors, nay, and against reason, and is plainly (c) Heretical*: And as for our *English Oath of Allegiance*, he saith, a man (d) *need never be absolved from it, because 'twas never binding to him*.

a — Hos à iuramento fidelitatis solvere, vel solutos declarare. Fr. *Suar. defens. fid. Cathol. lib. 3. c. 23.*  
 21.

b Est contra Ecclesiasticum morem, Conciliorumq; generalium usum & approbationem, & contra Catholicorum Doctorum consensum — est etiam contra rationum. Id. Lib. 6. c. 2. 7.

c Propositio illa Hæretica est, lib. 6. c. 5. 1, 2.

d Illud iuramentum, non ligat jurantem, quia non potest iuramentum esse vinculum iniquitatis, quale illud esset, & ideo nemo potest ab illo solvi: and the words before these are, Nemo absolvi potest proprii qui legatus non est.

(e) *Axastafius Germonius*, (f) *Antonius Sanctarellus*, Cardinal *De sacro*  
 (g) *Bellarmino*, (h) *Ludovicus à Paramo*, (i) *Augustinus Triumphus de rum Immu-*  
*Ancona*, (k) *Sylvester de Priero*, and (l) *Rutilius Benzoni*, with nit. 1. 3. Pro-

em. 9, 10.  
 f De Hæresi. cap. 30. pag. 293, 296.  
 g Contra Barclaim; cap. 27.  
 h De Orig. & progres. S.

others, amongst the other Priviledges, which they allow the Pope to have to straiten the Authority and Grandeur of Kings, is the power to absolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, and so to give them liberty, either to chuse or take new Masters. And (m) *Robertus Cenalis* is willing to bestow the same jurisdiction upon the See of Rome.

Inquis. lib. 1. Quest. 1. Opin. 4. 55. & 145.  
 i De potest. Eccles. Quest. 40. Art. 4.  
 k Summa. V. Papa, 10.  
 l Comment. in Cant. Magnif. lib. 3. cap. 27. dub. 6. pag. 134.  
 m De utriusq; gladii facultate, Tom. 2. pag. 119.

As for our Country-man (n) *Nicholas Saunders*, in this cause he is as fierce as any of them; and his great Animosity against there formed Religion, his Native Country, and his legal Sovereign might prompt him to it, and much more: and with these do consent (o) *Johannes Blasius*, (p) *Franciscus Ghetius*, and that ancient Jesuite, (q) *Alphonfus Salmeron*.

n De visib. Monarch. 1. 2. cap. 4.  
 o De sacro Eccles. principatu, lib. 2. c. 12. fol. 63.

p Theolog. Moral. Tom. 1. v. *Dominium*, pag. 393. & v. *Apostasia*, p. 5.

q Tom. 4. Part. 3. Tract. 4. Tertiam potestatem, pag. 410.

(r) *Leonardus Coquæus* indeavouring to confute King *James*, is very earnest, not onely for this Papal Authority in absolving subjects from their obedience to their respective Princes; but also, would gladly perswade him and others to think, that this is neither a tyrannical nor an Usurpt Authority, but a lawful one granted to him by Christ. But King *James* would not be caught with such Chaff; and a King that knoweth himself to be absolute, must have a strong demonstration to the contrary, before he'll throw himself upon another mans mercy.

r Potest eum excommunicare, subditosq; illius à iuramento fidelitatis absolvere, & ab illius obedientia eximere: atq; ea non est Tyrannica vel

usurpata autoritas, sed legitima à Christo instituta, & illi concessa ad Regimen optimum Christianæ Reipublicæ. *Len. Coq. Exam. Prefat. Monit. Jacobi*, pag. 55. & pag. 103.

When a man's nurs't up in an error, he will commonly swear to it:

N 2

and

*r* Disquisit. Clerical. Part. I. pag. 282. *o* 109. In decretal. de Hæreticis. c. 13. *r* Summa de Eccles. c. 14. Propos. 5. *u* De jure Personatum extra Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 52. *o* 1. *x* Repet. in clem. ut clericorum de Offic. Ord. *o* 40. *y* De Cathol. Constitut. Tit. 46. *o* 73.

and though of all Authorities or Decrees, the *Canon-law* hath the least reason in it; yet where men must think as they are bid, we need not wonder when we see the chiefeſt of the Romanists with (*r*) *Johannes Maria Bellettus*, (*f*) *Panormitan*, (*t*) *Cardinal de Turrecremata*, (*u*) *Antonius Riccius*, (*x*) *Stephanus Anfrerius*, and (*y*) *Jacobus Simanca*, with many others, to affirm to the world, this absolving power to lye in the Pope: since besides other reasons, 'tis one of the best Cards in the Pack, that *Rome* hath to keep up her greatness.

*u* De jure Personatum extra Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 52. *o* 1.  
*x* Repet. in clem. ut clericorum de Offic. Ord. *o* 40.  
*y* De Cathol. Constitut. Tit. 46. *o* 73.

Whether *Albertus Pighius* read with these Spectacles or no, I know not; but 'tis very probable that something else besides true reason, did a little sway him in this case. And though considering his time he had more judgement and learning than an hundred of your dull *Canonists*; yet we see him run with the rest to embrace an error, though for his so doing, he saith, he hath the consent of the Church for about eight hundred years; and so concludes, that to think that the Pope cannot quit Subjects from their Obedience and Allegiance due to their Kings, is both *Impious and Heretical*.

— Necessè est, ut Impia & heretica sit illa ejus sententia, qua affirmat, esse hæreticum, ut possint subditi absolvi à juramento fidelitatis, quo ante adstricti fuerant suis superioribus fidelibus. *Alb. Pigb.* Hierarch. Eccles. lib. 5. cap. 15. fol. 266.

Nor is this strange, since a greater than he, and no less than (*z*) *Thomas Aquinas*, doth allow that Subjects may be sometimes quit from their Allegiance and Oaths to their Kings; and to him consents (*a*) *Petrus de Ledesma*, and the Commentators upon him, such as (*b*) *Hieronymus de Medicis*, (*c*) *Johannes Malderius*, and others: so that we need not doubt its validity amongst them.

ipso facto ejus subditi sunt absoluti à dominio ejus & juramento fidelitatis, quo ei tenebantur. *D. Tho. Aquin.* 2.2. Quest. 12. Art. 2. —

*a* Theolog. moralis, Tract. 1. cap. 7. conclus. 5.  
*b* Com. in 2.2. *D. Tho.* Quest. 12. Art. 2.  
*c* — Com. in *D. Tho.* 2.2. Quest. 1. Art. 10. disp. 8.

Nor is it any wonder to see (*d*) *Johannes Driedò*, (*e*) *Baptista Trouomala*, (*f*) *Franzois de Verone*, (*g*) *Dr. Boucher*, (*h*) *Leonardus Lessius*, under the false name of *Gulielmus Singletonus*, (*i*) *Giovanni Botero*; yet the more wonder in him, because a great and understanding States-man, and several others, to be so much for the Pope, as to allow him Authority to absolve Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, when they have no less than the famous Cardinal *Perron* to be their Champion, and with him the Nobility and Clergy in *France*; and this cause of the *See of Rome* to be by him boldly maintained publicly in a long Speech to the *third Estate*; the occasion of which, we have spoken more at large in the former Chapter.

*d* Discussio decreti Concil. Later. pag. 46.  
*i* Le Relationi Universali, part. 2. lib. 4. pag. 124.

In this *Harangue*, the Cardinal endeavours to prove at large, that subjects might be quit from their Oaths of Allegiance and Obedience due to their Kings; nay, that Kings might sometimes be deposed: of which formerly. As for the first, *viz.* *That Subjects might be*

*absolved from their Oaths of Allegiance made to their Kings*; he saith, *a Les dis-*  
*That (a) all Parties of the Catholick Church did hold it, and so did the* *verses*  
*French Church ever since Divinity was taught in Schools amongst them,* *Oeuvres, p.*  
*till the coming of Calvin: and this hath been (b) maintain'd by all the* *592. —*  
*French Kings themselves, Councils, Bishops, and Doctors; as also all their* *Toutes les au-*  
*Magistrates, Officers and Lawyers.* Nor is this all, for he publickly *tres parties de*  
*declares that (c) there could never be found in France, since Schools* *l'Eglise Ca-*  
*of Divinity were there settled, till his time, so much as one Doctor, one* *tholique, voir*  
*Divine, one Lawyer, one Decree, one Council, one Order of Parliament,* *même, toute*  
*one Magistrate, neither Ecclesiastick nor Politique, to have said, that* *l'Eglise Gal-*  
*in case of Heresie or Infidelity, Subjects might not be absolved from* *licane, depu-*  
*their Oath of Allegiance, due to their Kings.* *is que les*  
*E'choles de*

And should they believe the contrary, *(d) they should be plain*  
*Schismaticks and Hereticks, or else the Church must have failed, and*  
*the Pope to have been so far from being Christs Vicar, that he had been*  
*an Heretick and Antichrist.* *Théologie y*  
*ont esté in-*  
*stituéés, jus-*  
*ques à la ve-*  
*nuë de Cal-*  
*vin, tiennent*  
*l'Affirma-*  
*tive, a l'ave-*

que quand un Prince vient a violer le serment qu'il a fait à Dieu & a ses sujets — Les Prince-la peu estre declare dechen des ses droits, comme coupable de Felonie envers celuy a qui il a fait le serment de son Royaume, c'est a dire envers *Jesus Christ*. Et les sujets absous en Conscience & au tribunal Spirituel & Ecclesiastique, du serment de fidelite qu'ils luy ont presté: & que ce cas-la arrivant, c'est a l'autorite de l'Eglise residente, ou en chef qui est le *Pape* ou en son Corps qui est le *Concile* de faire cette Declaration. Et non seulement toutes les autres Parties de l'Eglise Catholique, mais même tous les Docteurs, qui ont esté en France, depuis que les E'choles de Theologie y ont esté instituees, ont tenu l'affirmative, A l'aveoir, qu'en cas de Prince Heretiques ou Infidèles, & persecutans le Christianisme ou la Religion Catholique, les sujets pouvoient estre absous du serment de fidelite.

*Id. Pag. 602.* — Non seulement toutes les autres parties de l'Eglise, qui sont aujourd'huy au Monde, tiennent l'Affirmative, a l'aveoir qu'en cas de Princes Heretiques ou Apollates & persecutans la foy, les sujets peuvent estre absous du serment fait a eux ou a leurs Predecesseurs. — *And*, que depuis onze cent ans il n'y a eu Siecle au quel en diverses Nations cette doctrine n'ayt esté crüe & pratiquee.

*6 Id. Pag. 602.* — Elle a esté constamment tenue en France, ou nos Roys & particulièrement ceux de la dernière race, l'ont protegee par leur Autorite & par leurs armes, ou nos Conciles l'ont appuyee et maintenue ou tous nos Evêques et docteurs scholastiques, depuis que l'E'chole de la Theologie est instituee, juiques a nos jours, l'ont ecrüe, preschee et seignee, et ont finalement tous nos Magistrats, Officiers et Jurisconsultes, l'ont suivie, et favorisee, voir souvent pour de Religion plus legers que l'heresie ou l'Apollatie: Mais desquels neanmoins je ne me pretende aider, si non entant qu'ils peuvent servir a defendre ou la Thele generale, a l'aveoir, qu'en quelque cas les sujets peuvent estre absous du serment, fait par eux a leurs Princes: Ou cette hypothese particuliere, qu'en cas de Princes heretiques ou Apollates et persecutans la foy, les sujets peuvent estre dispenser de leurs obis.

*c Id. Pag. 621.* N'ont jamais peu trouver en toute la France, depuis que les E'choles de Theologie y ont esté instituees, jusques a nos jours un seul Docteur, ny Theologien, ny Jurisconsulte, un seul Decret, un seul Concile, un seul Arrest de Parlement, un seul Magistrate ny Ecclesiastique ny Politique, qui ait dit qu'en cas d'heresie ou d'Infidelite, les sujets ne puissent estre absous du Serment de Fidelite qu'ils doivent a leurs Princes.

*d Id. Pag. 635.* Et non seulement cet Article [*i.e. To believe that subjects cannot be absolved from their Oaths of Allegiance to their King*] nous jette en un *Schisme* inevitable, mais même nous precipite en un *heresie* evidente, nous obligeant necessairement de Confesser que l'Eglise Catholique est perie depuis plusieurs Siecles en la Terre. Car si ceux qui embrassent la doctrine opposite, tiennent une Opinion contraire, a la parole de Dieu, impie et detestable; le Pape donc depuis tant de Siecles n'a point esté chef de l'Eglise et vicair de Christ, mais heretique et Antichrist. Or cela estant ou estoit demeure l'Eglise Catholique? en la France seule? — Mais comment sera t'elle de meuree en France, si cet Article est vray, puisq; tous les Docteurs Francois ont denu depuis tant de Siecles le Contraite, es cas d' *Heresie* et d' *Apollatie* de la Religion Chrétienne.

But



But enough of this, the former Chapter being long enough, and able to serve for both, seeing those who grant that the Pope can lawfully depose Kings, will not deny, but that he can also absolve their subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance and their Obedience.

### CHAP. III.

#### *That Subjects of themselves may depose their Kings and Governours.*

**I**F we allow that the people themselves may lawfully Rebel against their Princes, and at the same time be Judges of the justness of the Reason; to be in Authority will be a slavery, the word Monarchy absolute nonsense, the King obliged to obey every mans passion and folly; nor peace, nor justice can be expected, the Nation being in a perpetual hurlyburly, every other day, as of late times, new Magistrates starting up by strength or Policy; and he that's still uppermost of this *Leap-frog-Government*, will extort Obedience, confirmed by Oaths from his supposed subjects, which will ruine the honest, and damn the rest with Perjury.

*a* Pryn's  
Canterbury's  
doom.

Change, as a Novelty, at first is rather a pleasure than gain to the People, and at last a burden and ruine; and what a factious people once resolve on, they will never want pretence of Reason, themselves being judges. When the Sacrilegious *Presbyterians*, prompted by their Master the Devil, were resolved to Murder that famous Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* (Dr. *Laud*) for fashion-sake, they would have something to say, though if we go according to the Narrative of his (*a*) Enemy, we shall finde, that the Lords, Commons, and *Prynne* himself had but the same Reason and Consequence for so doing, as according to the Proverb, *Tenterton Steeple* is the cause of *Goodwin-Sands*.

*b* Jo. Mag-  
nus, Hist.  
Goth. Sue-  
cium; lib.  
Id. Hist. Me-  
tropol. Up-  
sal. l. i. p. 11.

I warrant you the ancient (*b*) *Swedes* thought themselves as pretty Religious blades as any, when they slew their good King *Eric Stenchil*, because he intended to bring in Christianity amongst them. Our late *Puritans* made it one of their main pleas in Print and Pulpit, for their fighting against the King, because forsooth, he intended to bring in Popery: And the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, and others, thought to pull down and destroy Queen *Elizabeth*, and some did also King *James*, because they setled the Protestant Religion; and I do not know which were the arraneft knaves of the three parties: certain I am, that Christian Religion doth nowhere allow Rebellion; and if a Heathen and a Christian do the same fault, it is not the unbelief of the former, that makes him more wicked in the act than the Religion of the latter; and he that bauls out the liberty of Conscience, and loss of Religion, to vindicate his Rebellion, hath too much of Atheism in him, to be a true Christian.

Thus would these men make the condition of Kings to be like that of *Damocles*, with a drawn Sword hanging over their heads by a slender thred; His and the Kingdoms settlement to lye at the mercy and alteration of every hot-brain'd Zealot: For let him be of whatso-  
ever

ever Religion, yet we see he shall not please; and that which should have no Arms but Prayers and Tears, must be made a pretence to prove the Devil a Saint, and Treason an Article of Faith.

We have formerly seen how the *Romish* Favorites do hugely contend in behalf of their (a) *Canon-law*, that the Pope is (b) *set over the Nations and over Kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down.* But as if this were not enough to overcloud the Authority of Kings, they will allow the people also the power to trample upon their Princes, by deposing them; and this in few words, is acknowledged by (c) *Rutilius Benzoni*, Bishop of their Miraculous *Loretto*.

a Extra. Com. l. i. Tit. 8. c. 1. *Unam Sanctam.*  
b Jer. i. 10.

c Jus depoenendi & abdicandi e so-

lio Reges ac Principes non solum Ecclesiæ sed interdum populis competere ratione & exemplis ostenditur. *Rut. Benz. Comment. in Canticum Magnificat, lib. 3. cap. 27. dub. 6. pag. 134.*

*Leonardus Coquæus*, endeavouring to prove that the Pope hath power to depose Kings, in one place brings his Argument by way of comparison, that if (d) *Parliaments* do sometimes depose Kings, why may not the Pope much more do it? And in another place speaks more plain, That (e) *without the Pope the Subjects themselves may pull their Kings from their Thrones.* But I warrant you, that King *James*, against whom he wrote, would never be converted by this *French-man*.

d Examen Præfat. monic. p. 102.  
e Imo judicarem, quod non expectata sententia Summi Pontificis posset talem Principem a subditis deponi. Id. Pag. 49.

Here we have the *Brabantine* Jesuite, *Martinus Becanus*, keep a great deal of clutter about the old worne-out Argument, of a mutual compact between King and People; and so he would conclude, that if Kings do not keep their Promises to their Subjects, then the people may slip their necks out of Coller, and throw by their King: and something to this purpose he affords you an old Rime.

Controvers. Angl. p. 133, 134, 135.

*Frangenti fidem, fides frangatur eidem.*

But this in this case is a false rule with us, being no compact, nor the parties equals; so that, do but translate his Riming Proverb to agree with the cause in hand, and we shall see the consequence to be false.

*Don breaks his Troth, burns my poor house, what then?  
May I his slave, go and burn his agen?*

This used to be common Logick to the borderers or Mofstroopers; but we see ours, if held affirmatively, cannot prosper in a settled Kingdom. But he goeth farther yet to extol the power of the People, affirming, *that when a King is deposed, though there remaineth a lawful Heir, to whom the Kingdom of right doth belong, and this too apparently known to all; yet if the people do chuse another, and throw this Heir aside, the other so chosen is the true King.*

—Plus dicam in hæc re voluit consensus populi, ut etiam si superesset legitimus hæres alium

cui Regnum deberetur, & hoc palam omnibus constaret, tamen si populus prætermittere legitimo hærede, alium delegisset, ille alius fuisset verus Rex. *Mart. Becan. Controv. Angl. pag. 120.*

Almost an hundred years ago an *English-man*, who calls himself *John Rastell*, Master of Arts, and Student of Divinity, then living

a A brief shew of the false wares packt together in the named Apologie of the Church of England, fol. 93.

living at *Lovan*, (a) wrote against Dr. *Jewel* in behalf of Dr. *Harding*, or rather as himself saith, gathered out of Dr. *Hardings* Book; and if so, about this cause, take both their Opinions.

For whereas every Common-wealth is greater than the Prince which governeth it, and may depose the same upon lawful cause; and whereas Riot and doltishness are causes sufficient so to do (as making the Prince unable to govern it well) it followeth consequently, that if the whole Estate of France deposed *Chilperick*, and erected *Pipine*, there was NO FAULT committed in so doing.

Now certainly you would think that this *Chilperick* was a strange Tyrant, or that his wickedness must be so great, that 'twas no fault to take the Crown from him, and give it to one of his Subjects that had no right to it; nor is this all, but the Kingdom by this means changed from one Family to another. But we shall finde his enormities not to deserve such punishment: that he wanted discretion, I believe, but then they might have given him an assistant; and as for his inclination, (b) *Paolo Morigi* tells us that he was *Godly and peaceful*, and when he was put into a Monastery, that he led an *Angelical life*.

b Hist. de' personaggi illustri Religiosi, lib. 3. cap. 18.

—Essenda di natura pia — Egli menò vita Angelica.

c Pag. 764.

Whether there was such an *English-man* or no as this *John Rastell*, I know not, because *Pitseus* maketh no mention of any such, and doth tell us besides, that (c) *William Rastell*, amongst other things, wrote several Books against Bishop *Jewel*: whosoever be the man, 'tis not much to our purpose, though *William* the Lawyer would have given more credit to the cause, though for so doing, would somewhat have encreas'd the wonder; those who are so much addicted to our *Common-law*, not troubling themselves so much with the *Romish* Politicks, or the niceties of the Schools. And so much for *Rastell* and his friends Doctrine.

d Recognit. lib. de laicis, cap. 6.

(d) *Bellarmino* tells us, that *Martinus ab Azpilcueta*, the famous *Spanish* Lawyer, was of Opinion, that the people never transferr'd their power so much upon, and into the Prince, but that in some cases they might resume it again from him: And of the same judgement doth the Cardinal shew himself in one place, that if (e) the King turns Tyrant, the people may depose him and chuse another. And again, that (f) 'tis the consent of the people, that constitutes Kings or other Governments over them; and so if cause be given, they may turn the Kingdom into an *Aristocracy* or *Democracy*, or the contrary.

e Videmus in rebus publicis temporibus, si Rex degeneret in Tyrannum, licet sit Caput Regni; tamen a populo deponi, & eligi alium: *Bellar. de Concil. l. 2. c. 19.*

f Pendet a consensu multitudinis, constituere super se Regem vel Consules vel alios Magistratus, ut patet: & si causa legitima adsit, potest multitudo mutare Regnum in Aristocratiam aut Democratiam, & c contrario. *Bellarmino. de laicis, lib. 3. cap. 6.*

g Defens. fid. Cathol. lib. 3. c. 3.

h Si Rex legitimus, tyrannice gubernet, &

Regno nul-

lum aliud subest remedium, ad se defendendum, nisi Regem expellere ac deponere, poterit Respublica tota publico & communi Concilio Civitatum & Procerum Regem deponere. *Suarez. defens. fid. lib. 3. cap. 4. 15.*

Guillielmus

*Guilielmus Estius*, one of a great name, both for learning and moderation, an honour both to his Country *Holland*, and his University *Douay*, though in one (a) place he speaks so much between the teeth, that he seems onely to hint his Opinion to the case in hand : Yet in another of his Books he speaks boldly and to the purpose, confident enough of the truth of his cause, since he thinks that he hath the Scripture, and St. *Augustine* to back him. But let us hear his own reason, which in short is this, because forsooth (b) the Nobles and people, by the Authority residing in them, may defend themselves from Tyranny, and not onely chuse themselves a lawful Prince, but also, cause being given, may throw him from the Throne again.

a Annotat. in *Machab.* l. 1. c. 2. v. 22.

b Ratio quidem videtur quia in proceribus, & populo residet publica

authoritas, quæ & se à manifesta Tyrannide vindicare & legitimum Principem eligere sibi possunt, atq; etiam electum si causa subit imperio privare. *Guil. Est. Com. in 4. libros Sentent. lib. 2. pag. 444.*

Though the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* were thought to be mortal enemies, yet where Religion links together, these can also agree, though in wickedness : For with the *Hollander* doth consent no less man than *Tostatus*, one so voluminous, that 'tis thought that he wrote a sheet for every day he lived ; which is thus testified by this part of his Epitaph :

*Præ natalis luci folia omnia adaptans,  
Nondum sic fuerit pagina trina satis.*

Compare his days and leaves, you'll finde to's praise,  
He wrote as many sheets as he liv'd days.

That he was a great Scholar, is not denied ; but 'twas no part of his learning to assert that Kings may be (c) deposed, not onely by the Pope, but the people too, being (d) placed in that greatness for the good of the people, not his own ; and if he do otherwise, he is not a King but a Tyrant, and so may be deposed.

c Reges nostri in multis casibus possunt deponi sive per Papam, sive ab

ipsis Regnicolis. *Tostat. Com. in III. Reg. cap. 11. Quest. 35.*

— d Positus est ad procurandas utilitates subditorum, & non suam — & si secus agat, non est Rex sed Tyrannus, & deponi meretur, &c. *Tostat. Com. in III. Reg. cap. 12. Quest. 4. And he agrees with this in other places, as, in II. Paralip. cap. 10. Quest. 9. in Jud. cap. 9. Quest. 46. pag. 146. col. 2. G.*

To the judgement of *Abulenſis* doth another *Spaniard*, a famous *Dominican* agree, who though he giveth great glory to the Pope, in his authority over Kings and Potentates ; yet as if all the world were brave fellows, and born to authority, except Kings, he alloweth the same power to the people, (e) without having any liberty granted them for so doing from the Pope : Nay, (f) though the Pope be so far from endeavouring to punish this King, that though he do know and see his faults, and yet doth tolerate him, yet may the people deprive him. And immediately before this, *Dominicus Bannes* gives the people sole authority over their Kings, to (g) depose them.

e Abq; Pontificis sententia potest Respublica se defendere & privare Principem dominio in

subditos. *Dom. Bannes, in 2. 2. D. Tho. Quest. 12. art. 2. col. 480.*

f Licet Pontifex non puniat eum, Respublica tamen Christiana puniat eum, imo etiam si Pontifex videns & sciens toleraret illum Apottatam, ad huc Respub. Christiana possit illum pellere à Regno, quoniam Pontifex sine ratione permittit illum impunitum. *Bannes ib. col. 481.*

g Ib. Respublica potest Principem pellere e Regno & privare autoritate quam ab illa est sortitus, quando sua gubernatione & corruptis moribus destruit Reipub. commodum & leges quibus Respub. optime gubernatur. Quapropter cum Princeps iste Apottata vel Hæreticus destruat leges quibus Respub. Christiana gubernatur & conservatur, Cives hujus Reipub. autoritate hac communi Principem a Regno pellere.

O

Nay,

a Id. Col.  
478.

Nay, he saith, that sometimes, as if the Pope should declare the King to be an Heretick, (a) then the Subjects are obliged to quit themselves from their obedience to him, and fight against him: but yet he would have them to be so cunning, as to consider first, whether they had strength and force enough to make themselves Conquerours; and in this case our *English Roman* Catholicks are very much beholden to him, for putting in an excuse for them, for their not yet Rebelling against their King, as if obedience were a reproach amongst them.

b Bibliotheca soc. Jes.  
pag. 285.  
b Id. P. 415,  
451.

Something to this purpose is a Country-man of ours, under the name of *Andreas Philopater*; but who was the true Author under this Visard, I cannot swear. 'Tis true, it was commonly supposed to be *Joseph Creswell*, an active Jesuite, of the *Spanish* Faction, and an Enemy to his Queen and Country; and a Book of the same Title, (b) *Alegambe* ascribes to this *Creswell*: others say *Robert Parsons* was the Author; and in this (b) *Alegambe* agrees also, but yet he leaves us in the Suds; and how in this case to trust to him, I know not, since he hath publickly in *France* been questioned for his writings: and some think they both club'd to the making of it; and indeed the brat is so like them, that you would easily judge it to have been spit out of their Mouths; for such a wicked book must be made by such wretches: well, let it be as't will; let's hear the Imp it self speak.

— Hinc etiam infert Universa Theologorum & jurisconsultorum Ecclesiasticorum (& est certum & de fide) quemcunque Principem Christianum, si à Religione

'Tis certain, we must believe it, and it's the Opinion of all Divines and Lawyers, that if any Christian Prince fall from the Catholick Faith, and would have others to follow him, he himself thereby, doth forthwith, both by Divine and Humane Law, though the Pope do no way censure him, fall from all his Authority and Dignity, and his Subjects are freed from all their Oaths of Allegiance, which they sware to him as a lawful Prince; and so they may, nay and ought [if they have force enough to overcome] pull him down from the Throne, as an Apostate, Heretick, a forsaker of Christ, and an enemy to the Commonwealth.

Catholica manifeste deflexerit, & alios advocare voluerit, excidere statim omni potestate ac dignitate ex ipsa vi juris, tum humani tum divini, hocq; ante omnem sententiam supremi Pastoris ac judicis contra ipsum prolatam, & subditos quoscunque liberos esse ab omni juramenti obligatione, quod ei de Obedientia tanquam Principi legitimo prætulerint, posteq; & debere (si vires habeant) istius modi hominem tanquam Apostatam, Hereticum, ac Christi Domini desertorem & Reipublicæ suæ inimicum hostemq; ex hominum Christianorum dominatu ejicere. *Andreas Philopater*, Responsio ad Edictum Regine Angliæ, &c. 157. pag. 106, 107.

This is excellent stuff, fit for *Rome* and *Spain*, who then had a Months minde to *England*, and had many Irons in the Fire for that purpose, which he did not question but to bring about, having such good Instruments to work withal, hoping in time to perswade the *English* to be brave Rebels, and to believe this their Doctrine. And the better to bring them about to this lure, *Philopater* is at them again and again, several times earnestly perswading them, that this

c Atq; hæc certa, definita & indubitata virorum doctissimorum sententia, doctrinæ Apostolicæ conformis plane & consona est. Ib. & 158. Id. & 160. Est igitur certissima & indubitata hæc communis Doctorum Catholicorum sententia de subditorum obligatione ad Principes hæreticos repellendos. — Id. & 221. — Certe opinari illa capita sunt doctrinæ Catholicæ, quæ omni Theologorum scholæ tot retro sæculis jam docuit, Christianorum omnium unanimis consensu, &c.

Proposition about the Subjects thus deposing of Kings, is (c) the certain determin'd, and undoubted opinion of all learned men, and plainly agreeable and consonant to the Apostolical

cal Doctrine: Nay, that it is not onely lawful, but that they are (a) obliged to do so upon their Conscience, and pain of their souls.

a Certe non tantum licet (ut jam dixi)

sed summa etiam juris divini necessitate ac præcepto, immo Conscientiæ vinculo arctissimo & extremo animarum periculo ac discrimine Christianis omnibus hoc ipsum incumbit, si præstare rem possunt. Id. 162.

And as if with one stroke he would subdue two of the most potent Kingdoms of Europe, by necessitating of them to submit to their then Enemy the Spaniard (for then he endeavoured to make himself Master over them both) he puts it down for a Rule, that he who is not of the Roman Catholick Religion, and not yet obtain'd the Crown, must not by any means be permitted to be King, though his Title be good. In this case he expressly nominates his design against France, by perswading of them upon this reason never to admit of the King of Navarre for their Sovereign: So that if that Nation have had any benefit from that Noble House of the Bourbons (as they cannot deny, but their obligations to be many) they are no way beholden to this English Counsellor under the Spanish Habit. And for ourselves, we as little; for the same Engine aims also against our Family of the StUARTS, upon the same account of Religion: and this is also used as an Argument upon the same account, by his Friend and fellow-Rebel, Father Parsons, in his Book about the succession of the Crown, under the counterfeit name of R. Doleman. Id. 161.

Petrus de Ledesma, is willing in all things to harp upon the Authority of the Pope, and therefore he would have the people before they warr'd against their King, to have some recourse to the Pope, or the Emperour; so that here Kings have got another Temporal Ruler over them: but if this be not so easie and convenient to be done, what then? (b) They may then, he saith, call a Parliament and depose their King; nay, and kill him too, saith this good Spaniard.

b Poterit conventum agere, & talem Regem

Regno pellere, & si opus sit vita spoliare. Theol. Moral. Tract. 8. cap. 18. pag. 512.

And (c) Ludovicus Molina another Spaniard, goeth much about the same way to consult his deposing. And now let us see what a Portugal saith to this point; and this shall be no less than Emanuel Sa, one of a great name amongst the Jesuits; he saith expressly in one place, that if (d) the King tyrannize, and do not execute his Office, and when there is any other just reason for so doing, then the people may dethrone him, and elect another: and this he confirms again in (e) another place.

c De justitia, Tom. 1. Tract. 2. disp. 29. col. 213, 214.

d Potest per rempublicam privari ob Tyrannidem, & si non faciat Officium

v. Princeps,

sum, & cum est causa aliqua justa, & eligi alius à majore parte populi. Em. Sa. Aphorism. 2.

e Tyrannicem gubernans juste acquisitum dominium, non potest spoliari sine publico judicio, lata vero sententia, potest quisq; fieri Executor: potest autem deponi à populo, etiam qui juravit ei Obedientiam perpetuam, si monitus non vult corrigi. Id. V. Tyrannus. 2.

And you may suppose that he was very careful to finde out the truth, and in this case, what was the real meaning of the Roman Church, from which you must think he would not swerve a jot: I say, you must take him here to be very exact, since he tells us that he was about forty years in compiling this little Book. Yet I durst fancy, that his Mother would never have perswaded him with that earnestness

earnestness to be a Disciple to the *Jesuits*, had she thought that the Enemy of her Country, *Portugal*, would make use of such Principles as these to enlarge his own Territories, and so to have made the *Lusitanian* Dragon, a prey to the greedy-minded Lyon of *Castile*.

We had formerly *Leonardus Lessius*, making the Pope swagger over Kings, under the false name of *Guilielmus Singletonus*; but here we shall see him without that Visard, boldly shewing himself in his true colours, but upon as bad a design as the former: (a) If (saith he) *the Prince grow so much a Tyrant, that he seems intolerable, and no other remedy appearing, the People, or Parliament, or any other in authority may depose him, and declare him an Enemy; nay, and act against his very Person too, he then ceasing to be a Prince.*

a Si tantum excresecat Tyrannus [he means one of true title & possession] ut non videatur amplius tolerabilis, nec ullum aliud Remedium superfit, primum à Repub. vel committis Regni, vel alio habente auctoritatem esse deponendum, & hostem declarandum; ut in ipsius personam quidquam attentare. Tum enim definit esse Princeps. *Leon. Less. de justitia & jure, lib. 2. cap. 9. disp. 4. & 12.*

*Franciscus Fenardentius*, one of the most furious of all the *Franciscan* Orders, doth somewhat agree with the former, as you will easily judge when you hear him speak: (b) *The Parliament composed of the Clergy, Nobility and Commons, representing the Majesty and power of the whole Kingdom (as a general Council of Bishops doth the whole Church) may depose their King, being a Tyrant, and hurtful to Religion and the People, and then may chuse another into his place.*

b Conven-tus legitimus Ordinum totius Regni, qui ex Ecclesiasticis, Nobilibus, & populi selectis viris coalescit, cum universi Regni Majestatem potestatem & faciem referat, sicut Concilium Generale Episcoporum universam representat Ecclesiam, Regem Religioni & populo perniciosum, Tyrannum & infestum, potest exauthorare, & alium ejus loco substituere. *Franc. Fenard. Com. in Esther, pag. 87.*

To these Divings we may add an old noted Lawyer *Andreas de Isfernia*, who tells us, that to whom the Government of the Kingdom is given, to the same person is also committed all things that belong to the Government, whereby the people deprive themselves of all Relations to such authority, (c) *Unless the King do not govern well, for then, forsooth, they may expel him the Nation, as the Romans of old did Tarquinius.*

c—Non remansit apud Populum, qui non potest revocare, nisi Rex male se gereret, tunc expelleret Regem Tyrannizantem, sicut *Tarquinius Romani*. *Andr. de Isfern. Comment. in usus Feudorum. Tit. Quæ sint Regalia. V. Moneta, pag. 743.*

*Adamus Tannerus*, a German Jesuit of great repute in his Country, both with the Emperour and other Princes; yet for all the many favours received from them, he must not contradict the Principles of his Order and Church; and therefore he positively maintains that Kings may lawfully sometimes be deposed: and because he would not seem to do any thing without Reason, he thus tells you upon what goodly foundation this bad Principle stands, because forsooth, (d) *as the people do deliver their power up to the King, so upon just account, they can take it from him again: and also because every Commonwealth hath the Authority to see that they have a lawful head; and he, who from the Pastor of the people turns to be a Wolf, is no lawful Governour.*

d Ratio est tum quia Respub. uti in Principem, suam potestatem contulit, ita ab eodem potest ex justa causa auferre. Tum quia quæq; Respub. habet potestatem sibi prospiciendi de legitimo Capite, quale non est hic, qui ex Pastore populi in Lupum degeneravit. *Ad. Tanner. Theolog. Scholast. Tom. 3. disp. 4. Quest. 8. dub. 3. Num. 32, 33.*

But

But now let us see the Opinion of a *Scotch-man*, and that held one of the learnedst of his time; his Divinity he got from *Sorbonne*, but where he got his Politicks, I know not, unless from the practice of his Church of *Rome*: however, take it as it is: (a) *The people are above their King, and in some cases may depose him, as the Romans did Tarquin: yet this they cannot do lawfully but upon urgent occasions.*

*a* Totus populus est supra Regem, & in aliquo eventu potest de jure eum exauthorare, quemadmodum Romani Tarquinium superbum imperio exuerunt, sed non sine maxima & evidentissima causa. *Jo. Major. in quantum sententiarum. Dist. 11. Quæst. 10.*

This was a fit man to be *Buchanan's* Master, who trod his steps to an hair in these Principles, as appears by his ungrateful (b) Dialogue presented to King *James*: But the Scholar had not so good esteem of his Masters skill in History, as appears by the Satyrical Epigram against him, though *Major* deserved better.

*Cum scateat nugis solo cognomine Major,  
Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro:  
Non mirum titulis quod se veracibus ornat,  
Nec semper Mendax fingere Creta solet.*

*G. Buchan.  
Epigram, lib.  
1. pag. 337.*

Since, as he saith, he's onely *Great* in name,  
And with false trifles doth his story frame:  
No wonder that he calls himself so right,  
Since greatest lyars sometimes truth may write.

But that we might not at this time think our Neighbours worse than ourselves; let's hear an *English-man* speak to this case, and this shall be the noted Jesuit, *Robert Parsons*, under the Visard of *R. Doleman*: — *Tea not onely in this point (saith he) bath the Commonwealth authority to put back the next Inheritors upon lawful considerations; but also to dispossess them that have been lawfully put in possession, if they fulfill not the Laws and Conditions, by which, and for which their dignity was given them.* And again:

— *So yet retaineth still the Common-wealth her Authority, not onely to restrain the same Prince, if he be exorbitant, but also to chasten and remove him upon weighty considerations.*

In one place he seems to vapour with his Compact, though I would gladly know when, where, by whom, and how in *England*, (for that's his drift) this Agreement was, and made conditional? and by what Laws the people are made Judges and Punishers? but let us hear the Jesuit himself speak. —

— *Tea, with such plain Exceptions, Promises, and Oaths of both Parties (I mean between the King and Common-wealth at the day of his admission or Coronation) as if the same be not kept, but wilfully broken on either part, then is the other not bound to observe his Promise neither, though never so solemnly made or sworn; for that in all Bargains, Agreements and Contracts, where one Party is bound mutually and reciprocally to the other by Oath, Vow, or Condition, there, if one side go from his promise, the other standeth not obliged to perform his.*

In another place he turns the Condition into an Obligation, affirming, that the people not onely *may*, but that they *ought* depose their Kings, thus:

— *Then is the Common-wealth not onely free from all Oaths made by*

*Id. Pag. 77,  
her 78.*



her of Obedience or Allegiance to such unworthy Princes, but is bound moreover for saving the whole body to resist, chasten and remove such evil heads, if she be able.

And then again to weaken the succession by blood, and to make an Heir-apparent but a trifle, and to make the outward Ceremonies too much essential to the Office, he thus in his fury gives you his Infalible Decree:—

Id. Cap. 5. — *I must needs affirm to be most absurd, base and impious, that flattery before mentioned of Belloy and his Companions—where he holdeth, that onely succession of blood is the thing without farther approbation, which maketh a King, and that the Peoples consent to him, which is next by birth, is nothing at all needful, be he what he will; and that his admission, inunction, or Coronation, is onely a matter of external Ceremony; without any effect at all for increase or Confirmation of his right. These, I say, are unlearned, fond, and wicked assertions.*

And, as if all the world agreed with him upon his main design, he thus flatters himself and his Readers:—

Id. Part. 2. — *That a King upon just causes may be deposed, I think both Parties, though never so contrary between themselves, will easily agree.*

But before I leave this wicked Book, I shall tell thee, that the Doctrine of it was so pleasing to the Palates of our *Independents*, that about the beginning of 1648, they got it reprinted, though in another garbe; that of Father *Parsons* his putting out, being by way of Dialogue, but the latter was by way of Speeches or Orations, *Gilbert Mabbot* being *Imprimator*; and not long before the happy Restauration of his Majesty, the Dialogue was publickly reprinted again, and to good purpose I warrant you.

*Johannes Mariana* the Spanish Jesuit, sufficiently known for his variety of Learning, and the smooth stroke of his Pen, and no less for his pernicious Principles spread over the world to encourage Treason and Murther, amongst his other Impieties, he perswades subjects to War against their Kings, telling them that in some cases they may also *depose them*, nay, and *Murther them* too; of which in its due place.

Certe a Re-  
pub. unde or-  
tum habet  
Regia pote-  
tas, rebus ex-  
igentibus Re-  
gem in jus vocari posse, & si sanitatem respuat Principatu spoliari. Non ita in principem jure potestatis trans-  
tulit, ut non sibi majorem reservarit potestatem. Jo. Mar. de Regi & Regis Institutione, lib. 1. cap. 6.  
pag. 57.

But they may say that the *Parisians* received him with some Rigour, though yet, I do not think that they will positively affirm, that this was justly done, for the Position now in hand, unless they will also censure some of the main Pillars of their Church. And the *Germane* Jesuit, (a) *Sebastianus Heissius*, in this case doth Apologize for him, declaring that in this point (*that Kings may be deposed by their Subjects*) he writ not amiss.

Nor is this Doctrine unpleasant to all the *French*, as appears by one of the noted writers amongst them (b) *Robertus Cenalis*, who shews himself a lusty Champion for this cause against Kings, whom, he saith, may be brought to a *trial and deposed*.

a Refutatio  
Aphorismo-  
rum, cap. 3.  
ad Aphor. 1.  
p. 158.

b Neq; enim  
potest qui ve-  
rus est domi-  
nus hostiliter

invadi: sed via tantum juris à tota communicate moneri, & si incorrigibilis fuerit, aut detineri debet ad tem-  
pus, aut deponi. Quod non cadit adversus Principem, nisi juxta allegata & probata, & quidem à tota Com-  
munitate. Rob. Cenalis *Arboricensis*, de utriusq; gladii facultate, Tom. 2. pag. 119.

To these I might add the *Italian* Jesuit, (a) *Vincentius Fillincius*; the *Spanish* Fryar Mendicant, (b) *Michael Salon*; and the learned *Dominican* of the same Nation, (c) *Dominicus Soto*, with whom the *Benedictan* of our own Country agreeth, viz. (d) *Gregory Sayer*; but to betoo particular, would be tedious: And so I shall pass by (e) *Jacobus Kellerus*, the *German* Jesuit; and Mr. (f) *Thomas White* an *English* Priest, well known amongst us for his odd stile and opinions, with several others.

a Moral' Quæst. Tom. 2. Tract. 29. c. 1. & 12. b In D. Tho. Tom. 1. col. 1157. c De justitia, lib. 5 Quæst. 1. art. 3. d Deniq; &

recte Sotus—cum hujusmodi Tyrannus habeat jus & titulum justum in Regno, non est nisi per judicem deponendus, aut suo jure spoliandus. Greg. Sayer, Clavis Regia, lib. 7. cap. 10. & 3.

e Tyrannicidium seu Scitum Catholicorum de Tyranni internecione, Quæst. 2, 3.

f Grounds of Obedience and Government, pag. 122, 123, 124, 133, 135, 136, 151, 154, 157, &c.

## CHAP. IV.

*That Kings may lawfully be kill'd by their own Subjects.*

*Solon* that ancient Law-giver to the *Athenians*, though it was his design to put a curb to all Vice, and root out Iniquity; yet amongst his many other good and wholesome Sanctions, he made no law against a mans killing of his Father, not thinking that men could be so unnatural, as to destroy that which gave them a being, seeing the very Storks venture all, for the preservation of their ancient Parents. And the more modern Inhabitants of *Vicaragua in America Mexicana*, though Infidels, had such esteem for their Governours, (the Fathers of the Country) that they made no Law against the murdering of Kings: Happy people! whose innocent simplicity, made them not capable to apprehend such monstrous Villany!

Tho. Gages survey of the West-Indies, Pag. 74, 75.

And must Christians be out-stript by these honest Heathens in virtue? or is it decreed that Christianity should be a prop to wickedness? Must we (as they say of the *Gloss* of *Orleanse*) contradict the Text? when we are bid to obey, must we Rebel? when we are bid to suffer, must we kill and Murther? Or must we think that the nulling is the fulfilling of a Law? May we interpret all Commands, as the *Glossator* upon the *Canon-law*, with Oppositions, that to (g) *Decree*, signifieth to *abrogate* or *null*; or as another doth with the *Civil-Law*, that by (h) *so much the more*, must be meant *so much the less*? No: yet such there are, or else we do not rightly understand the Text, or their Comment.

g Statuimus, id est, abrogamus, dist. 4. & Statuimus.

h Quo magis, id est, quo minus. Cod. lib. 3. de judiciis, Tit. 1. c. 3. & Quoties; Hist. Hen. VII. p. 134.

The learned Lord (i) *Verulam* tells us, that conditional Speeches, with *Ifs* and *Ands* doth not qualifie Treason: *Burdet* the Merchant in *London* suffered as a Traytor under *Edward* the Fourth, onely for saying, that he would make his Son Inheritor of the Crown, meaning his own House: and *Collingburn* under *Richard* the Third, for making this Pasquil upon his favourites *Lovel*, *Ratcliff*, and *Catsby*, with an allusion to himself by a Bore, his Cognizance or Badge in Arms:

The

*The Rat, the Cat, and Lovel the Dog,  
Rule all England under the Hog.*

Since the Crowns of Princes are so nice, people should be more circumspect how they treat of them, especially when it concerns a mischief, and the people may think that they are somewhat related to it; and though the Rule be but obscure, they are apt to take the staff by the wrong end, and apply it to their own pleasures and desires of Novelty. Though the Letter

*Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.*

To kill Edward, do not fear, is a good thing.

was dubious, and might have a double interpretation; yet *Gurney* and *Maltravers* had will and malice enough, to understand it for the murder of the King. When *Parry* read in Cardinal *Allans* Book, that Queen *Elizabeth* had no right to the Crown, being an Heretick, it encouraged him to endeavour her Murder: And the two *Henry's* the Third and Fourth of *France*, upon the same zealous account got their deaths, by the assassinating hands of *Clement* and *Ravalliac*.

Confutat.  
Anticot cap.  
I. pag. 12.

'Tis but a poor plea that *Andreas Eudemon-joannes* makes in behalf of the Jesuits, when to quit them from *Anticotons* accusation, viz. that they allow that Kings may be killed; replyeth, that Jesuits never writ that a private man might murder a King: since those who onely except against the actions of private men, do thereby allow the same wickedness to be done by the Magistrates or those in Authority. And he's as much a Villain, and as far from Christianity, who allows that a *Rump* or Parliament may judge and kill their Sovereign, as he that commends the same fact in a private person, be it a *Jacobin* or any other.

Many we have [and some, I dare say, who speak cordially and with grief] who rant bravely against the wickedness of the late Murder of King *Charles* the First, and do lay it as a guilt too upon our Church; and yet a Jury might be call'd of some of the chief Doctors of *Rome*, who would have eas'd the *Rump* of their labour and iniquity, and would themselves have brought in the innocent King guilty.

What shall we think of *Leonardus Lessius*, a Belgick Jesuit, of as great repute, as most of that Order? However, take his judgement in short: if a King do not Rule, but for the harm of his People, what must be done with him? He tells you, That (a) *such a King cannot be slain by private men, as long as he remains a Prince*. Yet let us see this a little explained by the same Pen. (b) *But if (saith he) his Tyranny grow to such an height, that he seems intolerable, and no other remedy remaining, then the People, Parliament, or any other having Authority may depose him, and declare him an Enemy; whereby ANY THING MAY BE ATTEMPTED AGAINST HIS PERSON, because HE THEN ceaseth to be a KING*.

a Secundo  
potest quis  
esse Tyrannus,  
ratione  
duntaxat ad-  
ministratio-  
nis, ut si is  
qui est verus  
Princeps,  
Regni admi-  
nistrationem

hæcat non ad bonum publicum, sed ad sua privata compendia, onerando illud injustis exactionibus, vendendo Officio judicium, condendo leges sibi commodas, publico parum utiles. Talis non potest à Privatis interimis, quamdiu manet Princeps. Leon. Less. de justitia, lib. 2. cap. 9. dub 4. & 10.

b Ib. & 12. Adde, si tantum exerceat Tyranniam, ut non videatur amplius tolerabilis, nec ullum aliud remedium superfit, primum à R. pub. vel Comitibus Regni, vel alio habente auctoritatem esse proponendum, & hostem declarandum; ut in IPSIUS PERSONAM LICEAT QUICQUID ATTENTARE, TUM ENIM DESINIT ESSE PRINCEPS.

Here

Here we have enough to ease *Lessins* of some Loyalty and honesty; viz. that Kings may be deposed, and then are not Kings, so that they may be kill'd as private persons. But had he weigh'd his Doctrine as he did his meat, in this he would either have been silent, or appear'd in another Opinion; or had he been as temperate in one as the other, his Politicks would not have thus much out-swell'd his meager Carkas. As he had no Tutor for his Greek, it had been well, if he had had no Church, or Example to have instructed him in such pernicious Principles. If in his other writings, he affordeth no honest Doctrines than such as these; for ought that I know, he might have been more advantagious to Christendom, had he followed the first advice of his Parents, and imploy'd himself in a Trade. And he, who publickly repented, for the breaking of a foolish glass, might in true reason be more troubled for his divulging such wicked Principles: but this it may be, he thought would have made him an Heretick, though 'twould have proved him more honest and a better Subject.

Another Jesuit, *Gregorius de Valentia*, speaks somewhat to the former purpose, though a little mincingly, yet plain enough to understand his meaning: For though he saith, that a *private* Person may not kill a King; yet observe his Reason, *Because*, saith he, *that belongs to the Common-wealth, which may oppose him, and call the people in to their assistance.*

Nulli particulari licet eum occidere, Nam id pertinet ad Rempub.

quæ posset jure oppugnare illum, & vocare in subsidium cives. *Valent.* Tom. 3. disp. 5. q. 8. punct. 3.

But *Ludovicus Molina*, another *Spanish* Jesuite, and of as great repute as any, speaks a little more plainly; first, he saith, that *any body may kill a King in his own defence*: Upon which account a man may frame what silly pretences he will: 'tis true, he affirms, that otherwise it is not lawful for a *private man* to kill him; but then let us observe what comes after: *The people*, saith he, *may depose their King, and punish him when he is deposed.* But because he names not exactly the way of his Punishment, let us take it by a consequence, in these words: *'Tis not lawful for private men to kill the King, before he be declared deposed*: which plainly intimates that after his deposition it may be done.

Possent ita Respub. ipsa quo ad Capita convenire, etq; resistere, lataq; sententia

deponere illum ab administratione — atq; illum depositum PUNIRE. Ante latam tamen sententiam nefas privatis esset eum interficere. *Molina* de justitia, Tom. 4. Tract. 3. disp. 6. ¶ 2.

And a little plainer than him doth another *Spanish* Jesuit speak, viz. *Franciscus Toletus*, a Cardinal, and the first that was of his Order, and held to be the most famous of his time for Piety and Judgment: But let them be never so wise or vertuous, something or other is in the wind, that over-perswades them to maintain such abominable Principles as these. *Tolet's* Rule is this, that a wicked King *(a)* cannot be slain without publick Authority: For which good Doctrine, the *Rump* may rejoyce to see their actions vindicated (if they supposed Virtue to be Vice, and themselves a Parliament) by a man of such declared prudence and honesty, one of great repute with several Popes, and *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, who tasted to the purpose of the mischief of these Doctrines; and one so hugely valued for his learning and discretion, that *Gregory* the Thirteenth thought it not fit that his writings should lye under the censure of any man,

a Tyrannum administratione, qui habet verum titulum, sed Tyrannice tractat subditos — hunc non licet absq; publica auctoritate occidere. *Tolet.* Institut. Sacerdot. lib. 5. c. 6. ¶ 10.

but might be Printed without license. But here, I dare say, the Cardinal hath been wide from Truth; yet hath this Opinion of *Tolet* been several times printed in several Nations.

And if you think that these *Spaniards* speak not plain enough yet, we shall shew you another Jesuit, but of another Country, viz. *Brabant*, yet under the subjection of *Spain*. And this is *Martinus Becanus*, of great esteem amongst the learned; honoured by the Emperour *Matthias*, and Confessor to *Ferdinand* the Second: but let us hear him speak, and then we shall scarce think him fit to be imploy'd so neer the Conscience of so great a Monarch as *Cæsar*, since he attributes too much power to one, who thinks himself a better man in Temporals one way or another than the Emperour: — *Sometimes*

Aliquando factum est, ut etiam Reges essent leprosi, ergo poterat pontifex mandare ut seorsim habitarent, & si nollent obedire, ut VI-

(saith he) *it so falls out that Kings become wicked or Hereticks, then the Pope may command that they be removed; which if they disobey, they may be kill'd; and then this, nothing is MORE CERTAIN.* And again: — *The Pope may deprive Kings of their Kingdoms upon a double account; for if they be CONTUMACIOUS, he may have them Kill'd, and so they are also deprived of their Kingdom; and that this may be done, no man doth doubt.*

*TA PRIVARENTUR, NIHIL CERTIUS.* — Hinc colligimus, Pontificem duplici titulo potuisse Reges privare suo Regno, primo quia poterat eos si *CONTUMACES* essent *PRIVARE VITA*, Ergo & Regno, de hoc nemo *DUBITAT*. *Becan.* Controvers. Angl. pag. 115.

But yet if you think that this is not plain enough, we will afford you another Jesuit and a Spaniard, viz. *Franciscus Suarez*, a man that seemed to excel *Abulensis* by the multitude of his writings, and one of the greatest esteem of all his Order, Pope *Paul* the Fifth himself having honoured him with several Letters. That Kings may be kill'd, *Suarez* affirms no less than three times in one (a) Paragraph; but a little before this he speaks more plain, by endeavouring to prove it by reason, after this manner:

a Defens. fid. lib. 6. cap. 4. § 18.

b Id. Lib. 6. c. 4. § 14. Postquam Rex legitimus est depositus, jam non est Rex neque Princeps legitimus, & consequenter

(b) *When a King is deposed, then he is neither lawful King nor Prince. — And if therefore he endeavour to keep the Kingdom under him by strength, then he is an Usurper, because he is no lawful King, having no true title to the Crown. — For that after the Decree of deposition gone out against him, he is altogether deprived of his Kingdom, so that he cannot with a just title possess it, and so he may be used as a Tyrant or Usurper, and by consequence, MAY BE SLAIN BY ANY PRIVATE MAN:* And this he saith, if he be an Heretick.

non potest in illo subsistere assertio, quæ de legitimo Rege loquitur. Imo si Rex talis post depositionem legitimam in sua pertinacia perseverans, Regnum per vim retineat, incipit esse Tyrannus in titulo, quia non est legitimus Rex, nec justo titulo Regnum possidet declaratur hoc amplius in Rege Heretico, nam statim per hæresim ipso facto privatur aliquo modo dominio, & proprietate sui Regni — Post sententiam latam omnino privatur Regno, ita ut non possit justo titulo illud possidere. Ergo ex tunc poterit tanquam Tyrannus tractari, & Consequenter a QUOCUNQUE PRIVATO POTERIT INTERFICI.

And is not this as clear as the noon-day, and as plain as a Pike-staff? is not this down-right to call a spade a spade, and to say that Kings may be deprived, and then kill'd by any body? Nor was this Principle set down without great consideration, and firmly believed to be true, not onely by *Suarez*, but the chief of *Portugal* and others. As for himself, so far was he ever from recanting or thinking this Doctrine to be amiss, but agreeable to the Church of *Rome*, that the Jesuits tell us, that when he was told how his book had been burnt in

in England, he declared his consent so freely to his Principles contain'd therein, that he said, that *nothing would be more pleasant and desirable to him than to have been burnt in the same flames with his book.* *Phil. Ale-*  
*gambe, p.*  
 And he was so assured that his principles were agreeable to all of his Church, that he had the confidence to dedicate such stuff to all Kings and Princes, who were *Roman Catholics*. *138.*

That it was held in great veneration with others, cannot be denied : for we shall scarce see a book honour'd with such censures of approbation. *Alphonso à Castello Branco*, Bishop of *Coimbria*, and Privy Councillor to the King of *Spain*, *Philip the Third*, declares that *he hath read it exactly over, and findes all things in it to agree to the holy Scriptures, Apostolical Traditions, General Councils, and Papal Decrees.* *Fernando Martiner Mascaregnus*, Bishop of *Sylvis* saith, that he hath also read it over, and findes nothing in it but what is *Orthodox*. And *Martiner Alonso à Mello*, another Privy Councillor and Bishop of *Lamego* saith also that he hath read it over, and thinks it worthy to be publisht, for the publick good of Christendom. And the Provincial *Jesuits* of *Portugal* and *Germany* allow it the same priviledges, and so doth the *Inquisition*. Nor is this all, but the University of *Alcala de Henarez*, after a serious view and consideration of it, declare that *there is nothing in it contrary to the Roman Catholick faith, nor any thing in it, but what ought to be approved of and commended, every thing being according to their own opinions and judgements.*

All this put together, is enough to blot out the bad reception it received by the Senators of *Paris*, the Kings Murther then fresh in their memories, and their hatred to the *Jesuits* being strong motives. As for the *Sorbone* (an Association really to be honour'd in many things) its Doctors, as most of other Convocations, are oft so carryed on with interest and faction, that many times in the most considerable things, we shall finde their Decrees to clash one with another.

'Tis true, this ancient Colledge of *Sorbone* [built about 1250, by *Robert de Sorbone*] hath for several ages kept up a great reputation and splendour; but they have somewhat been troubled by the springing up of the *Jesuits*, with whom, I may say, they and the University have had a continual bickering for this hundred years; and of late have something lost ground, especially at *Rome*, where the Fathers carry the bell away clearly from the Doctors, both in repute, authority and preferments, which are such considerable Arguments, that of late times, *viz.* since 1650, the interest of the *Jesuits* hath got in a manner the upper hand in the very Colledge of *Sorbone* and *Paris*; the latter of which hath onely a company of *Curates*, too weak to oppose against the subtile *Loyolists*; and if the secular Authority do not intervene, they will all in time submit to the Principles and sway of the wily Fathers of *Clermont*. And 'tis very probable, that the *Jesuits* must either fall in the hight of their pride, like the *Knight-templers*, or else they will quite ruine the glory, if not the being of other Religious Orders: more of envy than emulation still breeding between them.

But it is not the *Jesuits* onely who are guilty in spreading these wicked Doctrines, but others too; for *Petrus de Ledesma*, a noted *Dominican* in *Spain*, having proposed this Question, *What may the people do, when a lawful King tyrannizeth over them?* and the

*a* Poterit result of his answer is, (*a*) that they may call a meeting, and depose him, and if need be KILL HIM.  
 conventum agere, & regem Regem Regno pellere, & si opus sit vitam spoliare. Pet. de Ledesma. Theol. Moral. de virtut. Theol. Tract. 3. cap. 18. pag. 512.

This Principle, as pernicious as it is, was by *Ledesma* first publish'd in *Spanish*, and after by *Raymundus de Ledesma* translated into *Latine*; and besides other approbations, had the privilege of the King of *Spain*. 'Tis strange, if this be not believed as Orthodox, that Kings should thus be perswaded to sign an Order for their own execution, as if their *Bigot-ministers* took a pleasure in gulling of them to set the weapon to their own throats, as the cunning fellow did the Ape in the Barbers Shop.

The *Guilian* Faction in *France*, making a firm League or *Covenant*, pretending to maintain the *Roman* Religion, but at last bandy'd against their King *Henry* the Third, fill'd the Nation full of wickedness and rebellion: And every man fought (as 'tis the fashion in all such troubles) according as he was qualified, so that there was not onely slathing, scolding and cursing, but scribbling too. At last the *Roman-Covenanters* grew so stubborn, that they were resolved not to acknowledge *Henry* for their King: and in vindication of this consultation, one of their chief *Boutefeu's* sets himself to write; but before his Press had done working, the King was murthered by one of their Gang, viz. *Jaques Clement a Jacobin*.

*b* De justa Hen. III. abdicatione. *c* Populo in Regem potestas est vitæ & necis. Ib. Pag. 33. *d*—De medio sustulerit, tam absit per-duellionis  
 However, out cometh the (*b*) Vindication, stuff'd with lyes and Villany: In one place he observes by the by, that (*c*) the people have power over their Kings both of life and death. In another place, that to kill a King who tyrannizeth, (*d*) is so far from being treason, that it should rather be esteem'd an act of justice and Zeal, being agreeable to Nature, Law, Scripture, and the practice and precepts of holy men: And (*e*) he that doubts of it must want common-sence; nay, it may be done by any (*f*) private man, especially amongst (*g*) Christians.

nomen, quam vere hoc iustitiae ac zeli opus, antesignanis in eo sanctis, probante natura, lege, Scriptura debet judicari. Ib. Pag. 64, 65.

*e* Ib. Pag. 269. De eo qui dubitet, hunc communi sensu carere oporteat, ignorumque prorsus esse rerum humanarum.

*f* Ib. Pag. 270. — *g* Ib. Quod inter Christianos tanto magis licere debet, quanto magis est quod iis à Tyrannis non reipub. tantum, sed & Religionis periculum creatur.

*b* Id. P. 450. *c* Pag. 453, 454, 455.  
 This is plain enough to shew his judgement: but when he heard that the King was murthered, then he rejoiced to the purpose, saying that it was done to the (*b*) triumph and joy of all good men; and a little after abuseth (*i*) several places of holy Scripture to make the abominable fact more glorious.

But probably 'twill be retorted that 'tis but a Pamphlet, the Author not putting his name to it, and so not to be regarded. 'Tis true, no name is to it, it being not safe so to do when it came out, for then *Henry* the Fourth was King, and went on prosperously against the *Leaguers*, and the Author then amongst them, his name was *Jehan Boucher*, born in *Paris* of a good Family, and was Preacher at *St. Benits*, the ancientest Church, I think, in that City; but an implacable fire-band amongst the *Covenanters*: and as he had thus shew'd himself an enemy against his Sovereign *Henry* of *Valois*, so did he

carry

carry on the same spirit in opposing *Henry* the Fourth of *Bourbon*, against whom he also printed above once, nine of his zealous preachments, making the Cardinal of *Placentia* their Patron. And for this good service against his own King and Country, being forced to skulk into *Flanders*, he was there, for his zealous deeds in behalf of *Spain*, made *Canon* of *Tournay*, and he was Doctor of Divinity before this at *Paris*.

An obscure piece of Policy for Rebels thus to be protected and prefer'd, since 'tis one of the main encouragements to Treason, (and this may be every Monarchs case) for the Villain to know, that, let fortune be never so much his enemy in his undertakings, yet he may be secure in anothers Dominions, where he may take breath, and it may be, be encouraged to another enterprize : But these things are above me, and not to my purpose.

But for the better clearing of this Doctrine, you shall see it vindicated by as great a fire-brand as the former, and both upon the King of *Spains* account, though the first against his King and Country *France*, and the latter against his Queen and Country *England*; and this is *Robert Parsons*, with whom formerly *Mr. Morton* [after, the Learned Bishop of *Durham*] having some contest, he brings in this *Dr. Boucher*, saying, that *when the Common-wealth hath condemn'd and declared any Tyrant for a publick enemy, he may be slain by a private man*. To which *Parsons* our *English* Jesuit thus replyeth :

Whereto I answer, that then he is no private man, for that he doth it by a publick Authority of the Common-wealth, as doth the executioner that cutteth off a Noble-mans head, by Order and Authority of the publick Magistrate : so as in this, *Mr. Mortons* distinction serveth him to no purpose, for that neither for private or publick injuries can a private man, AS A PRIVATE MAN, that is to say, by private authority kill any Prince, though he were a Tyrant, for any cause either private or publick whatsoever.

And to afford you another hint of his judgement in this case, know, that in another of his (a) books, he doth question whether *Edward Squire* committed treason or no, though his crime was endeavouring to make away his Queen *Elizabeth* by Poyson, at the instigation as it is supposed of *Father Walpoole* an *English* Jesuit then practising in *Spain* against his Queen and Country.

As for *Father Parsons*, what by his treasons against his Sovereign, and furious Zeal for *Rome*, he got so much repute amongst the people of his Order, that some of them had thoughts and hopes to get him a Cardinals Cap ; in the meantime, he was several years Rector of the *English* Colledge at *Rome*, where he dyed 1610, and in its Chappel he is honour'd with a fair Marble Monument, with a long commendatory Epitaph.

We have another *French-man*, who vindicates the murder of the aforesaid (b) King *Henry* the Third as lawful ; but this he onely doth by the by, yet plain enough to shew his treasonable malice : and this is one, who calls himself *François Verone*. But his designe is upon another person, though much of the same account. For, anno 1594, one *John Chastel*, a Scholar to the Jesuits, with a knife wounded King *Henry* the Fourth in the mouth, and struck out one of his teeth, intending to have murdered him: upon which *Chastel* was condemn'd to suffer as a Traytor.

François

P. R. Quiet  
and sober re-  
koning,  
chap. 5.  
44. pag. 321.

a Answer to  
the fifth part  
of Sir Ed-  
ward Cooks  
Reports, E-  
pitt. Dedicat.

b Fran. Ve-  
rone, Apol.  
pour Jehan  
Chastel, p.  
29.



*Franzois Verone* undertakes the vindication of the Villain, declaring that it was (a) a generous, virtuous, and an heroick act, and comparable to the most renowned and great deeds of the ancients, either in sacred or prophane History; and that *Chastel* (b) was a true Martyr. And he goeth over again, that it was (c) an action purely just, virtuous and heroick: Nay, that it was (d) most holy, most humane, most worthy, most to be praised and recommended, and (e) justified by both the Civil and Canon-Law; and that it is natural, agreeable to God, and all Laws, and Decrees, and the Church. And as for *Chastel* himself, he calls him (f) Happy soul! and runs on in a rambling commendation of him. And lastly, as for those who condemn'd *Chastel*, he saith, that (g) they have judged against God, against the holy Scriptures, against the Church and her Decrees, and against the States and Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.

a Apol. part  
I. c. 7. p. 21. —  
est un acte ge-  
neroux, vertu-  
eux, & he-  
roïque, com-  
parables aux  
plus grande  
& plus re-  
commenda-  
bles, qui se  
foient veuz  
en l'antiqui-  
te, de l'hito-  
rie tant sa-  
crée que pro-  
phane.

b Pag. 23.

c Part. 2. pag. 25. Son acte est purement juste, vertueux & herioque.

d Id. Part. 4. cap. 1. pag. 147. — c'est un acte tres-sain&, tres humain, tres digne, tres louable & tres recommandable.

e Id. Cap. 3. pag. 155, 156. — Ce que Nature mesme enseigne, & qui est justifié par le droit, tant civil que Canonique. — Celle que la Nature enseigne, & conformement à Dieu, aux loix, au Decrets & à l'Eglise.

f Part. 3. cap. 10. *Ame beureuse!* &c.

g Part 4. cap. 2. pag. 152. — Ilz ont jugé contre Dieu & sa Parolle, contre l'Eglise, & les decrets, contre les Estats & loix fondamentales du Royaume.

What this *Franzois Verone* was, I cannot certainly tell; onely this we know, that somewhat about the same time there was a French Jesuit of the same name, who a little after writ some books against the Protestants. But whether they were both one and the same person, I cannot determine; yet Mr. (h) *William Sanderson* saith positively that he was a Jesuit.

h History of  
King James  
the Sixth of  
Scotland, p.  
156.

i See, Je-  
suita sicarius,  
p. 271, 272.

(i) Another there is, who keeps a great deal of triumphing and rejoycing at the murder of *Henry* the Third, as an action most commendable; but because he's unwilling to be known, I shall trouble my self no farther with him: since we need not make use of such obscure persons, seeing Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth himself in a full Consistory of Cardinals, took the pains and pleasure to speak a long Oration in commendation of that wicked act.

Septemb. II.  
1589.

These have hit the nail on the head, speak to the purpose, without any mincing or dwindling their cut-throat principles, plainly describing Laws and Methods to murder in spite of either sacred or civil honesty. Nor are those without shame and guilt, who allow villany by a consequence, by making but one trifling exception or so, open away for other means to the same end: the question not being whether one may be kill'd this way or that way, but whether any way at all; and it is but small comfort to a man, to tell him that he shall be murder'd, but not after such a fashion; 'tis all one to *Titius* or *Sempronius*, whether they suffer by a private or publick way, it being not the breath of this or that Authority, but the Instrument of execution, that doth the feat, and renders the body fit for the worms; and whosoever commands it, 'tis probable that it is but one, and a private man too, that renders the other a real sufferer.

Quid inter-  
est an ferro  
an veneno  
perimas. Jo.  
Marian. de  
Reg. Institut.  
lib. 1. cap. 7.

And amongst these mutterers of King-murthering, we may esteem

a

a *spanish Fryar Mendicant, viz. Michael Bartholomeus Salon, who* saith, that (a) *a King may not be kill'd by a private man, because* a Nulli privato liceat occidere, quia cum ille habeat iustum titulum non est depoen-  
*be having a just title, is not to be deposed nor punished, till he be first* heard and accordingly judged, either by some having authority to do so  
 [I know not what he means, unless he grant some such Authority] *or by the Common-wealth.*

nendus nec puniendus quin prius audietur & judicetur, vel à superiore habente auctoritate ad id, vel ab ipsa Republica quando deest superiorem. *Mich. Salon. in D. Tho. Tom. 1 col. 1157.*

Nor should we abuse (b) *Adamas Tannerus, a German Jesuite, if* we place him amongst those, who by excepting against a private person, doth hint a strange authority to be in the people or Common-wealth, whereby the safety of Princes may be hazarded. b Theol. scholast. Tom. 3. disp. 4. Q. 8. duob. 3. numb. 32.

And *Dominicus Soto, one of the most famous Dominicans of Spain, and one of the chiefest Divines of the Tridentine Council, as also Confessor to the Emperour, tells us that (c) it is the common opinion, that it is not lawful to kill a King upon a private account: and his reason is with the former, that seeing he hath a right to the Crown, he is not to be deprived of it, but by a publick judgement, where he must be heard: but if once a Decree be gone out against him, that then any one may be the Executioner. And he also layeth down for a positive rule, that any one may kill a King in his own defence.* c— Communis consensus est, nemini licere ipsum privatum interficere. Et ratio est quod cum jus habeat ad Regnum, non est

illo, nisi per publicum iudicium expoliandus, ut scilicet audiat. lata vero in eum sententia, quisque potest institui executionis minister. *Soto, de iustitia, lib. 5. Quæst. 1. Art. 3.*

As for (d) *Vincentius Fillinius the Italian, and (e) Antonius Delrio of Antwerp, both famous Jesuits, they both twang upon the same string of a private person, by which means they leave an open gap for the Superiour Magistrates to bring their Sovereign to the block. And the High German Jesuit, Sebastianus Heissius, treads much in the same way, though he leaves a sent somewhat more rank behinde him; for he expressly allows the Magistrates some Authority in this case, affirming, that (f) a King ought not to be kill'd by a private man, before judgement be pronounced against him, as an enemy and a Tyrant: And this he saith is the common opinion of all Jesuits.* a Moral. Quæst. Tom. 2. Tract. 29. cap. 1. 12. e Not in An. Seneca Tragæd part 2. 920. f— Teneo neminem privatum, extra necessitatem se suorum defendendi

manus inferre posse legitimo principi, ante publicum judicialiter latam sententiam, qua Tyrannus hostique Reipub. declaretur, adeoque potestate qua utebatur, ab his quibus fas est exciatur. — Habes communem Jesuitarum sententiam, ac proinde nihil principibus periculi imminet, quando totius populi sensu pro Tyrannis habentur, si populus sequatur Doctorum ac gravium virorum (quod Mariana exigit) consilium; iiq; Jesuite sint ut jam audivisti. *Sebast. Heiss. Refutatio Aphorismorum, cap. 3. ad Aphor. 1. pag. 158.* 94.

Here the Jesuit *Heissius* gives us an hint of one of his Order, *Johannes Mariana*, who is as particular as any in the way of King-killing, laying down the several Methods and means of that wicked art: but because part of his (g) Book is large upon this subject, and is so plain, that some of their moderate writers wish he had not been so open; I shall not speak more of it, it being common to be had, and as commonly known, though (b) *Andreas Schottus, (i) Carolus Scribanus*, and some other Jesuits do rather commend than disprove it. And whether the propagation of these opinions be not dangerous Honors. g De Rege & Regis institutione, lib. 1. c. 6. &c. h Hispan. Bibl. Tom. 2. p. 285. i Amphitheat.

rous to Princes, reason and example will over-say the meer negative of *Heissius*, unless his authority were better grounded than upon his bare word.

But what need I trouble the Reader and my self with particulars, when the whole Club of the *French Jesuits* (if we may credit their own title) when it was their design to clear themselves from any bad Principles of Government, at the same time confess, that Kings may lawfully sometimes be deposed and cut off? And whether I slander the Jesuits or no, let the Reader judge by their own words, Thus:

*Addit Prædicans [viz. Phil. Heilbrunner, who wrote against the Jesuits] Jesuitas in hac Questione [viz. whether Tyrants may be kill'd:] potius ad partem affirmantem, quam ad negantem inclinare satis indicant illorum Scripta. --- Non modo inclinamus ad illam partem, sed illam partem libentissimè amplectimur, quam amplectitur S. Thomas, Cajetanus, Sotus, Covaruvias, Salon, & alii, qui ad hanc Questionem responderunt cum distinctione. Ex quorum doctrina, hunc in modum scribit Quidem Magni nominis, & vobis Prædicantibus non ignotus Jesuita [Greg. de Valent. Tom. 3. disput. 5. q. 8. p. 3.] Vel est Tyrannus non per Arrogatam sibi injuste potestatem, sed solum per pravam legitimæ alioquin autoritatis usum, ingubernando: vel est Tyrannus, per Arrogatam potestatem, quam vi obtineat. Si est Tyrannus primo modo, nulli particulari licet eum occidere, nam id pertinet ad Rempub. quæ posset jure oppugnare illum, & vocare in subsidium Cives. Si autem est Tyrannus secundo modo, quilibet posset eum occidere. Nam tota Respub. censetur gerere justum bellum contra ipsum, & ita Civis quilibet, ut miles quidem Reipub. posset eum occidere, &c. Unde quando in Concilio Constant. prohibentur particulares occidere Tyrannum: intelligendum est de Tyranno primo modo, de hoc enim eadem est ratio, atq; de aliis malefactoribus, qui solum per publicam potestatem puniri possunt. Hæc ille, viz. Greg. de Valent.*

*Ex cujus etiam verbis habes quidnam Concilium Constant. damnaverit. Cujus Concilii decretum eodem modo explicat Cajetanus, Sotus, & Alphonsus a Castro, & satis liquet ex ipsis Concilii verbis, &c.*

*Ais, Quæstionem & doctrinam hanc adversari illi D. Petri præcepto, DEUM TIMETE, REGEM HONORIFICATE. Ubiq; tui similis es, hoc est, ineptus Prædicans, & quidvis per quodvis & quovis modo probare solitus. S. Petrus non ait, Tyrannum honorificate, sed Regem, Rex non est Tyrannus, maxime si Tyranni vocabulum, secunda notione usurpemus, nec Tyrannus est Rex. Quod si Regum quispiam, qui verè Rex est declinet ad Tyrannidem, atq; adèd Tyrannus prima notione hujus nominis fiat; tum jam ex sententia S. Thomæ & aliorum audivisti, privato nihil in eum potestatis esse: esse autem toti Reipublicæ; vel privato eatenus, quatenus, ei à Repub. conceditur, sicuti Privato in quemlibet alium malefactorem jus esse potest, si id concedatur à Republica. Apologia Societatis Jesu in Gallia, ad Christianissimum Gall. & Navar. Regem Henricum IV. Scripta a Religiosis ejusdem Societatis Jesu in Gallia, 1599. in Append. pag. 115, 116, 117.*

## CHAP. V.

*That it is the Opinion of their Popes and Councils, that Kings may be deposed.*

HAVING hitherto seen the Opinions of private persons, yet those of the greatest repute amongst them; we shall now ascend a little higher, and with them to their most authentick Authority upon earth: but whether this Supremacie remain in the Pope, or a General Council; I must yet leave to the determination of their French and Italian Doctors: and yet 'tis strange that hitherto they will not agree to settle infallibility; that that which they make the judge of other Articles, must thus it self want a certain foundation by Universal consent.

As for their Councils, if practice may interpret, (and I am sure in this case they make it none of their least Arguments) we shall finde that Princes may be lawfully deposed, and that confirm'd by the grandeur of such meetings. Thus their great Historian Cardinal *Baronius*, assures us that the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth was exauthorized by two Synods at (a) *Rome*, one at (b) *Colen*, and another at (c) *Fritissar*. And because that, some may object that these smaller Conventions are not of sufficient Authority, we shall ascend a step higher, and tell you that the same was done by two General Councils [for so *Baronius* calls them] at (d) *Rome*, though the latter more particulariz'd by the name of (e) *Lateran*, and also by another Council at (f) *Rhemes*, under Pope *Callistus*. And after this manner was the Emperour *Frederick* the Second declared deprived, and his Subjects quit from their Oaths of Allegiance, by Pope *Innocent* the Fourth, in the Council of *Ljons*; the form it self being large, I shall refer you to (g) *Bzovius*, and the (h) Council it self, and the (i) Decretals.

But let us step from practice, to some of their Decrees they confirm'd in their General Councils, to shackle Princes in future times. In the *Laterane* Council, under *Innocent* the Third, amongst other things 'twas thus order'd by them.

If a Temporal Lord neglect to purge his land from Heresie, being desired and admonished by the Church, let him be by the Metropolitan and the other Bishops Excommunicated: and if within a year he refuse to satisfie, let the Pope be informed of it, that he may declare his Vassals free from that obedience they formerly ought him: and that Roman Catholics may seize upon his Lands, which the Hereticks being thrust out, they may possess without any contradiction, and keep it in the true Faith: Yet let not this be prejudicial to the Principal Lord, so that he do no way hinder this proceeding: NEVERTHELESS LET THE SAME LAW BE OBSERVED AGAINST THOSE WHO HAVE NOT PRINCIPAL LORDS.

If any do dispute concerning this Council, or the meaning of any word in this Canon, I shall not finde my self concerned in it, having our Country-man (a) Dr. *Thomas Vane*, (b) *Martinus Becanus*, *Leonardus Lessius*, under the name of

Q

Single- 139, 140.

a Baron. anno 1076.

c 16, 17.

18. Id. Anno 1080.

c 7, 8, 16.

b Id. Anno 1118.

c 20.

c Ib.

d Id. 1102.

c 1, 2, 3.

e Id. Anno 1116.

f Id. Anno 1119.

g Anno 1245.

h 10m. 28.

pag. 431.

i Sext. de

sentent. &amp; re

jud. C. ad

Apostolica.

Abr. Bzo-

vius, anno

1215.

c 3.

Binnins, c. 3.

Crabbe. Ib.

Greg. de

Hæret. C.

Excommu-

nicamus.

a Vindic.

Concil. La-

teran.

b Contro-

vers. Angl. p.

Single- 139, 140.

*a* Discuff. *(a)* Singleton, Cardinal *(b)* Bellarmine, and many others, great vindicators of this great Council as they call it, whom I shall leave to the consideration of the *Romanists*: Yet I could whisper *(c)* Dr. Vane in the ear, that he is not honest enough in his answer, by taking no notice of the last clause in the Canon, which doth not a little enlighten the whole design.

*b* Adversus *Gul. Barclaium* in *Præfat.*

*c* Vindic. Concil. p. 69.

And as I do not trouble my self to interpret any thing in the *Lateralan* Canon, seeing the chief of the *Roman* Champions, *Lessius*, *Beccanus*, *Bellarmino* and others, declare expressly that it is meant of the Popes Authority over Kings, and for their deposing; so shall I not wrangle with any concerning that of *Trent*, a Council of such Authority, that they make it the standard of their Faith.

*Sess. 25. c. 19.*

In the last *Session* of this *Trent* political Convention, *Duels* were censured as unlawful [and indeed, no honest, true and faithful subject can fight one, he taking to himself power of his own life, and that of his fellow-subjects, against Law, Religion and Prerogative] and declares those Princes *to be held as deprived* of those places, where they permit them. What was the meaning of the words of this Decree, I shall say nothing my self, but tell you, that the *French* Church took it to deprive Kings, for which they bogled at it; and they had more reason to understand the meaning of it, than any now: yet if these grave Divines mistook the sence of that Chapter, 'tis no fault of mine, let the *Romanists* bandy it out amongst themselves, and either tell us the reason, why that Council is not exactly received in *France*, and so whether they be Hereticks or no, in not complying with a General Council as they call it, or that every part of it is in force there, and how it came to be so.

These at this time may satisfy, to shew in what a tottering condition their Councils makes Kings to stand in. And if the *Roman* Catholics desire any more instances, I shall refer them to their famous

*d* Discuff. *(d)* *Lessius*, whom in this case let them either agree to, or confute; fight Dog, fight Bear: and so I quit my self, neither troubling my self whether they or Dr. *(e)* *Caron* is in the right.

*Decreti Mag. Concil. Lat. pag. 90, 91.*

*92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, &c.*

*e* Remonstr. *Hibernorum*, part. 5. cap. 10.

As for the Opinions of Popes themselves, I shall jumble them with their *Canon-law*, the latter being in a manner the result of the others brain and authority: and Pope *Agatho* order'd that the Popes Sanctions, should be received with the same authority,

*Omnes Apostolicæ sedes sanctiones accipiendæ sunt tanquam ipsius Divini Petri voce firmatæ sint. Dist. 19. c. 2.*

as if they had been commanded by St. Peter himself. Nor according to Pope *(f)* *Nicolas*, must any contradict or question the Orders of

*f* *Q. 17. c. 4.* that See; for according to *(g)* *Lancelottus*, the Popes Decrees are of equal authority with the Canons of Councils; and those of *(h)* *Trent* determine that some Traditions are to be of equal force with the holy Scriptures.

*creta.*

*b* *Sess. 4. Decret. 1.*

I shall not here spend time in discoursing about the Priviledges said to be given to some Monasteries by several Popes, with a tie by the way of the Kings good behaviour; though some make use of such Records for Arguments; it being plain by the practice of the Popes and their Laws,

*Franc. Bozzius* de Temporal. Eccles. Monarch. lib. 1. cap. 21, pag. 225.

(a) Laws, that they declare they have such Authority to depose Kings, and quit their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance; of which several Popes are so plain in their (b) Canon-law, that nothing can be more evident: whither I refer you for more satisfaction.

Sext. de re jud. c. ad Apostol.

b Q. 15. C. 6. *authoritatem, C. alias. C. nos sanctorum.* Greg. de Hærec. C. *Excommunicamus & C. Absolutos.*

And that Popes declare that Kings may be deposed, appears by their many thundrings of Deprivation against former Princes, and of later times against the King of Navarre, our King Henry the Eighth, and Queen Elizabeth. Read in (c) *Aventin* what *Hadrian* the Fourth saith, concerning this case in his furious Letter; and in (d) *Matthew Paris*, how Pope *Innocent* the Fourth thus ranted concerning our Henry the Third: — *Is not the King of England our Vassal, nay more, our Slave, whom with a nod I can imprison, and commit to a slavish reproach?* And Father *Parsons* assured our Country-men, that Pope *Pius* the Fifth affirm'd to him, (e) *that he would rather loose his head, than not acknowledge this Authority to lye in the Roman Chair.* And Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth could make a (f) Speech in a full Consistory of Cardinals in commendation of the horrid murder of Henry the Third King of France.

c Annal. Boiar. lib. 6. pag. 506.  
d Pag. 872. Nonne Rex Anglorum noster est vassallus, & ut plus dicam, mancipium, qui potest eum nutu nostro incarcerare, & Ignominie mancipare?

e Reg. Widdrington's Theolog. Disput. cap. 10. § 56.

f See Will. Warrington's moderate defence of the Oath of Allegiance, pag. 127, 128, &c.

## CHAP. VI.

*For how many causes according to the Romanists, a King may be deposed.*

They say 'tis good to have many strings for a bow, if one fail another may hold; and others think they can do any thing by a distinction, though it signifie nothing: he that divided himself between the Arch-bishop of *Colen* and the Prince Elector, was well retorted upon by the Boor, *If the Prince go to the Devil, what will become of the Bishop?* And the Scotch Presbyterian (g) *John Knox*, used this art, when he would not have the King but the Offender suffer. Our English Covenanters thought they clear'd themselves of Rebellion, by declaring that they fought not against the King but his evil Council, and that (h) *Treason is not against the Kings person, as he is a man, but in relation to his Office.* And the Independant [when the Presbyterian had (i) declared that they could not repose any more trust in the King, and made it *Treason* for any to address to him, and so had laid him by as useless,] supposed they vindicated themselves sufficiently, by affirming that they onely beheaded a private man, the Presbyterians having formerly kill'd the King.

g Hist. Reformat. of Scotland, p. 392, 393.

h Ex. coll. p. 727.

i Declar. for Non-address, 1647.

And these quirks to further Rebellion, and to make the murdering

- a* Dejustitia, lib. 2. c. 9. dub. 4. 10, 12.  
*b* Tom. 3. disp. 5. Q. 8. punct. 3.  
*c* Institut. Sacerdot. lib. 5. cap. 6. 10.  
*d* Defens. fid. Cathol. lib. 6. cap. 4. 14, 18.  
*e* De justa abdicat. Hen. III.  
*f* Quiet and sober reckoning, pag. 321.  
*g* De justitia, lib. 5. Q. 1. Art. 3.  
*h* Refutat. Aphorism. pag. 158. 94.  
*i* De justitia, Tom. 4. Tract. 3. disp. 6. 2.  
*k* Controverf. Anglic. pag. 115.

When people are resolved for mischief, 'tis not difficult to pretend reasons, and finde out means to carry on the design, plausible enough to blinde the giddy multitude. To ruine the innocent, many and strange Articles and accusations shall be framed against him; and though not one of them can make him an Offender, rather than their malice should fail of its purpose, they will jumble them all together to make him a Traytor; as the *wicked-long-Parliament* did with the Earl of *Strafford*, and (*l*) *Maynard* used the same plea and means to hasten the murther of Arch-bishop *Land*.

*l* Prynns  
*Canterbury's*  
*doom*,  
 pag. 51.

O the strength of a Covenanting Reason! as if though one Elders Maid alone could not make a Dog, an hundred of them could make a Mastiff: could number thus alter its being, *Proteus* would be out-vapour'd by this Argument, and irrational and poysonous Creatures might once again ascend to be Classial Assembly-men: for thus forty or fifty Asses together would be a *Presbyterian*, though one by it self could not be a man. But it may be, they will thus prove their Assertion, though one *Assembly-mans* (*m*) notes will not make a *Diodate*, or a *Dutch* Comment, all the Assembly together will, because it may be they will say that they stole all their Annotations out of them: if this be their Argument, I shall neither trouble my self to see whether they confesse truth or no, nor give them any reply to it.

*m* Especially the first  
 Edition.

What various Arts and devices, with impertinent and poor pretences, have been used by some Popes and their Part-takers, not onely to lessen the authority, but ruine the being of some Kings, History can best inform us. And some of their several causes and reasons they bring to prove the legality of proceeding against Kings, shall be briefly hinted at in this place.

## I.

*n* Com. in  
*Esther*, pag.  
 95.

(*n*) *Feuarentius* the *Franciscan*, affirms that a King may be deposed, if he be too prodigal in lavishing away the publick Revenues, either by scattering them amongst his cringing Courtiers, or some other spend-thrift-way.

That this is a fault no man can deny; but how either to judge of it, or hinder it, belongs not to us, and 'tis too obscure either for our eyes or brains. But we might retort upon the Chair of *Rome*, the excessive extortion that some of them make to enrich their Kindred. And the extravagancy of *Sixtus* the Fourth cannot be excused, bestowing such excessive sums amongst his Whores.

## II.

## II.

Others say that a King may be deposed, if he be a breaker of his promise to his Subjects, or a violator of his publick Faith. And if so, why may not Popes run the same *Exit*? who think it not lawful to keep Faith with Hereticks, and are as apt as any to break them upon every advantage.

*Mart. Be-*  
*canus, Con-*  
*trov. Angl.*  
*pag. 135.*  
*R. Parsons*  
*conference a-*  
*bout succession, pag. 32, 36, 73, 77.*  
*Feuardent. com. in Esther, pag. 94.*

## III.

Another way to have a King deposed is this, if he either study, make use, or approve of the Art of Magick, or acquaint himself with those who do so.

This accusation would serve the Vulgar, and the better because they are not competent Judges. In former time 'twas almost dangerous to have above a common stile in the Mathematicks, so that our *Roger Bacon*, *Albertus Magnus*, and other famous Scholars, can at this day scarce quit themselves from being thought Conjurers by the multitude; and some have been too bold in throwing such wicked opinions upon *Joseph*, *Salomon*, and some others: for whom *Monsieur Naudé* hath composed an Apology. As for the Popes, their own *Platina* affirms *Sylvester* the Second to have dealt with the Devil; and some others think that *Benedict* the Ninth, and *Gregory* the Seventh were too familiar that way, though the former (a) French-man endeavoured to clear them of that crime: and so I leave every man to his own judgement.

## IV.

If a King be guilty of (b) *Perjury*, some of them say he may be deposed for that fault.

If they think *Perjury* to be such an horrid sin (as who can deny its heinousness?) they should not encourage Subjects to run so easily into this crime, by making them break their Oaths of Allegiance to their respective Princes; by which wicked means their Popes make themselves also guilty: and other ways they have been sufficiently infamous for this. *Gregory* the Twelfth is in this case noted in story, for having taken a solemn Oath, that if he were chosen Pope, he would lay down the Title and Authority again, if *Pedro de Luna* an Anti-pope would do so too, the better to quell the Schism; but having thus obtained the Papacy, I shall refer you to (c) *Theodore à Niem*, to see how he cheated and juggled against his former Oath, not onely in this, but also in creating Cardinals: and the *Perjury* of *Paschal* the Second, against the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth, is as notorious.

*Jo. Azor-*  
*ius, Instit.*  
*Tom. 2. lib.*  
*10. cap. 8.*  
*Jo. Bapt.*  
*Boiardus,*  
*Addit. ad*  
*Julii Clari*  
*practic. cri-*  
*minalem,*  
*Qu. 35.*  
*6. Feuard.*  
*91.*

*c De schis-*  
*mate, lib. 3.*

*Morney,*  
*pag. 287.*

## V.

*Feuardentius* saith, that if a King be guilty of Murther, he may justly be deposed, though he do nothing with his own hands, but consent to other Instruments.

Though the crime be great, yet Interest will oft judge amiss: *Boucher* and *Verone*, look upon those as Murtherers, who caus'd the deaths of *Clement* and *Chastel*, though the first stab'd *Henry* the Third, and the other indeavoured to kill *Henry* the Fourth of *France*. And the Jesuite *Garnet*, hath been several times publish'd a Martyr, though he worthily suffer'd for high Treason, in not discovering the *Powder-treason*, though he knew of the design. But if these may

*Com in Est.*  
*pag. 92.*



may go for Martyrs, I know no reason but Pope *Paul* the Third may pass for a Saint, for poysoning his Mother and Nephew, that the whole Inheritance of the *Ferneſe* (of which Family he was) might come to him; and for destroying by the same means his own Sister, because she was as kinde to others imbraces as his own. And upon the same account might *Alexander* the Sixth be canoniz'd for poysoning (*a*) *Gemes*, brother to the great Turk, for filthy Avarice, as he also did several (*b*) Cardinals upon the same account.

*a* Guicciardin. lib. 2.  
*b* Id. Lib. 6.

## VI.

The same *Franciscan* assures the world, that if a King be guilty of *Simony*, by selling Ecclesiastical Benefits, he may be deposed.

This fault I suppose to be below Monarchs, who have several lawful means to fill their Coffers; but I wish it were not practised so much as it is, by those who are but fellow-subjects with the buyers. And the worldly gallant, who useth it, may probably have his purchasing Parson, a roaring Chaplain to his wicked Patronship in a world fitted for the covetous; but we shall not at this time follow Truth too neer the heels. But were not this Vice beneficial, Pope *Paul* the Second would not have been so given to it, who basely sold all the Benefits both Civil and Ecclesiastical. And *Alexander* the Sixth got the Popedom more by Simony than any desert in himself.

Platina.  
Guicciardin, lib. 1.

## VII.

(*c*) Others of them say that a King may be deposed for *Apostacie*: And I warrant yon, they will make the interpretation of the word submit to their pleasures: Yet in the mean time we are told, how true I know not, that Pope *Leo* the Tenth should call the History of Christ a fable; and that *Paul* the Third in anger once said, that he would renounce Christ, if the Procession went not faster on.

*c* Bannes in 2. 2. q. 12. art. 3. col. 478.  
*Valent.* 10m. 3. disp. 1. quæst. 12. punct. 2.  
*Petr. de Aragon.* in 2. 2. D. 7 ho.

## VIII.

If a King be guilty of (*d*) Sacrilege, they say he may justly be deprived; and yet who hath been more criminal in this than some of their Popes? *Alexander* the Sixth was so noted for it, that this Distick was made of him:

*Hieron. de Medicis* in 2. 2. q. 12. art. 2. conclus. 2.  
*Bales.* Act. Pont.

*Vendit Alexander Cruces, Altaria, Christum;  
Emerit ipse prius, vendere jure potest.*

*Estienne Apol.* pour *Herodot.* pag. 292.  
*d* Jo. Bapt. Plotus Consilium, 64.

*Alexander* sold his Altars, Christ and Crosses;  
He bought so sold them, men live not by losses.

*Jo. Bapt. Boiard.* addit. ad *Julii Clai* pract. Crim. q. 35. 6.  
*Fenard.* pag. 93.

And upon *Leo* the Tenth, *Sannazarius* the famous Neapolitan Poet, made this smart Sarcaſm:

*Sacra sub extrema, si forte requiritis, hora,  
Cur Leo non potuit sumere; vendiderat.*

*Leo* could have the Sacrament no more,  
Though dying, 'cause he'd sold it long before.

And (*e*) *Matthæw Paris* assures us that Pope *Gregory* the Ninth was

*e* Ann. 1229. pag. 362.

was such a gaper after Church-moneys, that the Bishops in *England* were forced to sell and pawn all their Plate and Furniture belonging to the Altar, to satisfy him. And whether Authority doth commit Sacrilege in commanding Images to be taken out of Churches, let the busie *Bigots* determine: yet History will tell us, that Pope *Gregory* the Third proceeded against the Emperour *Leo* for the same account.

## IX.

If a King be a (*a*) *Schismatick*, or a favourer of *Schismatics*, a *Azorius* Institur. lib. 10. cap. 8. lib. 11. cap. 6. *Suarez*. de sens. fid. lib. 6. c. 4. & 22. *Feuard*. p. 91. *Jo. Mar. Bellettus*, disquisit. Clericalis, pag. 282. & 209, 210. *Alph. Alvarez*, Speculum, cap. 16. & 8. *Petr. de Palude*, Art. 4. *Lud. a Paramo* de origine S. Inquisit. lib. 1. cap. 1. *Greg. Nunnius Coronel.* de optimo Reipub. statu, pag. 545. *Jo. Anson.* Delphinus de potestate Ecclies. pag. 154.

## X.

We are told that for violence done to *Cardinals*, the King guilty of that crime may be deposed. A people at first but of common repute, being but Priests or Deacons belonging to this or that Church, and so far inferiour to Bishops; though since that, the Popes have rais'd them to be next to themselves, and equal to Kings and Princes; and now carry such a sway in that all-ruling Court at *Rome*, that happy is that Monarch that can get a friend by much begging and greazing to be honour'd with that title: and sometimes a red Hat covers both youth and ignorance.

Many of these have imploy'd themselves in secular affairs; and if either in this or the other they become faulty, there is no reason but that they are lyable to punishment as well as their Neighbours: if *Queen Elizabeth* had got Cardinal *Allen* into her custody, she might with more reason have punish'd him for his many Treasons against her and his Country, by declaring her to be no true Queen, and in assisting the *Spaniards* against her in Eighty eight, than Pope (*b*) *Alexander* did several Cardinals by poisoning them to satisfy his Malice and Avarice.

## XI.

What small authority hath been allowed to Kings concerning the Church in their own Kingdoms, may partly appear by Pope (*c*) *John* the Eleventh, who interdicted *England*, and declared King *John* deprived, and so perswaded the *French* to take the Kingdom from him: and why all this? onely because the King would not admit of *Stephen Langton* to be Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, whom the Pope would thrust into that See against the Kings pleasure; King *John* not thinking it fitting, that one who was so great with the *French*, should be of such great trust in his Dominions. And yet the Emperours and Kings formerly had always a (*d*) power in the Election, not onely of Bishops but Popes also, and calling of Councils. And several instances might be given of the Emperours deposing of Popes; but the Imperial Power appears plain enough in the deprivation of *John*.

John the Thirteenth by *Otho* the Great, the *Italian* and other Bishops then assisting and commending him, who also deposed *Benedict* the Fifth. And if we consult the practice of the Popes, we shall finde that it was not so much the peace of Christendom, or the good of Religion, that obliged them to proceed against Temporal Princes, as to maintain their own pride and greatness, and to pleasure a friend or Relation with another mans Dominions.

## XII.

They also affirm, that if a King be lawful both by Title and Possession, yet if after he turn a *Tyrant*, and oppress the innocent and good people, he may then lawfully be deposed: and some of them go a step farther, and say he may justly be kill'd: And yet their own Histories will assure us, that there have been as wicked and cruel Popes as ever there was Temporal Prince in the world.

*Fran. Suarez* def. fid. l. 2. c. 3. & lib. 6. c. 4. & 15. *Andr. Copenstein* Edit. Controvers. part. 2. Qu. 2. p. 130. *Fenardent* pag. 95. *Dionys. Carthus.* de Regem. Polit. art. 19. *Guil. Estius* Com. in sent. lib. 2. pag. 444. *Abulens.* in III Reg. cap. 12. Qu. 4. *Eman. Sa* Aphorism. V. Princeps. & 2. & V. Tyrannus. & 2. *Lessius* de iustitia, lib. 2. cap. 9. disp. 4. & 12. *Pet. de Ledesm.* Theol. Moral. Tract. 8. cap. 18. pag. 512. *Ad. Tanner.* Theol. scholast. Tom. 3. disp. 4. Qu. 8. dub. 1. num. 32, 33. *Sebast. Heissius* Refut. Aphorism. pag. 158. & 94. pag. 162. & 97. *Andr. de Isern.* Com. in usus Feudorum, Tit. Qua sint Regalia, V. Moneta, pag. 743. *Greg. Servantio* defesa della potesta Eccles. p. 76. *Dom. Soto* de iustitia, lib. 5. Qu. 1. art. 3. *Greg. Sayer* clavis Regia lib. 7. cap. 10. & 3. *Gr. de Valent.* Tom. 3. disp. 5. Qu. 8. punct. 7. *Bellarmin.* de Concil. lib. 2. cap. 19. *Mich. Salon* in D. Tho. Tom. 1. col. 1157. *Rob. Cenalis* de utriusq; gladii facultate, Tom. 2. pag. 291. *Hieron. de Medicis*, in 2. 2. D. Tho. Qu. 12. art. 2. conclus. 2. *Azor.* Instit. lib. 10. cap. 8.

## XIII.

If a King be an *Heretick*, or a favourer of Hereticks, or if he be negligent in driving Heresie out of his Dominions, then may he justly, as they say, be deposed.

*Fr. Fenardent* in Est. pag. 90. *Jo. Azor.* Institut. Tom. 2. lib. 10. cap. 8. Id. Lib. 11. cap. 5. *Marriz Becanus* Controvers. Angl. pag. 131, 132. *Lel. Zacchius* Tract. Theolog. pag. 82. *Gabr. Vasquez* in 1. 2. D. Tho. Tom. 2. disp. 169. & 42, 43. *Jos. Stephanus* de potestate coactiva Rom. Pont. cap. 12. & 17. *Dom. Baynes* in 2. 2. Qu. 12. art. 2. col. 478. *Ant. Santarill.* de Hæresi, cap. 30. pag. 292, 293. *Tho. Stapleton*, Tom. 1. Controv. 3. Qu. 5. art. 2. & 4. *Fr. Suarez* defens. fid. lib. 6. cap. 4. & 22. *Petr. Hurtad.* de Mendoza, scholast. disp. 21. & 304. *St. Raymond.* Summa, lib. 1. Tit. de Heret. & 7. pag. 41. *Leon. Coqueus* Examen Prefat. pag. 102, 103. *Rutil. Benzon.* Com. in Cant. Magnificat. lib. 3. c. 27. dub. 6. p. 134. *Jo. Mar. Bellettus* disquisit. Clerical. Part. 1. pag. 282. & 109, 110. *Hofstiens.* summa, lib. 5. Tit. de Heret. & 11. *Ant. Corset.* de potest. Regia, Qu. 76. *Arnold. Albertin.* Repet. in C. Quoniam de Hæret. Qu. 15. & 36. *Lud. a Paramo* de Origine S. Inquisit. lib. 1. Qu. 1. Opin. 4. & 55, 94, 145. *Alph. a Castro* de iusta Hæret. puni. lib. 2. cap. 7. *Pet. Cunerus* de Officio Princip. cap. 8. pag. 76, 77. *Jo. Bapt. Boiard.* addit. ad *Julii Clari* pract. Criminal. Qu. 35. & 6. *Pet. de Palude*, art. 4. *Jo. Driedo* de libertat. Christian. lib. 1. cap. 14. *Lupold.* de Berbenburg. de iurib. Regni, cap. 12. *Tiber. Decianus* Tractat. Criminal. lib. 5. c. 52. & 8. *Rosella Casuum* V. Hereticus, & 11. *Rob. Bellarmin.* de Pont. Rom. lib. 5. cap. 7. Id. De translat. Imp. lib. 1. cap. 12. *Alph. Salmeron* Tom. 13. in Epist. D. Pauli, lib. 1. part. 3. disp. 12. *Jac. Menochius* Concil. 808. & 76. *Adolph. Schulckenius* Apolog. pag. 546. *Gr. Nunnus* Coronel. de Optimo Reipub. statu, pag. 511, 545. *Card. Allen's* letter touching the render of Davenport, pag. 27, 28. Id. Defence of English Catholics against the book call'd The Execution of Justice, pag. 115. *Julius Ferretus*, de re militaris pag. 354. & 26. *Jac. Simanca* de Cathol. Institut. Tit. 9. & 259. Tit. 23. & 11. Tit. 46. & 74, 75. *Lud. Molina* de iustitia, Tom. 1. Tract. 2. disp. 29. col. 221. *Jo. Ant. Delphinus* de potest. Eccles. pag. 154. *Greg. Servantio* defesa della potesta Eccles. pag. 68, 76. *Petr. de Ledesm.* Theolog. Moral. Tract. 1. cap. 7. Conclus. 5, 6, 7.

For this supposed crime of Heresie did the Popes endeavour by their *Bulls* to take the Kingdom from our *Henry* the Eighth and *Queen Elizabeth*, and from *Henry* King of Navarre. And upon this pretty pretended account, was *Raymund* Earl of *Tholouse* deprived of his Territories by *Innocent* the Third.

Heresie

Heretic is a common word, yet all cannot agree in its application ; some say Pope \* *Liberius* was an *Arrian*, and *Anastatius II* was held little better ; *John* the last of that name, amongst other crimes, was accused of Heretic, by the Council of *Constance* : and that Popes may be Heretical, needs no dispute, because that their own Writers confess that they may also be deposed for that Crime.

a See Dr. Casaubon's necessity of Reformation, pag. 37, 38. *V. d.*

*Carm. Remonstr. Hybernorum*, part 5. cap. 18. p. 18, 88, 89, &c. 98, 100, 101.

## XIV.

If a King be either *Negligent*, or *Insufficient*, or *Effeminate*, or by his indiscretion not fit for Rule, they say, he may then be deposed.

Jo. Ant. Delphinus de potest. Eccles.

p. 158. *Camil. Gallinus* de verborum signif. l. 10. c. 17. & 24, 25. *Greg. Servantio* difesa della potestà Eccles. pag. 68, 76. *Paris de Puer* de syndicatu Summar. 4. & 56, 57, 58, 59. *Jul. Ferretus* de re milit. p. 156. & 113. & p. 354. & 26. *Giov. Filoteo* Nuova Rispotta contra *Venetia*, p. 16, 59. *Celsus. Mancinus* de iuribus Principat. l. 3. c. 3. p. 76. *Dionys. Carthus.* de auctoritate Papæ, lib. 1. a. 6. *Jo. Mar. Bellesinus* dilquifit. Clerical. part 1. p. 282. & 110. *Hostiens* Summa, lib. 5. Tit. de Heret. & quæ pena ferratur. & 11. *Greg. Nunnus* Corouel de optimo Reipub. Statu p. 545, 547. *Jo. Tur. recremata* Summa de Eccles. c. 14. propos. 4. *Dom. Soto* in sentent. disp. 25. qu. 2. art. 1. & *Tertio. Perr. de Palude* de causa Immediate Eccles. potest. art. 4. *Jo. de Selo* de Beneficio, part 4. qu. 8. & 25. *Jo. à S. Geminiano* Summa de Exemplis, lib. 8. cap. 60. *Gaby. Berart.* spectacul. visitat. c. 22. & 46. *Pau. Carraria* de literali ac Mystico Regularum juris interpretatione, qu. 2. art. 4. punct. 2. & 25:6:27.

Thus they say, *Childerick* was deprived from being King of *France*, because he was a little easie natured, not given to action, nor so wise as his Neighbours, whereby he was unfit for Rule. This may make the being of Government most unstable ; the giddy multitude, and the factious, being apt to interpret this Rule at any time to their pleasures, when before these late Wars, *Sir Henry Ludlow* [Father to the notorious *Edmund Ludlow*] had the boldness publicly before the Parliament to affirm that King *Charles I.* was not worthy to be King of *England*, and no way punish'd for such abominable speeches ; whereby it appear'd how pleasing they were to the rest of the Commons : what might be expected when they were more heightned in wickedness, by their entring and continuing in open Rebellion ? If this one so vertuous, religious, learned and knowing a King be censured as unworthy, what may other Princes think of themselves and their condition ?

Ex. Coll. p. 552.

And yet 'tis better to be thus soft-natured, than so abominable wicked and cruel, as *Sixtus IV.*, *Alexander VI.*, and some other Popes were ; amongst whom, we may justly place *John XIII* (or *XII*) who I warrant you (at this time waving his wickedness) was every inch of him fit to be Pope, being but (a) *XVIII* years old, if so much, when he rul'd the Church as a Successor of *St. Peter*. And if you think that this Youth was not young enough to be Christs *Vicar*, what will you object against [b] *Benedict IX.*, a boy of *XII* years old, and yet at that age was his little Holiness Pope of *Rome*, and as infallible too as the best of them ?

a *Baronius*, anno 955.

b *Baron. an.* 1033. & 6.

c *Papir. Mas-*

*sonius* de

*Episcopis*

*Urbis*, lib. 4.

fol. 174.

c *P. Messia*

*Selva Rino-*

*vata*, part 4.

c. 67.

d *Jo. Gre-*

*gory's* Post-

*huma*, p. 95,

133, &c.

e *Sess. 21.*

It hath formerly been a custom in [c] *Franconia*, at our [d] *Salsburg*, at *Cambray* in *Hanault*, and many other Cities, for the young Boys upon *St. Nicholas* his day to chuse amongst themselves a Bishop, who with his Myter, and other little Episcopal Ornaments used to govern them till *Innocents* day ; but it may be the Council of [e] *Basil* made a Decree against the Custom. The former *John*

R

and

and *Benedict* would have been pretty Popes for these Bishops : and if we add [*a*] *Hugo à Veromandia*, who was made Arch-bishop of *Rheims* at V years old, and approved of by Pope *John X* or *XI*, they would make up a dapper Council to govern the Universal Church, and sufficient, and vigilant, and careful enough.

## XV.

For what other reasons they may depose Kings, I cannot justly determine, because many of their Writers will not particularize; but by shooting at random, and excepting none, may give occasion for more than here set down; and for ought that I know, may tacitely allow of any : for when they say, That a King may justly be deposed, cause being given, without naming any, they leave the people to judge them themselves.

*Dr. m. Paul. Lopez. Halc. Clericorum, part 2. 77. Guil. de Monserat. de successione Regum, dub. 1. 30. Sylv. de Præro Summa v. Papa 10, 11. Alex. Carerius de potest. Rom. Pont. l. 2. c. 3. 18. Cels. Mancinus de jurib. Principat. l. 3. c. 2. p. 76. Tho. Stapleton Tom. 1. Controv. 3. Qu. 5. Art. 2. p. 710. Fran. Bozzius de Temporal. Eccles. Monarch. l. 2. c. 16. p. 553. Arnald. Albertin. Repet. in C. quoniam de Hæret. Qu. 15. 34. S. Bonaventur. de Eccles. Hierarch. part 2. cap. 1. Anast. Germinius de factorum Immunitat. lib. 3. Proem. 9, 10. Jo. à Capistrino de Papæ Authorit. fol. 65. à Jul. Cas. Madim de sacris Ordinib. 9. cap. 9. 17.*

And that they pretend more causes for deposing of Kings, than we here charge them with, is somewhat plain from [*b*] *Petrus de Aragon*, who saith, That a King may be deposed for any fault, to which Excommunication is joyned : And if we look upon [*c*] *Bartholomæus Fumus*, and some others, we shall finde God knows how many causes laid down by them, for Excommunication.

## XVI.

But why need we search for Vices, or make such a clutter to prove a King to be criminal ? As if iniquity, wickedness, stupidity, or suchlike failings, were the onely causes for which a Prince might be removed : since we are informed, that all these signifie nothing to the purpose; it being not so much the defect of the King, as the pleasure, or rather will forsooth, of his Holiness at *Rome* : For thus are we told by no less man than *Thomas Bozzius*, whose Authority is neither slighted by the Pope, nor his *Romish* Favourites.

Although that a King be lawful, and understanding in Government, Industrious, Potent, a good Roman Catholick, and godly; yet the Pope, and the Bishops by the Approbation of the Pope, by Divine Law delivered to the Church by Christ and his Apostles, have power to take away his Dominion and Kingdoms from him, and give them all to a third person, who had no right unto them; if so be, that they think that so doing to be not onely necessary but expedient.

*Sicq; aliquis jure, solers, industrius, potens, Catholicus, pius, Tamen Pontifex, Episcopi; Pontifice approbante, jure naturali Divino in Divini Scriptis expresso ac tradito per Christum & Apostolos — valent huic auferre Imperia, Regna, alteriq; nullum jus alioq; habenti adjudicare, ubi judicaverint id esse non modo necessarium, sed & expediens. Tho. Bot. de jure Status, lib. 3. cap. 4. pag. 287, 288.*

Most miserable must thus the State of Kings be, if they thus lye at the Mercie of one, which sometimes is not onely tyrannical, wicked and debauched, but a simple Boy too, and some think also a whorish [*b*] Woman to boot : So that it is no wonder that there is such striving, canvassing, bribery, and underhand-dealing to be made

Pope,

Pope; if their so being, instantly invest them with such an unlimited Authority over all the world, and that by Divine right too; but of such a Nature, that none can see into this Millstone but themselves or favourites.

And that there may not be any objection against this Authority of the Pope; *Bozius* undertakes to demonstrate it by Examples, which you shall have as he gives us them; and then judge either of the Heresie, or Authority of the Popes. Thus he tells us that

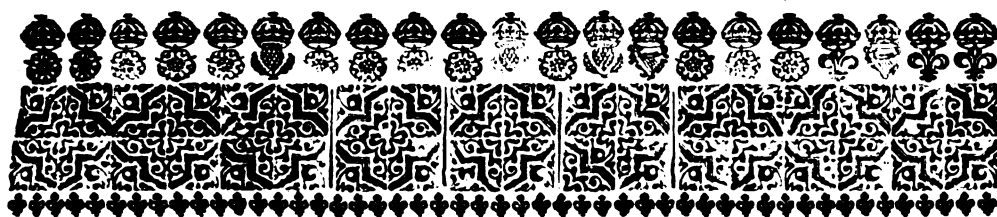
*Baldwin II* was lawful Successor to the Eastern Empire; yet *Michael Palæologus*, by force of Arms and wickedness, took the Empire from him. However for all this injury, as he saith, did Pope *Gregory X* allow so much of it, that he gave the Empire to the Invador, and excluded the lawful Inheritor.

Another instance he giveth concerning the Western Empire, *viz.* that *Richard* Duke of *Cornwal*, Son to King *John*, and Brother to *Henry III* of *England*, being by one part of the Electors of *Germany*, [*viz.* by the Bishops of *Mentz*, *Colen*, and the *Palsgrave*,] chosen Emperour; And *Alonso X* King of *Castile*, being by another part, [*viz.* Archbishop of *Trevers*, King of *Bohemia*, Duke of *Saxony*, and Marquiss of *Brandeburg*] also chosen Emperour; And so by consequence, as he saith, it must of necessity belong to one of thesetwo: Yet such was the pleasure of the aforesaid *Gregory X*, that he threw them both by, and commanded the Electors to pitch upon another; by which means *Rodulph*, Earl of *Habsburgh* and *Heffia*, came to be Emperour.

And the same power, *Bozius* saith, the Pope hath over *Infidels*: and to prove this by Example, he hints to us the Donation of *America*, by *Alexander VI*, and his huge Authority, divided between the *Castilian* and *Portugal*. And I wonder that before this time he hath not given the World in the Moon to some of his Favourites: And as Pope (a) *Clement VI* commanded the Angels to carry such Souls into Paradise; so might some of his Successors command some pretty vehicles or other, to carry his friends beyond the Earths attraction, and so into the Dominions of the Lunary World, where by a zealous *Croisade*, and a furious *Inquisition*, those pretty people might be taught Rebellion.

a H. Estienne Apol. pour Herodot. p. 465, 466.





THE  
REBELLIOUS  
AND  
Treasonable Practises  
Of the  
ROMANISTS:

From the Year DC, to the Year M.

With a Blow at *Constantines* Donation, The Popes  
absolute Temporal Authority, and Lega-  
lity of his Being.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

*The Tale of Constantines Donation proved a meer Cheat and Forgery.*

I Shall not here ingage my self in the Dispute whether *S. Peter* was ever Bishop of *Rome* or no, nor with the time of his presiding there: [*a*] *Bellarmino*, their famous [*b*] *Onuphrino*, *a* De Rom. Pont. l. 1. c. 63. and some others, not agreeing about the manner; and several *b* Addit. ad Platin. viz. S. Petri. Learned Men have imployed themselves on both parties in this Controversie: Nor by what means the Popes came to that greatness they are now in, and pretend of right to have.

Christ said [*c*] *his Kingdom was not of this world*; nor did *S. Peter*, or any of the rest of the Apostles, endeavour to obtain either  
any



any such Temporal Government, or upon the account of their Spiritual, to lord it with a coercive Power over Secular Authority : And if any of their Successors plead such Prerogatives, they can draw no Arguments either from the Precept or Example of the Apostles. Not, but that the Clergy are as capable of Temporal Employments as any, if the Supreme Magistrate so order it, without whose appointment the Lay-man himself cannot pretend to Office.

What jurisdiction the Bishops of *Rome* exercised over Princes for the first Ages, as History is altogether silent, so cannot we imagine that they did, considering in what Persecutions they themselves lived, being for their own preservation forced to sculk, and lurk about here and there, and that in poverty too ; insomuch, that if we consult their own Histories, we shall finde that the first XXXIII Bishops of *Rome* suffer'd Martyrdom, till [a] *Sylvester* in the days of *Constantine* the Great.

In whose time, by the Emperours declaring himself a Christian, Christianity began to appear more publick, being thus countenanced by Authority, whereby those who formerly lurk'd in Caves and Forrests, wandred about Mountains, and dissembled their Profession, for fear of persecution ; now boldly shewed and declared themselves, and had places of Trust and Authority conferred upon them ; whereby they became more formidable to the Pagans, and Religion daily gained more Profelytes, Splendour and Jurisdiction.

By this Emperour *Constantine*, they say that the Popes of *Rome* had not onely many Priviledges, but God knows how much Land too given them, viz. not onely *Rome* it self, but also all the Provinces, Places, and Cities of all *Italy*, and the *Western Region* ; and that he might be more glorious and powerful in all the World, than the Emperour himself. And thus we see them set on Cock horse, and whence many of them plead a Prerogative. And for proof of this, they not onely say that they can shew you the Decree it self, but from it and other Authors tell the Reason of such a *Donation* ; which because the Storie is pretty and miraculous, take as followeth in short.

*Constance*, they say, being a wicked Tyrant and an Heathen, murdering his own Son *Crispus* the Consul, &c. at last was sorry for his own wickedness, and desired to be clenfed therefrom ; but his Pagan Priests told him, That they had no means of purging such heinous Offences. In the meantime one *Aegyptius* [supposed by (b) *Baronius* to be *Osius* Bishop of *Corduba*] a Christian, told the Emperour, That the Christians had a way to cleanse a man from any guilt : To which *Constantine* lent a willing ear, though upon that did not forsake his Idolatry, but persecuted the Christians ; insomuch, that Pope *Sylvester*, with some others, for their own safety, stole from *Rome*, and hid themselves in the Mountain *Soraæes*, now call'd (c) *Monte S. Treſto*, corrupted, as they say, from *Monte di S. Silvestro*, North from *Rome*, upon the Westside of *Tiber*. For these crimes and oppressions, they say, he was as by a judgement, strangely infected with the Leprosie [or *Meselry* according to the old Translation of (d) *John Trevisa*, Vicar of *Barckley* almost CCC years ago] to be cured of this disease, he applyeth himself to his Physicians ; but with no benefit : then the Pagan Priests of the *Capitol*, advised him to make a Cistern, or Bathing-place in the

*Baron. anno*  
324. *Or*  
16, 17.

*b Anno* 324.  
*Or* 27.

*c Or M. St.*  
*Oresto.*

*Baron.* *Or*  
33.

*d Translat.*  
*of Ranul.*  
*phus of Che-*  
*sters Poly-*  
*cron. fol.*  
212.

the *Capitol*, and therein wash his body with the warm bloud of little Children: and to effect this, upon his consent, the *Flamens* prepared a great number of Infants, some write (a) *three thousand*, and was going to kill them, to fill the Bath with their bloud; but *Constantine* being moved to compassion, by the cries and lamentations of their Mothers, abhorred such cruelty and wickedness, causing the Children to be restored to their Parents, with rewards and means to carry them to their dwelling places.

The night following, the Apostles *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* appear to him, saying, *Because thou hast hindred this wickedness, and hast detested to shed the blood of Innocents, we are sent to thee by Christ our Lord and God, to tell thee how to be cured: Hear us therefore, and do what we admonish thee.* *Sylvester* the Bishop of this City flying thy Persecutions, with some others of his Clergy, are hid in the Cliffs of *Mount Soraete*; send for him, and he will provide an holy Bath, in which thou shalt be wash'd, and so cleansed from thy disease.

*Constantine* the next morning sends to finde out *Sylvester*; to whom being come, he told the storie of his Vision, and asked him what Gods *Peter* and *Paul* were, and desired to see their Pictures; which being shewed him, he declared that they were the very same who appeared to him the night before: Upon this he was Baptized by *Sylvester*, and so cleansed from his Leprosie; an hand from Heaven at the same time touching him, as he himself saw.

Upon this the Emperour became hugely Munificent to the Church of *Rome*, by his Decree ordering that she shall be above the *IV Patriarchal Seats*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, (b) *Constantinople* and *Hierusalem*; and that the Bishops of *Rome* shall be above all others in the world, all things belonging to Christianity to be govern'd by them. In proof of this, he built a Church in the *Lateran*, where to maintain lights, he gave Lands and Possessions in *Asia*, *Thracia*, *Gracia*, *Africa*, *Italy*, and several Islands; he gave his Palace also in the *Lateran*, with his Crown, and all his other imperial Habiliments, Badges and Authority; and the more to exalt him, the Emperour himself like a Foot-boy led the Popes Horse about by the Bridle, and bestowed upon him and his Successors the City of *Rome*, with the (c) Places, Cities and Provinces of *Italy*, and the Western Countries; and then in a solemn manner, curst and damn'd to the pit of Hell all those, whether his succeeding Emperours or any others, who any ways opposed or violated this his Donation.

*And this Edict or Donation of Constantine is dated at Rome, Constantine and Gallicanus being Consuls.*

Thus we have the storie, and the Imperial Decree of Donation, which have made such a noise in the World, and all as true as the Tale of this *Sylvester's* (d) tying up, (and there to remain till the day of Judgement) a huge Dragon in a Den, which every day onely with its breath slew above (e) three hundred; men which quite puts down the storie of *Sir Eglamore*.

Now the better to batter down the imaginary Castle of the Popes Temporal Authority, and that the Cheat and Forgerie may appear more visible, we shall shew that the Foundation of all is a meer lye; the

Edict. Constant. Rich. Broughion Ecclesi. Hist. Age 4. cap. 5. a Pet de Natal. l. 2. c. 22. Jac. de Vorag. Hist. 12. Jo. Trevisa Polieron. fol. 212. Alonso de Vill'gas Flos Sanctorum, 21 Decemb. la vida de San. Silvestre.

h. Karsar. reman. 106.

c Provincias loca Civitatis. Edict. Constant.

d Guil. Gazet. Hist. des Saints, Tom. 2. 31 Decemb.

e Pet. de Natal. l. 2. c. 22. Jac. de Vorag. Hist. 12.

the occasion of such a Donation, viz. the storie, to be false; and then the *Decree* it self, as a consequence, must vanish also. However, the *Edit* it self shall also be proved a Counterfeit, by such Arguments and Authorities as *Hottoman*, Dr. *Crakinthorpe*, *Laurentius Valla*, *du Plessis*, our Country-man *Cook*, &c. affords us, but with as much brevity as can be.

That the storie and occasion of such a Donation is false, appears plainly.

## I.

*Valerius Crispus* was alive after this supposed Baptism, and so his murder could no way intitle *Constantine* to the Leprosie; and for truth of this, we need go no further than this, that they cannot deny but both their Ancient and their Modern Authors declare this *Crispus* to have been Baptized with *Constantine*, and alive after the Synod supposed to be held at *Rome*, upon this christning of the Emperour: Nor was *Constantine* a Tyrant.

*Sozom.* l. 1. c. 5. Trip.  
Hist. *Cassiodor.* lib. 1. cap. 6.  
*Evagr.* l. 3. c. 40, 41.  
*Niceph.* l. 7. c. 35. *Platina.* vit. *Marci Broughton's* Hist. Eccles. pag. 476. & 2. Id. pag. 494. & 9. *Jo. Mariana* de rebus *Hispan.* l. 4. c. 16.

## II.

The Leprosie it self is confest by their (a) *Platina* and others to be a meer forgery, not mentioned by *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and such-like ancient Writers; nor was there any cause for such a Disease, *Constantine* being a good Emperour.

a Vit. *Marci* & vit. *Hadrian* I. *Cannus* loc. *Theol.* l. 1. c. 5. & 5. *Naucler* generat. 11.

## III.

*Constantine* did not persecute the Christians till this supposed Leprosie; but on the contrary, hugely favoured them; insomuch, that *Licinius* the Heathen Consul accused him to his Souldiers for so doing: And which is more, he did not onely countenance them, but was a profest Christian himself; his Father *Constantinus* favouring that way, and his Son *Constantine* instructed in it; and some say in *Britain*, at (b) *Abington* in *Barkshire*: but of the latter I say nothing.

*Euseb.* vit. *Constant.* l. 1. c. 5. l. 2. c. 1. 4, 12, 13, 14. l. 10. c. 16. *Cedren.* Hist. *Sozom.* l. 1. c. 8.

b *Broughton's* Eccles. Hist. p. 460, 461. & 5, 6, 7.

## IV.

Being thus a Christian, he could not be ignorant what *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* were, in that time of *Sylvester*; and so not to suppose them to be Gods, after an Heathenish manner. And if he were ignorant, how came he to know what they were? for in his supposed *Decree*, where the storie is, he doth not tell us that they told him. If they did, 'tis probable that they would not leave him a supposed Pagan in the dark, but also declare what they were, besides telling their names, nor doth he say they told him that.

## V.

Again, being thus a Christian, he would not make use of Heathen Priests, either to cleanse him from his iniquities, nor need *Aegyptius* or *Osus* upon that supposed infidelity, inform him of the Efficacie of Christ

Christ and his Religion: Neither would he consent to the wicked advise of the Pagan *Flamens* for his Cure, by the blood of so many Innocent Children.

## VI.

If *Constantine* had consented to this cruelty, yet 'tis not probably that he need either have such a number slain, as some say, *three thousand*; nor would he have had it so publickly done, as to be frighted from it by the cries of their grieved Mothers.

## VII.

*Constantine* was not baptized by *Sylvester*, nor at *Rome*, Anno *Euseb.* vii. 324: but after this, a little before his own death, at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia* in lesser *Asia*, and that by one *Eusebius* Bishop of that City. *Constant.* l. 4. c. 61, 62, 64. *Socrat.* l. 1. c. 26.

This last quite overthrowing the occasion of the Donation, they bend all their force to null it; but the chief of their Objections are thus answered. *Theodor.* l. 1. c. 31. *Sozom.* l. 2. c. 32.

## Object. I.

*That he was baptized at Rome, and so not at Nicomedia, needs no dispute: The Font wherein he was baptized being at Rome.*

## Answer.

If so, 'tis nothing to the purpose, seeing several Monuments are there, which were neither made there, nor first erected there; and by this Argument their Reliques and Bodies of Saints, will make some holy men to be born, or have dyed here and there, and every where; for some of them by the several places pretending to have them, must have several bodies apiece, besides there is no good proof of such a Baptistry.

## Object. II.

*Of this there is proof enough; for Ammianus Marcellinus an Heathen, mentions Lavacrum Constantinianum at Rome, and is not this the Font of Constantine?*

## Answer.

No, but a Bath or Bathing-place so call'd, mentioned also by *(a) Sigonius*; and both him and *(b) Marcellinus* intimate so much themselves, by saying, That the people would have set on fire the house of *Lampadius*, neer or adjoyning to the Bath of *Constantine*: And of these sorts of Baths there were many of them at *Rome*, and that very large ones too; and this shews that it could not be meant by a Font or Baptistry in a Church: for if so, then reason would tell us, that the Authors would rather have said, neer such a Church. *a De Occid. Imp. l. 7. b Lib. 27. prope Constantinianum Lavacrum.*

## Object. III.

*Constantine was present at the Nicen Council, and therefore baptized before that Council; and so not at Nicomedia in his latter days.*

*Answer.*

*Euseb. vit.  
Constant.  
l.c. 37.  
Bin. not. in  
Concil. A-  
rel. & ad.*

This is no consequence, for long before this, *Constantine* call'd a Council at *Arles*, where he was also present; and yet not then baptized, as they themselves confess.

## Object. IV

*He was present at prayers with the Christians long before his death, and therefore not baptized at his latter end at Nicomedia.*

*Answer.*

Nor will this hold water, for any might be at their prayers, till the receiving of the Sacrament; at which time the *Catechumens*, [i.e. such as were instructed in the Faith, but not yet Christened] and others were to withdraw.

## Object. V.

*But Constantine was present at the receiving of the Sacrament, and so must be baptized.*

*Answer.*

*Crakimborp,  
p. 70, 72, 73,  
74*

He was not, nor can they gather any such thing from *Eusebius*: if he were present, it will not follow that he received: Besides, an Emperour so favourable to the Christians, and one that call'd their Religion his own, both for Devotion and Curiosity; as also, good Example to gain Profolytes, might be allow'd more privilege than others, as being onely present, if he were so.

## Object. VI.

*Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia was an Arian; so that if Constantine had been baptized by him, he would have shew'd his Communion with that Heresie.*

*Answer.*

*Theodoret.  
lib. 1. cap. 19.*

If he had, it doth not contradict the storie, but he did not agree with them. 'Tis true, this *Eusebius* was an *Arian*, but a cunning jugler, and carried himself otherwise before the Emperour. But when *Constantine* perceived that he was an *Arian*, he was so far from favouring, or siding with these people, that he banish'd him, with a severe Epistle or Order against him, and those of his Faction: Yet after upon his seeming repentance, he had the liberty to return, where he carried himself as against the *Arians* (though his heart was for them) and so the Emperour seeing onely with mans eyes, thinking

ing his Conversion to be real, might lawfully be baptized by him, and yet none of his way or faith in thofe points.

## Object. VII.

*It was not Constantine the Great, who was baptized by Eusebius at Nicomedia; but his Son Constantine, who was an Arian, and expell'd Pope Felix from Rome; fo that the old Historians miftook the Father for the Son, which caufed this error.*

*Answer.*

This *Constantine* the Son was dead or kill'd many years before *Felix* was chosen to fit in the *Roman Chair*: Nor was he an *Arian* that we know of. And him who you aim at all this while, is *Constantius* another Son of *Constantine* the Great, with whom and *Felix* there was fome clashing: *Constantius* being look'd upon as an *Arian*, and one that had been twice baptized, and one of them by one (a) *Euzoius*, Bifhop of *Nicomedia*: And that you miftake in faying that this muft be *Constantine* the Great, (b) (*Platina* himfelf will affure you.

a *Athanas.*  
de Synod. p.  
350. Socrat.  
l. 2. c. 37. l. 1.  
c. 26.  
b *Vit. Felinus.*

## Object. VIII.

*Constantine the Great was not baptized at Nicomedia, but onely Bathed in hot waters for the health of his body.*

*Answer.*

Neither Barrel better Herring; certainly *Aug. Steuchus Eugubinus* is put hard to it, when he brings fuch a childish reason as this; but the Country Clown rather than fay nothing, affirm'd *Tenterden Steeple* to be the caufe of *Goodwin Sands*; and truly *Steuchus* at this time reasoneth after the fame fort, as appears by *Eusebius* who lived at that time, was well acquainted with the Emperour *Constantine*: and at large writes this History of his (a) Baptifm, at *Nicomedia*, by the Bifhop of that City. The Emperor himfelf confeffing that he ftaid fo long for the receiving of this Sacrament, be-  
caufe he thought to have gone and been Baptized in *Jordan*, after the Example of our Saviour Chrift. But being thus overtaken with ficknefs, and neer his end, rather than dye without it, was Baptized, as abovesaid, at *Nicomedia*.

a *Vit. Con-*  
*stantine*, l. 4.  
c. 61, 62.

But becaufe fome of them have faid, that though the fupposed occasional ftorie may be false; yet the Donation is true, as appears by the Decree it felf of fuch a Donation, we fhall prove here, that the Decree it felf is a meer Cheat and Counterfeit; and then the whole defign muft vanifh: And that it is a forgery, is plain; becaufe

## I.

It faith that *Constantinople* was then one of the four chief Sees or Patriarchfhips; whereas I would have them to prove that that dignity

ty was before this, or then given to this City; for some write it was not till many years after this, and so it must speak by Propheſie.

## II.

*a* *Konstantinopolis.*

In this *Decree* is mentioned the very word (*a*) *Constantinople*; whereas, at the time of this writing there was no such word, the City being then call'd *Bizantium*; nor was the name changed till several years after this supposed Baptism, viz. according to (*b*) *Sigonius* VI years, at which time the Emperor made it his Imperial City for the East.

*b* *De Occid. Imp. l. 4. anno 330.*

## III.

See *Rich. Broughton's Ecclef. Hist. pag. 496. & Age 4.c. 11. p. 500. &c.*

The *Decree* saith, that *Constantine* then intended to return to, and live at *Bizantium*, and build there: And yet they assure us, that he was so far from thinking of it, that when he went from *Rome*, his resolution was to settle the Seat of his Empire of the East, at or near *Ilium*, or old *Troy* in *Asia*; in which design he had gone so far, as not onely to have laid the plat-form of the City, but to have built the Gates of it not far from the *Helleſpont*. Nor is this all, but that he was so resolved on this, that he had not left *Asia*, and come into *Europe* to *Bizantium*, if he had not been thereunto admonish'd by some Heavenly Vision or other, by which means the See of *Constantinople* in the *Decree* may be meant as well of *Troy* as *Bizantium*.

*c* *Phil. Holland's Chronol. to Am. Marcellinus anno Christi 328.*

(*c*) *Calcedon* before he went to *Bizantium*; quite contrary to the *Decree*.

## IV.

*d* *L. 3. an. 312. c. An. 312. &c. 82. f* Not in lib. de munif. *Constant.*

In this *Decree* *Constantine* is made solemnly to give unto Pope *Sylvester* the *Lateran* Palace: And yet (*d*) *Sigonius*, (*e*) *Baronius*, and (*f*) *Binius* confess that it was given before to Pope *Melchades*. If *Constantine* gave such gifts for the honour of Christianity before *Sylvester's* time; why do they say he was a Pagan and Persecutor for the first XI years of *Sylvester's* Popedom?

## V.

*Sozom. l. 2. cap. 32, 35. Sonaraz, Tom. 3. g* See *Lawr. Banek de Tyran. Pa. pz, pag. 78, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 432, 433, 437, 441, 442, 443, &c.*

If *Constantine* had given *Rome* and *Italy*, &c. to the Popes and their Successors, he would never have given the same again to his Sons, as he did by *Testament*; and the (*g*) Lawyers say, that had the gift been true, yet 'tis null'd, because he could not give such Prerogative and Dominions from his Sons and Empire, to a third person: but this dispute concern not me.

## VI.

This *Decree* makes *Constantine* to throw severe curses and execrations upon any, be who they will, that shall violate his Edict of the supposed Donation. Now 'tis not propable that good *Constantine* would thus have cursed himself, and have invoked his own damnation, as he must have done, if he himself broke the *Decree*, as he plainly did, by giving, as aforesaid, these places by *Testament* to

to his Son, which he had, as they say, formerly bestowed upon the Popes of Rome.

## VII.

If these Territories were thus given to the Popes and their sole rule, why did the Emperours for a long time by their Deputies govern Rome, &c. without any dependance upon the Popes? And this Decree of Donation never pleaded by the Bishops of that City, against such Usurpations [as they must have been, if the gift had been true and legal] of those Lay-Governours.

Nic. Coeffeteau, Response au Sieur du Plessis, pag. 245.

## VIII.

We cannot suppose in reason, that *Constantine* would have given so much Lands and Territories, onely to maintain a few lights and Candles in a Church, as the Decree saith he did.

## IX.

The story of the hands clensing of him at his Baptism from Heaven, sounds like the rest of the lying Miracles we oft meet withal in their writings.

## X.

The story in this Donation of the Emperour leading the Popes horse about like a Page, looks also like a forgery, to propogate the Popes Pride; nor is it probable that *Constantine*, now supposed a sober Christian, would thus by telling this, boast of his own humility.

## XI.

Several of the Romanists themselves, confess that Authentick Ancient Historians do not make mention of these things, though they writ at large the other actions of *Constantine*: And why should this so famosa matter be left out?

de Concord. Cathol. l. 3. c. 2. Jac. Almon. de potest Eccles. An. Sylvius in Dialog. Nic. Cusan. Gasp. Schiops.

## XII.

Many of the learned Papists themselves will not stand upon this thing, not knowing how to make it good: (a) *Baronius* when he should come to speak of it, though in all things in behalf of the Popes Authority he indeavours to be Voluminous, and spends many leaves upon *Constantines* supposed Conversion and Baptism; yet when he comes to this Donation, will by no means undertake its proof, but hastily throws it by, and desires you to look in other Authors, and lets every one think as he will, but for his part he meddles not with it: but we are assured by a fiery (b) Jesuit, that *Baronius* look'd upon this Decree of *Constantine* to be either corrupted, or a false counterfeit thing. (c) Dr. *Coeffeteau* is in this case like also, and lets du Plessis slip away without replying to his Arguments, yet at last declares it to be a (d) cheat and false: And (e) *Laurentius Valla* Senator of Rome writes bitterly against it in a long Declamation.

An. 324. 117.

b Gretserus Apol. pro Baronio, c. 12. c Response, au Mystere d'Iniquité, pag. 115. d lb. p. 1188. e De falsa (a) Hieronymus donat.



a Practic.  
Cancel. A-  
postol.

b Concord  
Cathol. ad  
Concil. Ba-  
sil. l. 3. c. 2.

c Hist. lib. 4.  
d Edit. Lond.  
1618.

e Edit. Paris.  
1612.

f Tom. 3.

g De Tyran.  
Papæ, pag.  
335, 336.

h Certum est  
mihi, Dona-  
tionem Con-  
stantini, quæ  
à quibusdam  
illiteratis  
profertur, in-  
eptam esse,  
absurdam, & omnium sibilis explodendam.

(a) Hieronymus Cathalanus looks upon it as a cheat, and yet he was Chamberlain to Pope Alexander VI. Cardinal (b) Nicholas de Cusa is much of the same opinion, protesting that he hath taken great pains to finde it there, were any such thing, but all to no purpose; and some of these you have printed together in a little book. And Aeneas Sylvius, who was afterwards Pope Pius II in a particular Dialogue, cited by the aforesaid Cathalanus, looks upon it as a meer forgery: Nor will Franciscus Guiccardine give any credit to it. 'Tis true, the (c) section which contains his judgement of this Donation, and the History how the Popes rose to such greatness in Temporalities, is fraudulently left out in some Forreign Editions: but it is to be met withal in the (d) English, (e) French, and some others, as also in (f) Goldastus. And (g) Laurentius Banck tells us of other Romanists, who either doubt of, or oppose this Donation.

To this exception I shall say no more, but that the Learned French Jesuite (b) Philippus Brietius the Prince of Geographers, affirms that this Donation of Constantine is a foolish and absurd forgery, to be disposed and *hiss'd at by all men*, being onely maintain'd by a company of ignorant people: And (i) Philippe Labbe another French Jesuite well versed in these things, confesseth that Baronius, Morinus and others may very well doubt it.

absurdam, & omnium sibilis explodendam. Briet. Parallela Geograph. part 2. lib. 6. pag. 889.

i De Script. Eccles. Tom. 1. pag. 237.

### XIII.

They write that this Baptism and supposed Donation of Constantine was in the CCCXXIV; and yet the Decree it self of such a Donation with the story of his Baptism is dated, Constantine and Gallicanus being Consuls: And yet according to the Fasti of the Consuls, Crispus and Constantinus were then Consuls, and not Gallianus, who was Consul with Bassus some VII years before this, and was again V years after the Nicen Council: and this false dating is another sign of the cheat.

### XIV.

If Constantine gave all this to the Church of Rome in Pope Sylvesters time, how cometh (k) Melchiades, who was Pope before this Sylvester, to take notice of Constantine's being a Christian, and expressly to relate his building of Churches, his giving great things to Rome, and his leaving of that City to the Popes? The truth is, they are both cheats, to the shame of the Collectors of their Canon-law, who would thus sob such forgeries upon us. And Gregory XIII his amendments were to small purpose, leaving such gross lyes as these in their Canon, to deceive the more ignorant.

More might be said against the pretended Donation of Constantine: but this is enough to satisfy any man of its forgeries, and that there was never any such thing. However, because they pretend to give some reasons for it, take some for example sake.

I. First,

## I.

First, they say, that *Ensebins* in his book call'd *Enneadoes*, writes the storie of the Leprosie, Baptism and Donation of *Constantine*, and so why not true?

*Answer.*

This is a spurious and counterfeit Book, never made by *Ensebins* as [a] *Baronius* and [b] *Covarruvias* confess, and the true *Ensebins* writes no such thing, but quite contrary, as aforesaid.

a An. 1191.  
51.  
b Var. Refol.  
1.4. c. 16.  
8.

## II.

Again, they say, that *S. Hierome* in one of his [c] Epistles to *Eusebins*, affirmeth *Constantine* to have been baptized by *Sylvester*, and so not at *Nicomedia*, as *Ensebins* saith.

c Beginning  
*Sepissime*  
*rogatus.*

*Answer.*

This is also a forged Epistle, never writ by *S. Hierome*, but by some cheat or other, and father'd upon him (as many other writings are) as is confess'd by [d] *Baronius* and [e] *Possesine*, with [f] *Erasmus*, and several [g] others.

d Not. in  
Martyr.  
Rom. Aug. 1.

e Apparat. in *Hier.* pag. 752.

f Tom. 4. pag. 202. Annot. ante Epist. & Præf. ante Tom. 4. *Hierom.*

g See *Jo. Hen. Hottinger.* Elench. Scriptor. suppositiorum, page. 83.

## III.

Again, they say, that (b) *Gratian* having collected the storie of it into his Decrees, and so become a part of the Canon-law; we need not suspect the Antiquity of it, no question but they had good reason and true, for putting of it there.

b Dist. 96.  
c. 14. *Con-*  
*stantinus.*

*Answer.*

I hope you will not take all to be Gospel in these Decrees; for if so, (i) *Concubines* will thank you for allowing them so fair a plea. But to the purpose, 'tis confess'd by (k) *Antonius*, Bishop of *Florence*, by (l) *Volateran*, by (m) *Cusanus*, and others that this was not inserted by *Gratian*, nor is it in the Ancient Copies; and the *Palea*, or Chaff prefix to its Title, tell you what stamp and authority 'tis of. However, to prove this donation, though not inserted by *Gratian*, yet to be set in these Decrees in his time. (n) *Dr. Marta* tells us a storie of a plagiary Cardinal, why such Chapters were so call'd. But another *Italian Lawyer*, (o) *Catellianns Cotta* saith, that *Palea* was one who was Schollar to *Gratian*, and probably one is as true as the other.

i Dist. 34. c.  
4. & 5. with  
the contents  
Edit. Lugd.  
1544. &  
1572. &  
Edit. Paris,  
1561.  
k Hist. part  
1. Tit. 8. c. 2.  
8.  
l Antropol.  
1. 23. fol.  
270. a.

m De concord. Cathol. 1. 3. c. 2.

n De jurisdict. part 1. c. 30. 35, 36.

o De juris peritis.

Several

D. Barwick's life of Bishop Morton.

a *Baron* anno 963.

17. *Binius* Concil.

b Corruption of Father.

See also *Blondel*.

Pseudo-Histor. *W. Cra-*

*shaw's* Romish forge-

ries and falsifications.

c Appendix to the Reader.

Several other suchlike spurious Authorities as these are alledged in behalf of this *Donation*; to which I need not trouble the Reader with an Answer, but refer him to Dr. *Crakinthorp*. And in truth, some of them are impudent to a miracle in this way of forgery, witness their yet confident storie of the *Nags-head* Ordination, as notorious a lye as ever was spread abroad; witness their affirming that the Reverend Bishop *Morton* confest the truth of the storie in a Speech in Parliament, as true as the other: But had the storie been true, might not we say, we took the Example from Pope *John XII*, who (a) ordain'd a Deacon in a Stable?

Here basely the Fathers and others have been abused, and corrupted in their Additions: I shall not at this time undertake to declare, but refer you to (b) Dr. *Tho. James*; and Archbishop *Usher* left a large Manuscript behind him much to the same purpose.

Theafore said (c) Dr. *James* (an industrious Toyler amongst all sorts of Books and Writings) tells that in the *Vatican* Library, there are certain men maintain'd onely to write out the Acts of the Councils, or Copies of the Fathers works, who are brought up to imitate the ancient Letters and writings of some of them; which *Possesine* the Jesuit confessing that *Manuscripts* themselves need a Purgation.

To prevent the thrusting of these Abuses upon us, the Noble Prince *Henry* had some thoughts to erect a *Royal Library*, with all sorts of Books and Editions; as I think betwixt St. *James* and the *Muze*. And in the *Proposition* presented to the aforesaid Prince, both to forward and to shew the means to carry on such a glorious design: I finde these following words (according to my Manuscript) confirming the former observation of Dr. (d) *James*.

d It would be well if several of his Books were reprinted to shew the abuse of some Editions of Fathers.

The Pope gathereth up all the Manuscripts he can into his Library the Vatican, and there useth them at his pleasure. One of their tricks is Notorious, they have men that can counterfeit any hand, and write the old hands that were written 500 and 1000 years ago; then they have an artificial Ink, which within three days after the writing, looks as it had been written 500 years afore. Thus having altered and taken out all that made for us, they suppress the old true Copier, and produce these new ones (they written by themselves as afore) as the Authentical Books.

In this was also designed a noble maintenance for the Library-Keepers, and other Officers thereunto belonging, to encourage their attendance and pains; as also, for Factors in Forreign parts to buy up Books: but all these things being vanish'd by the death of that famous Prince, it would be well if some Noble Benefactors in this covetous Age would think upon, and raise to themselves a famous remembrance by their liberality this way to the publick Library in *Oxford*; which, though already it exceeds any yet in the World for number of Books and free access (I wish never abused) yet it may want some thousands of Books; for having no fit stipend to make yearly recruits from *Frankfort* and other places.

To this I could wish, that we were as busie in printing all the Councils (the better to discover the fraud in some Editions) as the *Romanists* beyond Seas are; it being a hard case, that otherwise we must relye upon their Editions, and we are not ignorant of unhandsome dealings amongst them in this very business. *Binius* we know takes some

some of his counfels *verbatim* out of *Baronius*, one very partial, and hath left feveral neceffary things out in his Volumns, becaufe againft the Church of *Rome*, which were fet down by *Crabbe* (now two hard to be got) and feveral Councils, efpecially of our own Nation, are not completed in the late *Parifian* Edition in 36 Tomes, befides *L' Abbe* the Publisher of them is thought and (a) judged to be very partial.

To thefe I could with a careful review, and reprinting of the Fathers; fince we finde our felves at a lofs in their *Antwerp*, *Colem*, and fome other Editions; and thofe of *Erasmus* by *Froben* at *Bafil*, and other old Editions are hard to be got. (b) *Junius* tells a ftory of a notorious cheat done by them upon *St. Ambrofe*; and *Dr. James* at large tells you how they have abufed *St. Cyprian*: to which I can fpeak the more boldly, having my felf compared feveral places of him with fome old Manuscripts, efpecially that (c) Book which they make fo much ufe of to prove the Popes Supremacie, in which Manuscripts I find not the expreffions they brag moft of, and father upon *St. Cyprian*, which may allow us to fufpect fome ftrange dealings by addition from their own heads. *Dr. James* once in a *Convocation* at *Westminfter*, moved ftrongly for thefe reviews and reprinting of the Fathers, &c. but private intereft and faction was too ftrong, either to beftow fo much coft or time upon fuch a noble and publick defign.

And to thefe I could wifh that there were fome care taken to reprint fome of the Ancient Hiftorians of Church and State; the want of which in time may put us to a lofs in dealing with our Adverfaries; the old Editions being very hard to come by, we muft then (if care be not taken to the contrary) be content to make ufe of fuch falfe and fpurious ware as our Enemies will thurf upon us. And that this complaint is not without good reafon; many inftances might be brought of their abufing us in this fort: But at this time for Example fake, I fhall onely make ufe of one, *viz. Aubertus Miraus* of *Brabant*, a great Antiquary, and a famous Schollar, and one that hath been much read in Church-Hiftory; for which things he hath got a fame amongft the Learned, his feveral works having been greedily read of all forts, and that with fome repute to the Author. This great and noted man, nay, and a Church-man too, being Canon of *Antwerp*, can we think that his ftudy was to deceive Pofterity, and publickly endeavour to cheat the world with his, or the inventions of others?

Well, do but perufe his Edition of *Sigebertus*, that ancient Hiftorian of above 500 years ftanding; and amongft other places, look upon him in the years 773 and 4; compare them with other old Editions, and fee how he hath fometimes cut off, fometimes added, and other times perverted the true fence; and all this to take away fome authority from the Emperour.

But to this may be objected, that he followed fome ancient Manuscripts or other; 'tis true, 'tis an objection with himfelf foon made; but what fmall reafon we have to believe this onely faying fo, fhall be left to the judgement of any man by this following ftory. This *Miraus* alfo fet forth a (d) Register or Breviary of Bifhopricks, with fome fmall Annotations of his own: and becaufe formerly there hath been fome difpute of thefe things, that this Tract of his may carry the more Authority with it: In his very Title Page, he affures

a See the pernicious consequences of the new Herefie of the Jefuits, printed 1666, p. 102, 103, 104, 105, &c.

b Prefat. in Indicem Expurg. Lovaniensium.

c De fimplicitate Praetorium, or de unitate Ecclesiae.

d Notitia Episcopatum.

*a* Ex vetusto  
Codice ante  
annos fere  
quingentos  
scripto.

all the world, that this his *Notitia* is printed (*a*) according to an Manuscript almost 500 years old.

And why may we not believe this good man of *Bruxels*? for if Antiquity study to cheat the world with false Copies; well may others who are apt to take things upon trust run into errors, and I fear this dealing hath too much power upon Faith and Religion. But to shew this to be a villanous forgery, I shall pass by other Countries, and onely come to our own of *England*; though methinks 'tis odd, if this Manuscript be so ancient, that he should not put down *Dunkeld* in *Scotland*, as well as *Ross*, *Brechin* and *Dunblane*, since they were all founded by one and the same King, viz. that pious and vertuous King *David*, who gave so much to the Church from his own Crown-lands.

But to make the knavery more visible, lets see his dealing and ignorance of *England*: In which I shall not trouble my self with his naming *Chester* or *Glocester* amongst our Bishopricks, because formerly some of the Bishops of *Liechfield* were ignorantly call'd Bishops of *Chester*, because one or two of them once lived there; and some think that *Glocester* was an Episcopal See in or before the *Saxons* time, but not under that name, but *Cluviensis*. But waving these, though good enough to discover the cheat, I desire the Reader to consider this following, against which there can be no exception, viz. if this Manuscript was almost 500 years old, how comes it to set down for Bishopricks in *England*, *Peterburgh*, *Oxford* and *Bristol*, when none of them were made Episcopal Sees till *Henry* the Eighth's time, little above sixty years before *Miræus* set out this false *Notitia*?

These cheats should oblige us to study prevention in time, otherwise hereafter they may run us down by their false Fathers, and other Authorities: and when they have thus forced us onely to the protection of *Scriptures*, an endless dispute may begin about the *varia lectiones*; by which means the poor people and truth may be abused by both parties. But since they stand most upon Authority and Quotations, 'tis fitting we should be more careful, that they do not cheat us with false play.

*Laurent.  
Banck de  
Tyran. Pap.  
pag. 355.*

But enough of this, and the supposed *Donation*, which the *Venetians* did once prettily confute, and so shake off a close demand. The Pope asking them by what right they appropriated to themselves all the jurisdiction and power in the *Adriatick* Sea, since they could not shew any Writings of Priviledges granted to them for so doing? To which 'tis said, they thus returned an Answer, That they greatly wonder'd, that his Holiness should expect from them to shew those priviledges, which, yea, and the very Originals the Popes themselves had carefully kept all along in their own Archives, as a sacred thing; and might easily be found, if he would but look upon the backside of the Deed of *Constantine's Donation*; for there might be seen the Priviledges granted to them over that Sea, written in great Letters.

And such another story they tell us how Pope *Alexander* the Sixth having ask'd the same question, was thus answer'd by *Girolamo Donato* the *Venetian* Ambassador, Let your Holiness shew me the Instrument of *St. Peters Patrimony*, and you will finde on the backside of it the Grant of the *Adriatick Sea* to the *Venetians*.

## CHAP. II.

1. When the Bifhops of Rome had raifed themfelves up to fome favour and greatnefs, what odd ftriving and dealings there were to obtain that See, with the manner of Elections ?
2. That the Temporal Power had formerly the greateft ftroke in the Election of Popes, and that it yet hath, though by under-hand-dealings.
3. An Effay upon this Quere,  
Whether for fome years paft, there hath been according to their Decrees and Orders, really any true Pope ?

**T**He Bifhops of *Rome*, though formerly lived in great ob-  
fcurity, lurking privately here and there without any great-  
nefs or notice, by reason of the Persecutions againft Chrifti-  
anity: Now that they had the Emperours embracers of the Gospel,  
and favourers of the Prelacy, appear'd in publick, in great Splendor  
and Authority; and prefently raifed themfelves to fuch a *Grandeur*,  
that they feem'd not onely to overtop their Neighbours, but next  
the Emperour to appear in greateft glory, fway and priviledge;  
which made *Prætextatus* (design to be Consul) drolingly fay to Pope  
*Damasus*, *Make me Bifhop of Rome, and I will quickly make my self*  
*a Chriftian.*

Sect. I.

And now the ambition to be great made every one aspire to this  
Dignity; and that fometimes with fo much earneftnefs and indirect  
means, that Religion it felf, and the Bifhops of that City loft much  
of their Reputation, not onely from the Heathen, but Chriftian too,  
as is plain by *St. Hierome*, and others, who wrote againft their faults.  
I fhall not trouble my felf concerning the difcention and fchifm a-  
bout *Liberius* and *Felix* the Second, onely that if *Liberius* was an  
Heretick, as feveral accufe him, then a man may well plead the other  
to be no Antipope; if that be true, which fome of their own  
Church confefs, that a Pope for Herefie loofeth his Dignity and  
Chair.

But to wave this, [*a*] *Liberius* being dead, the two Factions divide  
again, each of them ftriving to make a Pope of their party. Thefe  
who were of the Antipope *Felix*'s fide chofe one *Damasus* [*(b)* whe-  
ther of *Tarragona* in *Catalonia*, or *Madred* in *New Caftile*, or of  
*Guimaraes Antre Duero y Mino* in *Portugal* Authors agree not] and  
thofe who were for *Liberius* chofe one *Urscinus* a *Roman*; at this  
Election the feud was fo great betwixt both parties, that in the  
Church of *Sicininus*, there was flain upon the place CXXXVII per-  
fons; and it was a long time after before the rage of the people  
could be allwaged; infomuch, that *Vivensius* Governour of *Rome*  
for the Emperour, not being able to appeafe thefe Tumults, was  
forced to retire himfelf out of the City. But at laft *Damasus* got  
the upper-hand, and fo kept the Popedom by the affiftance of the  
Emperour (*c*) *Valentinian*.

Thus was this thing managed, befides voting, with (*d*) main force  
and arms. And thofe who formerly were held as Schifmatics for

Facite me  
Romane Ur-  
bis Epifco-  
pum, & ero  
protinus  
Christianus.  
*Hieron. E-  
pift. 61.*

*a* An. 367.  
*b* Jo. Mari-  
an. de Reb.  
*Hispan.* l. 4.  
c. 19.  
*Villegas* F.S.  
Decemb. 11.  
*Am. Nar-  
cellin. Hift.*  
l. 27. c. 2.  
*Ruffin.* l. 11.  
c. 10.  
*c* Onuphr.  
Annot. in  
*Platin.* vit.  
*Felices* II.  
*d* *Platin.* vit.  
*Damas.* Sa-  
bellie. En. 7.  
l. 9. Nausler.  
Gen. 13. p.  
487. Gene-  
brard. p. 576.

chusing and siding with an *Antipope*, are now brave boys for standing and fighting lustily against those who were for the true Pope *Liberius*, as they call him. And had the Emperour approved of *Ursicinus*, for ought that I know, he had been call'd infallible, and *Damasus* an Antipope.

And that the Emperours had some authority about the Election of Popes, will appear by the story of another uprore and schism.

a An. 418.

Bayen. anno  
419. & 1,  
2, 3, &c.

Pope *Zosimus* being (a) dead, the people of *Rome* enter again into divisions; one party chose for Bishop *Eulalius* in the *Lateran* Church, and the other *Boniface* in another Church; and thus each faction cryed up their Pope. Of this, *Symmachus* Governour of *Rome* giveth the Emperour notice, and tells him, that *Eulalius* had most reason and right of his side. *Honorius* the Emperour acknowledgeth *Eulalius* as Pope, as being chosen and approved of by a lawful number, time and place, rejects *Boniface* as illegitimate, wanting these necessities to an Election, and bid him submit, or to be expell'd the City; *Symmachus* sends this news to *Boniface*, but the Messenger is beat. In the mean time the party of *Eulalius* rejoyce, he acting as Pope, and the City Gates being shut to exclude his Adversary; the Governour being the more careful, by reason of the great inconvenience and trouble the City underwent by the former Tumults and Riots at the Election of *Damasus*.

Those who sided with *Boniface*, seeing themselves and cause quite lost, if presently they procured not Remedy; drew up a Petition to the Emperour, complaining *Eulalius* not to be lawfully elected, but *Boniface* to be truly Pope; for which they desired *Cæsars* assistance. *Honorius* upon this orders that both the elected should appear before him where he would have the Case tryed, and accordingly see the right disposed of; and for more clearing of the business, he appointed several Bishops to meet about it; but these not agreeing concerning the Election, this meeting vanish'd without any determination, whereupon he resolved upon another convention.

In the mean time, the better to keep good Order in *Rome*, now full of hubbubs, by reason of this division, he order'd *Eulalius* and *Boniface*, the two heads of these disorders, to depart the City; and *Easter* now drawing neer, that the people might not be without a Bishop to celebrate at that Feast, he appointed *Achilleus* Bishop of *Spoleto*, one uninterest to either party, to officiate as chief in *Rome*, and him, he call'd (b) *His Holiness*, or *Blessedness*, and so did he *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*, and those of (c) *Africk*.

b *sextitudo*  
cup.  
e *Sanctitas*  
vestra.

And here *Eulalius* lost himself with the Emperour, for contrary to his express command, he enters into the City; upon which new Tumults begin, and odd threatening and bickering there was in spight of the Governour or Authority. *Symmachus* himself being in great danger in this hurlyburly; all parties striving to possess the *Lateran*. Upon this *Honorius* expressly orders *Eulalius* for peace-sake to depart the City, and that in the mean time he should not be acknowledged, and that the Bishop of *Spoleto*, according to the former Order, onely remain there, and solely have the possession of the *Lateran* Church for the time of *Easter*.

These Orders, *Eulalius* also very unadvisedly withstands, and having gotten his party together, thought by main force to have  
scis'd

seis'd upon the *Lateran*; upon this, more mischief falls out; but at last *Eulalius* is beat out of the City, *Achilleus* remain'd possess'd of the Church, and had good Guards appointed him for his and its defence. *Honorius* the Emperour being certified of, and offended at this, expressly excludes *Eulalius*, and settles *Bonsface* in the Popedom, to which he had a meeting of many Bishops consenting.

*Sigon. Hist. de Occid. Imp. an. 419.*

Thus we have seen in short the storie of another riotous canvassing: and because this is of no small concern, *Baronius* would by no means have us to think that *Eulalius* had any right by Election upon the Narrative of *Symmachus*, because (as he saith) he was partial, and seem'd to favour *Eulalius*. But to this may be return'd,

## I.

That if the Governour favour'd (a) Heathenism, he might be as much an Enemy to the Christianity of the one as well as the other; they objecting nothing against the soundness of either of them for Principles of Religion.

*a Coeffeteus Relip. p. 245.*

## II.

*Symmachus* in his third letter to *Honorius*, (when the Emperour shew'd no more favour for the one than the other) (b) nameth *Bonsface* before *Eulalius*, which somewhat signifieth rather his favour for the former.

*b Religiosos viros Bonifacium & Eulalius.*

## III.

And lastly, *Symmachus* in his Letters to *Constantius*, Brother-in-Law to the Emperour, writes virulently against *Eulalius*, accusing him of occasion of misbehaviour and riots; from which some may suppose that the Governour was impartial and true, when he assured to the Emperour, that *Eulalius* was rightly chosen.

But besides this, another dispute may arise upon this story, viz. (c) *Petrus de Natalibus*, (d) *Naclerus*, (e) *Platina*, (f) *Filippo da Bergamo*, (g) *Sigonius*, (h) *Gonzalo de Illisecas*, and their ancient *Vatican* (i) *Liber Pontificalis*, with (k) *Onuphrius* do declare, that the Emperour *Honorius* was at *Milan* at this time, and thence sent his Orders; which if be true, (and these men had no reason to affirm this if false, nor need the Roman Catholick question them being all noted Historians of their Religion) then must those Letters in *Baronius*, which carry their date to and from *Honorius* at *Ravenna*, concerning this Schism be spurious and counterfeit, and so (for ought that I know) we may lose part of the story; and if these be false (and 'tis plain the two *Vatican* Manuscripts contradict each other) I shall give the less esteem to the pretended Records, that are produced from those Archives, for many cheating writings (not forgetting the Gift and Decree of *Constantine*) are shewn to us for true and authentick out of that Library; of which *Platina* was Keeper, and a diligent searcher into the ancient Manuscripts of it; and *Onuphrius* had the liberty, and was well read in every piece of Antiquity in it.

*c Lib. 4. cap. 160. d Generat. 15. pag. 517. e Vir. Bonifac. I. f Cronicle Universale, fol. 266. g Hist. de Occid. Imp. l. 11. anno 419.*

*h Hist. Pontifical, fol. 74.*

*i See the Councils. k Epit. Pontif. Rom. de Pontif. & Cardinalium*

creatione. Edit. vener. 1557. vit. *Eulalii*: But this is left out in the Colen Edition, at the end of *Platina*: And in that of Jo. Gauker. Chron. Chronicorum, Tom. 2.

The



The often mention of *Symmachus*, Governour of *Rome* in the late Tumults, puts me in minde of a Pope not long after of that name, noted also for a Schism in his time.

a an 498.

For *Anastasius* the Second being (a) dead, those of *Rome* ran headlong into a new disorder, some chusing for Pope *Symmachus*, whilst others elected one *Laurentius*; upon which great disorders, riots, and mischiefs arises, which continued for some years; to be short, the business was refer'd to *Theodorick* an *Arian*, King of the *Ostrogothes*, who had then over-run *Italy*, and *Symmachus* carryed it; those of the party of *Laurentius* troubled at this, frame Articles against *Symmachus*, accusing him of some Vices, and admit *Laurentius*; upon which new disorders growing, and the King being vext at this dissention, as (b) some say, sends *Petrus* Bishop of *Altino* [in the Territory of *Venice*, now ruined, and no Episcopal Seat] to *Rome*, there to rule as chief, the other two being turn'd out: to conclude, *Petrus* is rejected, *Laurence* his party strive to carry all; all sorts of villanies are committed, Sacred places violated, Priests slain; but at last, after suchlike infinite outrages and murders, *Symmachus* is acknowledged as Pope, and in the Chair of *Rome* ruled several years.

b Platina,  
vit. Sym.  
Fil. d.  
Bergamo.  
Cronicle u-  
niversale,  
fol. 245.  
Ant. Sabel-  
ic. En. 8. l. 2.  
Jo. Mau-  
cler. Gener.  
17.

But before I shake hands with this story, I hope you will give me leave to tell you one Tale, in confirmation of the right of *Symmachus* to the Papal Chair, and this upon no less authority than Pope (c) *Gregory* the Great. But first, we must understand that one *Paschasius* stood fiercely for *Laurentius* against *Symmachus*; and that this *Paschasius* for his learning, honesty, and holiness, was especially famous in those times; yet for all these noble qualifications, he would never acknowledge *Symmachus*, but on the contrary, look'd upon *Laurentius* to have all right, equity and law of his side; and so stedfast was he in this, that to his dying day he would hold none other for Pope. And this was not a little blot to the reputation of the Cause of *Symmachus*, and by consequence to the true Succession of Popes, that this *Paschasius* so knowing, so just, so vertuous, and one who hath got an holy name in the *Roman* (d) Martyrologies should look upon *Symmachus* as an Antipope, and acknowledge *Laurentius* as the onely true one.

c Dialog.  
l. 4. c. 40.

d Baron.  
Martyrol.  
Rom. Mai.  
13.

But though good *Paschasius* dyed in this opinion, yet we shall now here the storie of his punishment and repentance for so doing, and so the objection cleer'd. It chanced upon a time, that *Germanus*, Bishop of *Capua* [now an Archbishop See] being not well, was desired by his Phylitians for healths-sake, to go into an hot Bath, whither being gone, he findes there *Paschasius* (dead long before) standing in a penitent and piping-hot condition; at which *Germanus* being troubled, ask'd him, Why he, so good a man, had to do there? To which *Paschasius* thus replyeth, *Alas, I am here punish'd for no other fault, but because I took part with Laurentius against Symmachus: But I beseech you pray heartily for me; and if you do not finde me here when you return again, then you may conclude that your prayers are heard.* Upon this *Germanus* gave himself to prayer for him; and after some days returning to the same Bath, he found not *Paschasius* there: Argument good enough that he was delivered out of Purgatory, and pardoned of his fault, for thinking any right to be in *Laurentius*; and lastly, that *Symmachus* must be true Pope, or else the Miracle is not worth a Rush. And this pretty story

(a) Ba-

(a) *Baronius* would not have you to think unworthy your reading. a An. 498.

To run over all the factions, interests and feuds at the election of Popes would be too tedious at this time; and if those of latter days were not fresh in memory, we might tell at large the violent canvassing at the election of (b) *Gregory XIV* between the *Spanish* party and that of Cardinal *Montalta*; the *French* not pretending to any interest there, *Henry* the Fourth being King, and then of the Protestant Religion: We might also tell of the hubbubs in the (c) *Conclave* of *Leo* the Eleventh, and *Paul* the Fifth, between the Factions of the Catholick and Christian Kings, of the crying out of Treason against the King of *Spain*, because the Cardinal of the *French* party got the better, and some other violences. And as great stir there was at the chusing of (d) *Innocent* the Tenth, every one striving to get a Pope of his party; Cardinal *Bentivoglio* that famous States-man, had once like to have carryed it, but the *French* party oppose him, as a favourer of the *Spaniards*, and his dying at the same time ended this dispute; then *Sacchetti* bid fair for it, but he also was rejected by the Catholick Kings faction, as one who loved *France* and *Portugal*. At last, after many plottings and contrivings, libelling and ripping up one anothers faults, the Cardinals being boldly lockt up in *Sixtus* the Fourth's Chappel, and not to stir till they had agreed, *Phamphilio* carried it by a Majority. b An. 1590. c Vid. Caf. d. Ligny les Ambassades du Card. du Perron. lib. 3. an. 1607. d An. 1644.

As for the election of the present Pope (e) *Alexander* the Seventh, there was as much faction and interest, as any of the rest; the *Spaniards* having one party there, headed by the two Cardinals *de Medices*, *Charles* and *John*, the first, Uncle; the last, Brother to the great Duke of *Tuscany*: the *French* had their Creatures also countenanced by the two *Barberini*, *Francis*, and *Antonio* the first, calling himself Protector of the *English*: And besides these there was a third interest consisting against of several Cardinals, and in *Rome* call'd the *Squadron Volante*, who would seem to be indifferent to the other two Parties; and Cardinal *Imperiale* a *Genoese* was head of this Troop. e An. 1655.

*Sacchetti* had not onely *Barberini*, but the *Squadron Volante*, and some others zealous for him; yet though the most desired by the *Romans*, and was held the best and worst worthy amongst the Cardinals, he lost it upon the same account, (*viz.* as a lover of *France* and *Mazarini*) as he had done in the former *Conclave*. However, for sometime many Cardinals were so resolved for him, that 'twas said, That they would (f) either have him Pope or dye there: And for a long time at every scrutiny he had XXXIII Votes, in opposition to which, every one of the *Spanish* faction in their Schedule onely writ f O Sacchetti, O Caletta.

Ego \*\*\*\* Card.

\*\*\*\*

Accedo Nemini.

By which means they kept unanimous and intire, by not dividing themselves in these scrutinies to other Candidate Cardinals: but this obstinacie of both parties so lengthned the *Conclave*, that Cardinal

dinal *Chigi* [now Pope] said merrily, that a Pope would never be chosen, till the Cardinals *Nemini* and *Triginti tria* could agree.

Cardinal *Corrado* had several friends, but those of *Castile* rejected him because *Barberini* was for him, though he might have served being a severe Canonist, and in truth knew nothing else; yet this may be enough, since of late times they have not chosen a Pope, who had studied Divinity, but onely some Canon-law or Politicks.

*Caraffa* was thought on, but the *French* reject him, because the *Spaniards* intended his promotion; however, his death at the same time ended the dispute. As for Cardinal *Rapaccioli* he had both hopes and many friends in the *Conclave*, who voted stoutly for him; but *de Medici* and that party opposed him, and Cardinal *Spada* in writing objected against him, that he had caused Prayers to be said, that the Devils sins might be pardoned.

The story of which, being pretty odd and unusual, take as they report it. At *Teramo* in *Italy*, of which place this Cardinal was Bishop, one being possessed with a Devil, *Rapaccioli* for curiosity sake went to discourse with it; and amongst other things, asked the Devil, if he endured great torments; the Devil replied, exceeding great: The Cardinal inquired of him, Why he did not repent for his sins, the causes of his punishment? The spirit replied, That he had earnestly repented, but without any benefit. Then, quoth the Cardinal, if God should pardon you, would you take such a forgiveness and mercy in good part? To which the Spirit consenting, *Rapaccioli* commanded prayers to be said to God, that the Devils sins might be remitted and forgiven him.

a Her life is lately written by the well known *Gualdo*: In it the world may see what a woman she was, and how she ruled Pope *Innocent X*, & the *Roman Church*.

Cardinal *Maculano*, or St. *Clement* had once some hopes, having many votes, but he had to oppose him Madam (a) *Olympia*, Sister-in-law to the last Pope *Innocent* the Tenth; for she, with some carryed a sway in the *Conclave*: And she also gave a main stroke against *Cecchino*, she and others taking him to be a fierce enemy against her and the House of *Pamfilio*, Pope *Innocent* having sufficiently abused him, about the forgeries of *Mascaubruno* in the *Portugal* Sodomists, and other base actions, though *Cecchino* was clear and guiltless concerning these things. And as for *Fiorenzola*, though many wish'd he were Pope, and had several Votes to forward it; yet the same *Donna Olympia* his mortal enemy, and some other oppositions hindred his promotion; and indeed *Barberini* by his Votes and Friends would sometimes favour her designs, whom though most did hate for her imperiousness in the last Popes days; yet they did not wish the ruine of the Family, and so had no minde to chuse an Enemy to the *Pamfilii*, being then a kint to the *Barberini*. However, *Alexander* the Seventh hath shew'd himself no Friend to *Olympia*.

Several others were thought on, and adhered to, but to no purpose, the *Spaniards* still oppsing those the *French* would have; and those, whom the Catholick King desired. At last, after they had thus baffled, jugged, and out-plotted one another for a quarter of a year; Cardinal *Mazarini* sends privately to *Barberini* from *Paris* his approbation of *Chigi*; the *Germans* also had some minde to him, being mindful of his dexterous carriage at the Treaty of *Munster* 1644, and what the Emperour and *Austria* approve of, the *Spaniards* usually must

must consent to. Besides this, the *Squadron Volante*, and the house of *Pamfilii* were his Friends, being made Cardinal but three years before by *Innocent*; and he had had some sufferings formerly in this *Conclave*; and so at last, though quite contrary to the first design, was this Cardinal *Fabio Chigi* of *Sienna* chosen Pope, and call'd himself *Alexander* the Seventh, from his Relation, both as Country and Kindred to *Alexander* the Third.

The way of chusing Popes in a closed-up *Conclave*, was first instituted, as (a) *Onuphrius* tells us, by Pope *Gregory* the Tenth. And there was good reason to endeavour the restraint of the too much liberty then used by the Cardinals in the election of the Pope [though we see the greatest care abused in our times in such actions] by which means their Chair would sometimes be void a long time, to the shame both of the Electors and their Profession; of which, this *Gregory* the Tenth may serve for an Example: For *Clement* the Fourth being (b) dead, the *Cardinals* though then but a few, viz. b An. 1278. XVII, could by no means agree about a Pope; for though they met oft about it, yet they would never conclude upon the person; every one of them endeavouring to be the man, they would not consent to another. *Philip* King of *France*, and *Charles* of *Sicily*, desired them to hasten the election, but all would not do; which occasioned *John* Bishop and Cardinal of *Porto*, seeing the self-obstinate ambition of the Cardinals, and yet calling upon the Holy Ghost to assist them, jeeringly say to them, *My Masters, let us open the top of the Room, for the Holy Ghost cannot come to us through so many Coverings.*

a Annot. ad  
Platin. vit.  
Greg. X.

Sapius liquidem congregati negotium conficere nulla ratione valere, dum unusquisque ipsorum ad Pontificatum aspirans, nemini cedere vellet. *Onuphr.* loco citato.

Domini,  
discooperiamus  
tectum

Camera bujus, quia spiritus sanctus nequit ad nos per tot tecta ingredi.

And when they perceived that none of themselves, by reason of their dissention could be chosen, after almost (c) three years wrangling and canvassing about it; at last *Theobaldus* Archdeacon of *Liege*, then in the *holy Land* in promoting of that War, was pitcht upon, who upon notice went to *Italy*, and call'd himself *Gregory* the Tenth. Upon the election of this Pope, the aforesaid Cardinal of *Porto* made these two riming Verses, a way then much in Fashion.

c Two years  
nine months  
and one day.

*Papatus munus  
Tulit Archidiaconus unus,*

*Quem Patrem Patrum  
Fecit discordia Fratrum.*

Of *Liege* the Archdeacon  
Was chose Pope from *Acon*;

By the Discord of Brothers  
Made Dad of all others.

But of this tedious dissention amongst the Cardinals, voluminous *Baronius*, because 'tis a blot to his Church, will scarce give you so much as one hint. This *Gregory* the Tenth, amongst other Laws concerning the Election of Popes, decreed in a

IV Non fo-  
lum Cardi-  
nales ab-  
sentes, sed

omnes cu-  
jusvis Ordinis &  
Pap.3.

Council at *Lyons* in the fourth Rule, That *not onely Cardinals who were absent, but that any man of what Order or Condition soever might be chosen Pope.* But this is now laid aside, with some other of his Constitutions concerning the *Conclave*.

omnes cu-  
jusvis Ordinis & Conditionis homines in Romanum Pontificem creari possint. *Onuphr. & Baron. anno*

Popes were formerly chosen by the suffrages of the Clergy then present, though of inferiour rank : After this, the power of election was restrain'd onely to Cardinals; and these sometimes not agreeing, but falling into divers schisms, one party holding him for Pope who they gave their votes for, others acknowledging none but whom they nominated, and sometimes a third party would stand to another : but to prevent this, *Alexander the Third*, who had like to have lost the Popedom by these means, in a (a) *Late-  
ran* Council, order'd a way by *Scrutiny*, and that none should be held for Pope, but he who had at least two parts in three for him.

But this also in time was found not secure enough to binde up the self-ended interest of the *Cardinals* : And therefore the aforesaid *Gregory the Tenth* in a Council at (b) *Lyons* by Decree order'd a close *Conclave*, all under one Roof, not divided by any Walls, but onely having the Cells of the Cardinals, divided one from another by Wollen-cloath; and that the Cardinals should by no means be permitted to go out of this *Conclave*, till they had chosen a Pope; and if any of them got out before an election, they should be compell'd to go in again : That if after three days a Pope be not chosen, then their allowance of dyet to be lessned, and but one (c) Dish or Mess granted them : And none to be chosen till he had two parts of three. But all these, except the last, are laid aside.

Other (d) Orders have been made by divers Papes concerning this election, too tedious here to mention : Of late days (e) *Gregory the XV* made Rules for the *Conclave* by a *Bull*, and a quarter of a year after a *Ceremoniale*, which were confirm'd by (f) another of his Successor *Urban VIII*, which XXXVII Cardinals, (the rest I suppose absent) by their subscription *promis'd, vow'd* and *swore* to observe, and XLI subscribed the same to that of *Gregory XV*.

• Ferculum  
unum.

d Dist. 79.

Clemens VII

an. 1529.

Pius IV, an.

1562.

e Dat. Rome

1621.

f Dat. Rome

1625.

Ego ---- S. R. E. Card.

--- promitto, voueo & juro.

The *Bulls* themselves being very long, I shall refer the Reader to them.

Señ.

## Sect. 2.

*That the Temporal Power had formerly the greatest stroke in the Election of Popes; and that it yet hath, though by under-hand-dealings.*

**T**EMPORAL Princes finding themselves oftentimes disturb'd and in danger, not onely by the divers Factions arising about the Popedom, but also by the imperious and incroaching humour of the Bishops of *Rome*, have also restrain'd these Inormities by their Laws.

The Emperour *Honorius* (of whom we lately heard) being greatly troubled by the Tumults and Factions between *Bonifacius* and *Eulalius*: To prevent such siding, made a Law, that if [a] two strove for the Popedom, neither of them should be capable, but another election to be made. Pope [b] *Vitalianus* according to the custom, sent news of his election to the Emperour, without which acknowledgement he should not be Pope.

[c] *Felix* the Fourth chosen Pope by *Theoderick* King of the *Ostrogoths*, then ruling in *Italy*: and [a] *Severinus* retain'd the same Dignity by the confirmation of *Isidius*, then onely *Exarch* in *Italy*: *Platina* himself confessing, that in those days, the Election of Popes by the Clergy and People was of none effect, unless they were confirm'd or approved of by the Emperours or their *Exarchs*. And *Pelagius* the Second being chosen Pope, when he and the City of *Rome* were closely besieged by the *Lombards*, sent as soon as he could possibly to the Emperour at *Constantinople*, to satisfy and pacify him, concerning the election without his Imperial knowledge, laying the fault upon the siege. And *Onuphrius* here commenting upon *Platina*, confesseth the custom of the Emperour's approving the Pope; for which approbation, the Elected was to pay a certain sum of money; and that at every election, there was a special care taken for the promotion of one, who was a known friend and creature to the Emperour, and one who would act nothing against the Emperour. But now the case is alter'd.

est, cum extra obsessam ab hoste urbem mitti quispiam non posset. Nil enim tum a Clero in eligendo Potestatis actum erat, nisi ejus electionem Imperator approbasset. *Platin. vit. Pelag. II.*

And why should we suspect the authority of Temporal Princes in these things, having such good proof? and besides this, their own *Canon-law* assures us that Pope [e] *Hadrian* the First freely granted to *Charles* the Great of *France* (after Emperour of *Germany*) the sole power of chusing the Popes and other Bishops. This being such a fair grant, and with consent too of the Clergy, whereby a fatal stroke was then given to the Papal jurisdiction; [f] *Baronius*, and others after him [for the Modern Historians do but according to the Fable lick up his Spittle] bend their whole power and skill to cry down this as a forgery, thereby to free their Church from this clog.

And to carry it on more cleerly, [g] *Baronius* takes upon him to rail

4 Dist. 79. c. Siduo.

6 Dist 63. c. Agasbo.

c Baron. an. 526, d Platin. vit. Severini.

Vana tunc enim habebatur Cleri ac Populi Electi nisi ad Imperatores aut eorum Exarchi confirmassent. *Platin. vit. Sever.*

Hæc autem una fuit causa, quare *Pelagius* injussu Principis, cum Pontifex creatus

e Dist 63. c. *Adrianus.*

f Of this cheat in *Baronius*, see more in *Fran. Mason* of Consecration of Bishops, lib. 4. cap. 7. p. 166, 167. g An. 774.

a An. 773.

rail dapperly against the ancient and noted Chronologer *Sigebertus Gemblacensis* (i.e. of *Gemblours* in *Brabant*) looking upon him as an Enemy to the Church, for [a] affirming such a story, which the Cardinal would perswade us to be a meer forgery.

But before he do this, he must also clear the *Canon-law* from the same crime; and thus he endeavours to do it: He cannot deny but that this storie and Order is in the *Decrees*; nor will he accuse *Gratian*, the Collector of them, to have been dishonest in putting it amongst the rest: How then? onely that *Gratian* here might not be careful enough, to consider what he did, and so took it out of *Sigebertus*, and put it down for authentick in the *Canon*.

But by the Cardinals favour, I shall bring this Argument for confirmation of this *Canon*, which after so much pains he holds forth to disprove it; for they both living at the same time, and hitting so exactly upon the same storie, doth the more confirm its authentickness, it being very probable that neither of them saw one anothers Writings, living so far distant, as the one in *Brabant*, the other in *Italy*; and in those days there was neither friendship or correspondence between those places; if there had been, 'tis probable had the Authors known one another, they had been as great Enemies as their Masters, *Henry* the Emperour, and Pope *Gregory* the Seventh.

*Baronius* endeavours to overthrow this *Canon* by another Argument, viz. that the word *Investitura* was not known in those times: but the *Glossaries* will assure us the contrary; and for more satisfaction on this point against *Baronius*, I shall refer you to the well-read [b] *Goldastus*, [c] *Boeclerius*, and [d] *Laurentius Banck*.

b *Rationale Constitutum Imperialium*, p. 1, 2, 3.  
c *Germ Caesar*, in *Carolo Mag.* pag. 36, 37, 38, 39.  
d *De Tyranno*, p. 157, 158, 159, &c.  
And their own *Glossaries* upon this *Canon*, confirm the story.

But before I leave this, I cannot but take notice of one pretty cheat. I told you formerly of the knavery of their Antiquary *Aubertus Miræus* in his corrupting ancient Authors; and here he is tardy again: for in his Edition of *Sigebertus* he quite leaves out this whole storie, as if the Author had writ no such thing; whereas *Baronius* himself assures the world that *Sigebert* writ it, and rants against him bitterly for so doing; nor hath any questioned the integrity of old Editions till this *Miræus*, whom I have formerly proved (against his *Notitia Episcopatum*) to be a notorious forger, even to the putting forth of his own things for ancient Manuscripts; and so no credit to be given to him, let him pretend what ancient Copies he pleaseth. I have seen one ancient Manuscript of *Sigebertus*, which formerly belong'd to our famous Antiquary Mr. *Cambden*; but to this place I can say nothing of it, because this very place, with above an hundred years besides, have been, God knows how and when, convey'd from the rest of the History.

e *Dist 63. c. in Synodo*

This Grant of *Adrian* is also mentioned (according to their *Canon-Law*) by Pope [e] *Leo* the Eighth, in his confession of the same Priviledges of electing of Popes, to the Emperour *Otho* the First. But 'tis to small purpose to trouble my self any more about these things; since, long ago, they have deny'd any such prerogative to remain in Temporal Authority; nor will they grant to the Emperour or Kings any interest of such an Election, but this onely to be done by the Cardinals, who no doubt will chuse according to their Consciences

Consciences, and not by favour or reward, every one of them swearing so to do, before every scrutiny.

The Oath.

*Testor Christum Dominum, qui me judicavus est, me Eligere quem secundum Deum judico Eligi Debere, & quod idem in Accessu præstabo.*

And yet when we consider the strange factions, canvassings, and designs in the *Conclave*, we might think that interest sway'd more there, than this Oath or Conscience. Add to this, that there are always some *Cardinals*, whose own revenues will scarce keep them in that splendour befitting the red Hat: And these are commonly underhand-Pensioners to *France* or *Spain*, from whose Kings they receive yearly stipends; and so must always act according to the pleasure of their Pay-Master. Add further, that at every Election the *Cardinals* act under several Chieftains; and though *France* and *Spain* in a manner divide the *Conclave*, yet others, especially the Duke of *Tuscany*, have also their Creatures there, who bestir themselves vigorously for the designs of these their Lay-Patrons; who though excluded from voting, yet are the onely chusers of the Pope by their thus ruling the *Cardinals*.

As for instance, the death of a Pope being known, 'tis the custom of the King of *Spain*, &c. to send instructions to his Ambassador, or some other Confident at *Rome*, how to carry on the *Conclave*, that a friend of his might be chosen; and also nominates five or six, any of which he is willing to be Pope; and at the same time sends the names of some others, whom by no means he will not allow to be elected; by which means Cardinal *Baronius* lost the Title of Holiness, the *Spaniard* wholly excluding him, for (a) scratching a little upon the *Spanish* Territories of *Sicily*. The instructions being come, the *Cardinals* of his Faction act accordingly; And he (though he deserve the Chair never so much; as for Example, *Baronius*) who is thus excepted against by a King, 'tis an hundred to one he shall never change his red Hat for a Triple Crown.

'Tis true, sometimes a few *Cardinals* in the *Conclave*, when they see they cannot bring their own ends about, exclaim pittifully against this mode of submitting their suffrages and consciences to the pleasure of this or that King; and now and then Pen and Paper are employ'd in making little Tracts of Oppositions and Justifications of such Actions; but this scribbling and crying out of a few *Cardinals*, never hinders the rest from prosecuting their intended designs. And thus we see that yet the Temporal Authority hath a main stroke, if not all, in the election of Popes.

And here I cannot but smile at *Thomas Bozius*, who makes a great deal of noise and blustering in behalf of the Popes jurisdiction; and what an horrid danger and judgement 'twill be, to cross the Bishops of *Rome*. For, saith he, the Emperours *Honorius* and *Valentinian* the Third restrained the Popes of some Temporal Power; and then the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and *Heruli* wasted *Italy*. Again, that the Emperour *Justinian* made a Law, that the Popes should not be consecrated, without first consulting the Emperour, and paying a certain

a An. 1097.

This Tract is left out in some Edition of his *Annals*, the King of *Spain* having made an *Edict* against it. See *D'Aviles* *Etat*, p. 235.

De *Italia* *statu*, lib. 4. c. 3. p. 388. 390-

Id. p. 395. sum



Pag. 403.

sum of money for it; and so the Plague or Pestilence seisd upon *Italy*, and *Totila* the *Goth* took *Rome*. Again, long after this another Law was made, that the Pope should not be consecrated, but in the presence of the Emperours or their Deputies; and therefore besides Plagues, great Earth-quakes troubled *Italy*, and the *Saracens* and *Huns* lorded it there also. And suchlike consequences as these he hath store of, and all as true as the Star fell down, and therefore the Astronomer shot it with his *Jacobs-staff*.

And truly, the rest is much after the same fashion, the sum of his whole Book being onely this: *Italy* is more fruitful, hath more and greater Cities and Towns, brave Monasteries and Churches, better Houses and Colledges, and more knowing men and women for these last twelve hundred years, than it was or had before; *Ergo*, the Pope and his Authority is the greatest happiness that can happen to *Italy*.

And is not this a notable wonder, that building should increase in so many hundred years? If this way of Argumentizing be authentick, 'tis coming time, not Scripture or Antiquity, that must prove any Religion, the which upon this account must grow better and better; and so as they say, Modern Protestantism must be held a greater blessing and benefit than that which they call ancient Popery, in those Nations where the reformed Religion bears the sway.

### SECT. 3.

*An Essay upon this Quere,*

Whether for some years past, there hath been according to their Decrees and Orders, really any true Pope?

**H**AVING thus hastily discours'd something concerning the Election of Popes, it will not be amiss to add these few following Observations, which may add some light to the business; and by a farther prosecution, may be of greater consideration, than at this time I shall trouble my self withal, but leave it to the censure of every man.

In the time of *Paul* the Fifth [who began his Popedom in 1605] there lived in *Italy* a great Scholar, and a severe *Roman* Catholick, who being troubled at the odd carriage of the Popes and their Election, thought it convenient to have a General Council to rectifie all; but knowing the Bishops of *Rome* to have a natural aversness from this, look'd upon himself obliged, as a true son of the *Roman* Church, to endeavour as much as lay in his power, the promotion of such a publick benefit to his Religion.

And therefore, (knowing the Popes against it) he drew up a  
a Supplicatio ad Imperatorem, Reges, Principes, super causis Generalis Concilii convocandi. (a) Petition to the Emperour and other Christian Kings, to bring this noble and charitable design about. And possibly fearing, that if this his supplication should onely come into the hands of the Potentates of the *Roman* Catholick perswasion, it might there be stifled by the over-perswasion of their interested Favourites and Councilors: To prevent this, seeing our King *James* of a publick spirit for the

the benefit of the Church; he directs it onely to him, that by his means his necessitating reasons might be discover'd to the Emperour and the other Christian Princes. Upon this the Author (a) dyeth at *Rome*, leaves this *Petition* with a dear Friend of his, who delivers it to an *English* Gentleman then there, who accordingly convey'd it to King *James*, who presently dispers'd it all *Europe* over. a An. 1611.

As for the Author, I shall positively say nothing, but that he appears one to have been very well versed in the *Roman* affairs: the common opinion is, that it was the famous *Neapolitan Civilian* Dr. *Marta*, of whom we have formerly hinted; and indeed his very subscribing himself to the Supplication *NOVUS HOMO*, doth intimate that he had now in something changed his Opinion: and we cannot but observe that this Supplication carryeth all along a grand respect and veneration to Temporal Authority over *Rome* it self in some things; whereas Dr. *Marta* in his other Volumes is so resolute a Champion for the Popes very Temporal Prerogative, that he screws up the power and jurisdiction of the *Romish* Bishops, even to trample upon all other Potentates in this world. If *Marta* be the man, it must be the discovery of some grand iniquities that could thus alienate his affection from Pope *Paul* the Fifth.

In this his discourse is indeavoured to prove a failing in the succession of Popes, raising the Foundation from the Simoniackal entrance of *Sixtus* the Fifth. But probably one might fetch a farther rise than this, even by viewing over their own schisms, where sometimes we shall finde such odd chopping and changing of Popes, that the wisest then living could not tell which or where was the Head of the Church; and yet every party creating Cardinals, and declaring himself Christ's Vicar. Now this is certain, [since the time they have acknowledged that none but Cardinals can elect a Pope] that if ever a Bishop of *Rome* was chosen by those Cardinals who were created by an Antipope, or one not truly (as they say) Christ's Vicar, that then such an Election is of no validity, being made by those who were not truly Cardinals, and so wanted an authentick Authority to make such an election. And if the succession once fail, I know not how or when it must begin again.

But because the aforesaid *Italian* foundeth his main design upon *Simony*, I shall onely Preface a little on the same crying sin, and that but a few years before his *Sixtus* the Fifth.

When they declare that the sin of (a) *Simony* is *Heretic*; and so he that is guilty of the first, must also be an Heretick; and when they also confess that if a Pope be (b) chosen by *Simony*, then that Election is null and void: and seeing they go yet farther, as to affirm, that if a Pope be Heretical, he is not onely (c) inferiour to all other Christians, but (d) falleth from his Popedom; and so not being Head of the Church, 'tis no difficult matter from these Principles (thus granted by them) to prove a failing, if not an end of their succession.

a *Gondif-  
salv. de Vil-  
ladiego, con-  
tra hæreti-  
cam pravi-  
tatem Quæst.*  
1. & 3.  
*Flav. Cher-  
rubinus*  
*Compend*  
*Bullar.*

Tom. 1. pag. 152. Card. *Jacobat. de Concil.* l. 8. art. 8. & 8. Id. l. 1. art. 4. & 53. and so their Canon-Law. & q. 1. c. *Presbyter. c. Quicunque. c. Cunctique. c. Eos qui. c. Fertur. c. Statimur De-  
cretum.*

b *Petr. de Baisus* director. *Electionum*, cap. 14. *Hieron. Monfred.* deces. 321. *Eman. Sa.* Aphorism' v. *Papa.* 1.

c *Mart. de Caracciis* de Principibus, Quæst. 199.

d Jo. *Hieron. Alban.* de potest. *Papæ*, p. 1. & 6. Card. *Jacobit.* de Concil. l. 9. art. 1. & 123. *Martinus de Caracciis* de Principibus, Quæst. 522. *Eman. Sa.* Aphorism. v. *Papa.* & 6.

And

And that Popes ought of old to be deposed for obtaining their Dignities by *Simony*, or suchlike unlawful means, is undeniable from the (a) Decree made above DC years ago in the time of *Nicholas* the Second, in a Council at *Rome*. And since that time, *Julius* the Second made a more vigorous *Bull* against the Simoniack Election of Popes, and the nulling of such a choice; of which we shall speak more hereafter.

a Si quis pecunia vel gratia humana, aut populari militum tumultu, sine concordia

& Canonica Electione Cardinalium in throno Petri collocatus, is non Apostolicus, sed Apostaticus, id est, a ratione deficiens merito vocetur: liceatq; Cardinalibus, Clericus & Laius Deum colentibus, illum ut prædonem anathematizare, & quovis humano auxilio à sede Apostolica propellere: atque quovis in loco, si in Urbe non liceat, Catholicos hujus rei causa congregare. *Platina* vit. *Nichol.* II. & *Dist.* 97. c. si quis.

Now, if that horrid and unmanly sin of *Simony* make an Election illegal and void, what shall we think of Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, who by this corrupt means obtain'd the Papal dignity? as their own (b) *Mariana*, (c) *Onuphrius*, with (d) *Guicciardine* do declare; and though (e) *Coquæus* is unwilling to meddle with this objected crime, yet his Country-man, and fellow Doctor of *Paris*, (f) *Coeffeteau*, not being able to confute the Objection, doth profess, that we need not trouble our selves to bring out Testimonies to prove it, since all the world doth confess it.

b De rebus Hispan. lib. cap. 2.  
c Vit. *Alexand.* VI. apud *Platin.* d Lib. I. b. ginnig.

e Anti Mornæus, Tom. 2. p. 305.

f Il ne faut point chercher tant de Témoins pour prouver une chose que tout le monde avoue. *Coeffeteau*. Réponse au Mystère d'Iniquité. pag. 1209.

If this *Alexander* by his illegal obtaining that dignity was no true Pope, then the Cardinals by him created were also false ones; and so the Popes by them elected, of no true Authority or Jurisdiction to be Christ's Vicars.

This *Alexander* remaining Bishop of *Rome* above eleven years, at several Creations (others dying in the time) made these following XLIII Cardinals.

1. *Jo. Borgia*
2. *John Morton*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*
3. *Jo. Anton. de S. Georgio* ● 1
4. *Jo. de la Grolaye*
5. *Bernardinus Coravagial* ● 2
6. *Raymund. Perauld*
7. *Cesar Borgia*, Bastard to Pope *Alexander* the Sixth: for this Pope had three Sons and two Daughters.
8. *Hippolitus Estiensis*
9. *Fridericus Cassimirus*, Son to the King of *Poland*.
10. *Julianus Casarius* ● 3
11. *Dominicus Grimanus* ● 4
12. *Alexander Farnesius* ● 5
13. *Bernardinus de Lunnate*
14. *Guilliclmus Briffoneta*
15. *Bartholomæus Martinus*
16. *Johan. de Castro* ● 6
17. *Johan. Lopez*
18. *Johan.*

18. Johan. Borgia, Nephew to the Pope, poysoned by Caesar Borgia		
19. Aloysius de Arragonia	●	7
20. Philipp. de Lucemburgo		
21. Georg. de Amboffa	●	8
22. Thomas ex oppido Herdonth, Hungarus		
23. Jacobus Serra, al. Casanova	●	9
24. Petrus Issualies		
25. Diego Hortado de Mendoza		
26. Franciscus Borgia, supposed to be Son to the Pope Callistus the Third.	●	10
27. Johan. Vera	●	11
28. Ludovicus Podacatharus	●	12
29. Jo. Anton. Trivultius	●	13
30. Jo. Baptist. Terrarius		
31. Amanatem de Albreto	●	14
32. Petr. Ludovic. Borgia	●	15
33. Marcus Cornelius	●	16
34. Jo. Stephanus Ferrerius	●	17
35. Johan. Casteller	●	18
36. Franciscus Remolinus		
37. Franciscus Soderinus	●	19
38. Melchior Copis		
39. Nicholau de Flisco	●	20
40. Franciscus de Sprata, al. Spares	●	21
41. Hadrianus Castellensis	●	22
42. Jacobus Casanova	●	23
43. Franciscus Iloris	●	24

After the death of this *Alexander*, XXXVII Cardinals, after some disturbance and fears, enter into the *Conclave*, to elect another Pope; and of this little number, there were XXIV of this *Alexander's* Creation, whose names you see mark'd with this ●. In this *Conclave* was *Pius* the Third chosen; but how could he be legally elected, if almost two parts in three of the Cardinals had no lawful voice?

But again, supposing all the Cardinals to be legally created; yet, how can the election of this *Pius* be true and lawful, seeing he was so far from having the voices of two parts in three, or a Majority (though this would not make a true election) that he only obtain'd the (a) less part or number in the *Conclave* for him? and yet was, I know not how, declared for Pope.

What in part hath been objected against *Pius* the Third, may also pass upon *Julius* the Second: for though at his election there were XXXVII Cardinals in the *Conclave*, yet XXVI were of *Alexander's* creation: And if this stand good, then we may affirm that there hath been no true Pope since.

But let us proceed: this *Julius* the Second (it may be being troubled at the clamours against the Simoniackal election of *Alexander* the Sixth; a Pope composed of wickedness) with the consent of his Cardinals in Consistory, made a notable *Bull* to prevent these inconveniencies, part of which take as followeth.

a *Alphonf.*  
*Ciasonius*  
vit. *Pii III.*

Nos-- de fratrum nostrum S. R. E. Cardinalium concilio & unanimi consensu; hac nostra perpetuo valitura Constitutione, Apostolica auctoritate, & de potestatis nostrae plenitudine, Statuimus, Ordinamus, Decernimus & Definimus, Quod si (quod Deus sua Clementia & ineffabili bonitate avertat) contigerit, postquam nos vel successores nostros successivè, ipse Deus ab hujusmodi universali Ecclesiae Regimine absolverit (humani generis inimico procurante, & Ambitione vel cupiditate ad hoc inclinate seu impellente) electionem Rom. Pontificis ab eo quem eligi contigerit, vel ab aliquo seu, aliquibus de Cœtu Cardinalium, quomodo libet votum dantibus per Simoniacam heresim, in dando, promittendo vel recipiendo Pecunias, Bona cujusque generis, Castra, Officia vel Beneficia, seu promissiones & obligationes commissam, per se vel per alium, seu alios quomodocumq; & qualitercunq; etiam in duorum partium vel omnium Cardinalium unanimi concordia, quomodo libet etiam per viam Assumptionis unanimiter, nemine discrepante, etiam sine Scrutinio factò celebrari vel fieri: Non solum hujusmodi Electio vel Assumptio eo ipso nulla existat, & nullam eidem sic electo vel Assumpto administrandi in spiritualibus & Temporalibus facultatem tribuat; sed etiam contra dictum sic Electum vel Assumptum de Simoniacæ labe, à quocumq; Cardinali qui eidem Electioni interfuerit apponi & excipi possit sicut de vera & indubitata Hæresi, ita quod à nullo pro Rom. Pontifice habeatur. Quinimo ipso sic Electus à priori suo Cardinalatus & alio quocumq; honore, Ecclesiis Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis & Patriarchalibus, Monasteriis, Dignitatibus, & aliis quibuscumq; Beneficiis & Pensionibus, quæ tunc obtinebat in Titulum vel in Commendam,

With the advice and unanimous consent of our Brothers the Cardinals of the holy Church of Rome: By this our perpetual Constitution, Apostolical Authority, and fulness of our power, We do Appoint, Ordain, Decree, and Determine, That if it shall hereafter fall out (which God of his mercy and goodness prevent) that when we or our Successors shall by Gods appointment be removed from the Government of this Universal Church; that then (through the Devils malice, the Enemy of Mankind, or the Ambition or Covetousness of the Chusers) the Election of the new Pope be made and done, either by him who is so chosen, or by any other, or more of the College of Cardinals, by the Heresie of Simoniacal Compact; by giving, promising, or receiving monies or goods of any kind, or Lands, or Castles, or Offices, or Benefices, or by making any other Promise or Obligation whatsoever; whether it be by themselves or any other, or others, or what other way soever it be, and whether that Election be accomplish'd by two parts, or unanimous consent of all the Cardinals; and whether it be by Assumption, or Adoration, all agreeing, though without Writing or Scrutiny, yet that the Election or Assumption so made, shall be from that very moment Void and of none Effect; And that no power or faculty shall accrew thereby to him so thrust in, of any Administration, Government or Jurisdiction in matters Spiritual or Temporal: But also that it shall and may be lawful to any Cardinal present at the same Election, to except against the same Elected or Intruder, to call him in Question for the crime of *Simony*, as of a true and undoubted *Heresie*, that so he may be accounted and held of all men as no Pope or Bishop of

aut alias quomodocumq; eo ipso absq; alia declaratione privatus existat. Et Idem Electus non Apostolicus sed Apostaticus & tanquam Simoniacus & Hæresiarcha, & ad prædicta omnia & singula perpetuo inhabilis habeatur & sit.

Nec hujusmodi Simoniacæ Electionis per subsequentem ipsius Inthronizationem, seu temporis cursum, aut etiam omnium Cardinalium Adorationem seu Obedientiam, ullo unquam tempore convalescat, &c.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum  
1505.

Rome. And moreover, that he, thus Elected, shall hereby from that time forward, though without a Declaration, remain deprived of his Cardinalship, and any other honour whatsoever, whether Cathedral, Metropolitan, or Patriarchal Churches, Monasteries, Dignities, and all other Benefices and Pensions, which then he either held by Title, or in Commendam. And that he thus Elected shall not be held as Apostolical, but as an Apostate, one guilty of *Simony*, and an Arch-heretick, and never to be capable to enjoy or have all or any of the aforesaid Benefits.

Neither shall such Simoniacal Election be any time afterwards made good, or be in force by any subsequent Inthronization, Adoration, or Obedience, or homage done to him by the Cardinals, or by any Continuance or Course of time, &c.

Given at Rome  
1505.

Having thus seen the severe Bull for the avoiding and annihilating of Elections obtain'd by *Simony*, or suchlike illegal means; let us now see whether it hath been observed or no: and if not, according to their own Law, down falleth succession.

Pope Gregory the Thirteenth being (a) dead, the Cardinals in a Conclave according to custom fell into several Factions about the Election; some being for *de la Terre*, some for *Tarnesius*, some approved *savellius*, others favour'd *Sertettus*; *Castagnens* wanted not Friends, *Paleotto* had hopes, and others were now and then thought on: *Fernesius* headed one party, *Altemps* another, *Alexandrino* a third; *S. Sixtus* by his Authority carryed a great stroke there, *de Medici* ruled some; and *Aloysius de Este*, Son to the Duke of Ferrara, had a great party of Cardinals at his Devotion. An. 1585.

These heads of interest drawing several ways, enlarged the Faction: at last Cardinal *Montalto* had some hopes, finding *Alexandrino* and *de Medici* his Friends, and at last to stand really for him; but these with their dependants not being strong enough to carry it, he gets some to tamper with *S. Sixtus*, whilst himself feels the pulse of *Aloysius de Este*, with whom at last he strikes up a Bargain, the Condition of which was this: That whereas there was one *Hieronymus Matthæus* a Roman Bishop of great esteem in the Court, but one that *de Este* above all men hated; that if *Montalto* would promise never to make this *Matthæus* Cardinal, *Aloysius* would give his own voice, and the suffrages of all those Cardinals who were many depending on him, to make the said *Montalto* Pope: this was agreed on between

tween them; to which *Montalto* did not onely give him his promise by mouth, but by open writing subscribed and ratified under his own hand, and so he carryed the Popedom from all the rest, and call'd himself *Sixtus* the Fifth.

But now let us see how things work'd to bring this Simoniack Bargain to light. Pope *Sixtus*, after this his Election, having got what he aimed at, broke his Promise and Faith made to *de Este*, and contrary thereunto, made *Hieronimo Matthæo* Cardinal: which unfaithfulness *Aloysius* took so much to heart, seeing his Enemies thus advanced to affront him, that he fell deadly sick; but before his death, to be revenged of *Sixtus*, he sent the Agreement and Covenant, even the very Original signed with *Montalto's* hand, to *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*; who thereupon in the year 1589, sent the Duke of *Sessa* Ambassador to *Rome*, to give the Pope notice hereof, and to intimate to him the present necessity of a General Council concerning this Simoniack Election; and to require the Cardinals (created by his Predecessors) and others of the Clergy, to appear in the said Council, which he intended to hold at *Sivil* in *Andaluzia*. The King of *Spain* liking this well enough, having about this time fallen out with the Pope, for not shewing himself vigorous for his *Castilian* interest, then troubling *France*: But upon Duke *Sessa's* coming to *Rome*, *Sixtus* dyed, and so this Council for a new Election fell to the ground.

Yet the story of this Simoniack Election was not forgot; inso-much, that when a few years after *Clement* the Eighth [who was made Cardinal by the aforesaid *Sixtus* the Fifth, and to whose Election about thirty illegal Cardinals concur'd] did absolve *Henry* the Fourth, and so acknowledged him King of *France*, several *Spaniards* openly undertook to prove, that this *Clement* was not lawfully elected Pope, and so had no power to absolve King *Henry*; to which purpose also several Books were writ by them. For if *Sixtus* was guilty of *Simony*, then by the Bull of *Julius* the Second he was no true and lawful Pope, and so could not make Cardinals; nor these so suppos'd to be created, to elect a Pope: However, he undertook to coyn these thirty three Cardinals.

1. *Alexander Perettus de Montalto*, Nephew to this Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth: he was but fourteen years old.
2. *Henricus Caetanus*.
3. *Georgius Drafcovitus*.
4. *Jø. Baptist. Castruccio*.
5. *Fr. Fridericus Cornelius*.
6. *Dominicus Pinellus*.
7. *Hippolitus de Rubeis*.
8. *Decius Azolinus*.
9. *Hippolito Aldobrandino*, afterwards Pope *Clement VIII*.
10. *Hieronimo du Ruvere*.
11. *Philippus de Lenoncourt*.
12. *Hier. Bernerius de Corrigio*.
13. *Anton. Maria Gallius*.
14. *Constantinus Buccafocus Sarnanus*.
15. *Hieron. Matthæus*, Enemy to Cardinal *de Este*.
16. *Benedictus Justinianus*.
17. *Afcannus Columna*.

18. *William*

18. *William Allen*, an Englishman.
19. *Scipio Gonzaga*.
20. *Antonius Saulius*.
21. *Jo. Evangelista Palotta*.
22. *Petrus Gondius*.
23. *Stephanus Bonuccius*.
24. *Johan. de Mendoza*.
25. *Hugo Verdala*.
26. *Federicus Borremans*.
27. *Jo. Francisc. Maurocenus*.
28. *Augustinus Cusanus*.
29. *Franciscus Maria de Monte*.
30. *Marianus Perbenedictus*.
31. *Gregorius Petroebius de Montelparo*.
32. *Carolus de Lotharingia*.
33. *Guido Pepulus*.

If these Cardinals be illegal, then will the following Popes be also unlawful: for this *Sixtus* the Fifth being dead, fifty three Cardinals enter the *Conclave*, twenty five of which number were made by *Sixtus*; and being headed by his Nephew *Montalto*, having got some others to joyn with them, they chose Cardinal *Castagneus*, who call'd himself *Urban* the Seventh, who dyed a few days after; and after him, not without a great deal of clutter, canvassing and faction, was chosen Cardinal *Sfondratus*, who call'd himself *Gregory* the Fourteenth: and in this *Conclave* was as many of *Sixtus* his Cardinals, as in the former headed by *Montalto*: after ten Months this Bishops dyed; and after the same way was Cardinal *Facchinetto* chosen, who call'd himself *Innocent* the Ninth, who after two Months rule also dyed.

And the next that sat in the Chair, was Cardinal *Aldobrandino*, who call'd himself *Clement* the Eighth; who before his Election was not so much as a Bishop, and so was afterwards, but before his Coronation, made one. Besides this, if *Sixtus* the Fifth was no true Pope, nor could this *Clement* be one also, being made Cardinal (which qualifyeth him for the Popedom) by *Sixtus*. But another exception may be brought against his Election.

For the Cardinals being in the *Conclave*, two parts in three of them agreed upon Cardinal *de S. Severina*, whom they nominated, took and led into the Chappel of *S. Paul* [January 11.] where they set him in the Papal Chair, and by publick scrutiny proclaim him Pope, and so the very (a) *Canon* doth acknowledge him. But let us now see an after-game, the third part remaining perplext without the Chappel; from them cometh in two Cardinals, *Gesualdus* and *Sfortia*, the first crying out, *My Lords, let's number the voices, to see if two full parts have consented*; and with that he began to count, but so leisurely, that in the meantime *Sfortia* had plaid his part so well with two of the Cardinals, that he got them out of the Chappel, whereby two parts in three did not continue: Besides this, at his return into the Chappel, he behaved himself so cunningly with the other Cardinals, by laying open to them the rigour and severity of *San Severina* (good Arguments to some of them) that several of them left their thus Elected Pope, and joyning with the third party, who stay'd without the Chappel, and nominated

*Clement*

a Decretal.  
Greg. de B.  
lect. c. licet  
de vitanda.



a Life of Father Paul,  
pag. 62.

b Dist. 23. c.  
In nomine  
Domini

c Loco citato.

-- Qui in omni  
verbo  
Priapum  
miscet.

*Clement* the Eighth, of the validity of whose Election there was a great doubt and dispute at *Rome*, as a (a) *Romanist* confesseth.

Now I suppose that when two parts in three (the number to make an Election good) have freely given their suffrages to such a one to make him Pope, and moreover, in confirmation of it, have declared the same more fully by some other ceremonies, as setting of him in the Pontifical Chair, and suchlike, that they cannot recall their Voyces again. Nay further, that if their number had not been sufficient to compleat an Election, they could not with honesty recant at the sametime: However, the very carrying on of this opposition was a meer juggle and trick of *Sfortia* and *Gesualdo*, and so illegal and null according to the (b) *Canon*.

Nor is it material to say that he wanted *Inthronization* or *Adoration*, or kissing of the foot. All these being but effects and consequences of a true Election, but not essential to the Election; and are appointed to be done to him that is Elected, but do not help forward his Election. Besides this, their own (c) *Canon* doth not make these necessary to an Election; if they cannot conveniently be done, by the opposition of some cross-grain'd and wicked-minded men, either by force or cunning, as at this time.

If this *Sant-Severina* was truly Elected, then could not *Clement* the Eighth be a true Pope: and if *Clement* had no right to the Popedom, no more could *Leo* the Eleventh, the *Conclave* in which he was chosen, being ruled by the Cardinals made by this *Clement*, thirty nine of them being present, he having created fifty three in all.

And the same objection might pass against his Successor *Paul* the Fifth, at whose Election forty Cardinals made by *Clement* the Eighth assisted. Besides this, we are told of suchlike dealings in this *Conclave*, as there was in that when *S. Severina* had the go-by, viz. that in this *Conclave* sixty one Cardinals entred, forty four of whom [full two parts in three] chose Cardinal *Tuschnus*, and took him, though sick and lying in his bed, and had him carryed into the Chappel of *Sixtus* the Fourth, that they might Inthronize and Adore him as a Pope; and whilst in the mean time, they expected the rest of the third part, according to custome to increase the solemnity, they altogether used *Tuschnus* as Pope, both by their demeanor, some exhibiting Petitions, others begging favours; at last, in haste cometh Cardinal *Baronius*, *Justiniano*, and *Montalto*, the Ring-leaders of the third party or faction, and being got to the Chappel-door, *Baronius* cryeth out, *What, will you chuse a Pope, that at every word speaks bawdily and filthily, to the great scandal of Christians?* Upon which, and some other discourses, the other Cardinals were tolled away; and so poor *Tuschnus* was there left sick of a Feavour in his bed: and so at last Cardinal *Borgheß* was chosen, and call'd *Paul* the Fifth.

As for this *Dominicus Tuschnus*, Cardinal de *S. Onufrio*, in relation to *Baronius* his accusation, I shall say little, onely that he shew'd himself to be a *Lombard*, [he was born at *Reggio*] where custom makes some bad words proverbially familiar, even with the best of men; and *Tuschnus* himself was naturally of a free, debonnaire, and jocant spirit and humour, being all heart, and full of merry stories and jests; which never agrees with a morose and zeal-pretending-gravity: And yet was *Tuschnus* as famous for his skill in Law, as

Baro-

*Baronius* in Church-story ; and for ought that I know , as diligent a Student as the other, as his eight large Volumes can testifie, dedicated (a great sign of good nature) even to this *Paul* the Fifth : they were both of them made Cardinals by *Clement* the Eighth.

But enough of this, though a discourse might be renew'd concerning the awe, if not bribery, that many Cardinals lye under in a *Conclave*, both of Temporal Princes, and others ruling them in these Elections, sufficient to satisfie us, that neither Heaven nor a true Spirit hath always an influence in the chusing of this infallible Vicar.

As for that sneaking vice of *Simony*, as 'tis most triumphant in the Court of *Rome*, as practice can testifie ; and their old (a) *Taxa* declares it to be but a puny *Peccadiglio*, yet by them far greater than (b) Murder : so I could wish it were no where else, and 'twould be well if Patron as well as Parson were obliged by Oath against it : But it may be, 'tis dangerous too speak too plain on this case, since story tells us that the good (c) *Arialdus* was publickly mured for accusing one, though justly, of this vice.

Yet I cannot but think of *Rudolphus* [Son to *Simon* the Second, Duke of *Lorraine*] Bishop of *Liege* in *Germany*, and I think by some made Bishop of *Ments* ; who gloried so much in this *Simony*, that one time having sold a Prebendship, shew'd publickly the mony to many people, boastingly said, *I have hugely enrich'd the Church of Liege, and enlarg'd her Revenues : for that Prebendship which my Predecessors used to sell for ten Marks, I have now skrew'd up to pass for forty.* And this, we may suppose, was a good price in his time, about five hundred years ago.

But though the vice with this man went unmask'd and at noon-day, one of the *Philips* of *France* by an ingenious trick shew'd his dislike of it ; in short, thus : According to mine old Author, the Abbot of *S. Denis* being dead, one came to the King, begg'd the preferment, and offer'd him 500 pounds : the King would consider of it, but bid him give the money to the Chamberlain : another knowing of this, cometh with the same Petition and Sum, and receives the same Answer : and so to a third, all unknown one to another. At last the King appoints a day for the disposing of the place ; and being set in the Chapter-house, every one of the three money-givers thinking to be the man, at last, after some discourse, the King looking about, saw a poor Monk sitting in a corner, never thinking of any preferment ; he calls him to him, and bid him take notice that he made him Abbot of *St. Denis* : The poor Monk desired by all means to be excused, as one no way fit for such an honour ; and besides all that, the *Abbey* was in debt, and had not wherewithal to pay it sufficiently : But the King bid him take no care for that, for he would give him moneys to defray those things ; and forthwith order'd the 1500 pounds (given to the King by the three former Competitors) to be given him. And so he became Abbot, whilst the other three deservedly lost it.

And such a story as this there goeth on our King *William* the Second, who though he used to be guilty in selling Church-places, yet one time it seems in a frolick he crost the humour ; for an Abbey being vacant, two Monks went to him to beg it or buy it, in opposition one to the other ; and in thus out-bidding one another, offer'd great sums. Whilst these were thus chaffering, the King espyed another

a *Taxa*  
Cancell. A-  
post. sect. 4.  
Tit. 6.  
b Id. sect. 3.  
Tit. 6, 7.  
sect. 4. Tit. 4.  
c *Baron. an.*  
1066. &  
19, 20.

*Cesarinus*  
Hist. lib. 6.  
cap. 5.

Ib. cap. 14.

another Monk at the lower end of the Chamber, who, by chance, for company sake had come along with one of the Competitors : The King asked him, what he would give for it ? who answered, that he neither had any thing to give, nor if he had, would he give any thing : Well (quoth the King) thou hast spoken like an honest man, and art fitter to be Abbot than either of these ; and so bestowed the Abbey upon him freely. The truth is, it must be something else, besides true Politicks, that prefers the covetous man to Church-dignities, because the very Office or Order through him gets an *odium* amongst the people.

The Learned *Italian* in his Supplication to the Emperour, &c. from the Popes guiltiness of *simony*, concludes the necessity of a General Council, to amend and restrain these enormities : And though he be a serious *Romanist*, yet he confesseth, that upon these and suchlike faults, the Temporal Princes have good and sufficient Authority to call such a Council, and earnestly perswades the Christian Princes to effect it.

But experience tells us, that these meetings are as terrible to the Pope, as tumults to the Grand Seignior ; the latter upon sight of these up-rores, fears his ruine and end not to be far off ; and the Bishops of *Rome* suppose Councils, especially the latter, do rather take away then give them any jurisdiction, whereby such conventions are both chargeable and troublesome to them, in the carrying on of their interest ; and therefore they use all their cunning and reason to draw such power and thoughts from Temporal Princes, and with a thousand slights will prolong the time : To which purpose the *Italians* say not amiss of them.

*Coll' arte el' Inganno  
Lui passa Mezzo anno,*

*Coll' Inganno è coll' arte  
Se vive l' altra parte.*

With art and with guile  
O'th' year they pass one while,

With guile and with art  
They live the other part.

And for confirmation of this, we need go no farther than their Council of *Trent*, it being a long time before the Popes would be perswaded to call it ; and when 'twas held, 'twas carryed on with so much cunning and juggling, even to the trouble and grief of many Eminent *Roman* Catholick Divines there, that the *Legates* would permit nothing to be concluded upon, but according as they received directions and orders by Letters from the Pope ; which occasioned the unlucky Proverb, That *the Council of Trent was guided by the Holy Ghost, sent to them from Rome in a Cloak-bag*. Insomuch, that several of the Divines there did divers times publicly complain, that it was not a (a) free one : and both the (b) Emperour, and the King of (c) *France* call'd it a *Convention*.

a *Paolo*, pag.  
507, 508,  
530, 551,  
623, 635,  
644, 659,  
661, 683,  
566, 569.  
b *Id.* p. 279.  
c *Id.* p. 818.

As for the Testimonies in the *Italians* supplication, I have no reason to suspect them; it having been above these fifty years dispersed all *Europe* over, and not (that I know of) in the least contradicted; besides, several of their own Historians do almost confess as much.



## CHAP. III.

*The Murther of the Emperour Mauritius, with his Empress, Children, &c. by wicked Phocas: with Pope Gregory the First, surnamed the Great, his judgement and opinion of that barbarous action; and his Authority pretended over Kings.*

**H**AVING hitherto briefly seen the forgery of *Constantine's* Donation, the low condition of the Bishops of *Rome* for some hundreds of years, the power and practice of Temporal Princes over them in their Nominations or Approbations, with some short Observations concerning their Elections: We shall now proceed to what we first designed.

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Their great Lawyer (*a*) *Gregorius Tolosanus* tells us, that though the Christians endured grievous oppressions and cruel torments, yet for the first three hundred years they never rebell'd against their Kings or Temporal Governours: And had not the Pope encouraged and fomented it, this *sin of witch-craft* had never been, I am certain, so much practised by those who call themselves Christians. But here Cardinal (*b*) *Bellarmino* the Jesuit joyns hand in hand with (*c*) *Buchanan* the Puritan, to free the Primitive Christians from this scandal of *Obedience*, and would have the fault to lye not in Religion, but the want of strength; though the former (*d*) *Gregorius* will dash this Argument in pieces, by telling you that they had force and number enough to perpetrate such wickedness, if their wills and piety would allow of it.

*a* De Repub. lib. 2. 6. cap. 7. *De* 10.

*b* De Rom. Pont. lib. 5. cap. 7. *c* De jure Reg. *d* Loco citato.

As for the Popes Temporal Authorities, *Guicciardine* will tell you that they had none long after these times. 'Tis true, this Section is knowingly left out in some *Italian* Editions, and others who followed them; but you

Nel qual tempo i Pontefici Romani privati in tutto di potentia Temporale. *Guicciard. Hist. d' Ital.* lib. 4.

have it at large in the (*e*) *Paris*, (*f*) *London*, and some others; and it hath been several times printed by it self, as at (*g*) *Basil* in three Languages, viz. *Italian*, *French* and *Latin*; and at (*h*) *London* in four, the *English* being added to the former; of which the *Italian* according to *Guicciardine's* own Manuscript in *Florence*. As for the Popes

*e* French 1612. *f* Engl. 1618. *g* 1561. *h* 1595.

spiritual Power, as Bishop of his own See, I have nothing to do with; nor shall I trouble my self with the Excommunication of the Emperour *Anastatius* by the Popes (*b*) *Gelasius*, (*b*) *Anastatius* the Second, or by (*i*) *Symmachus*, because

They are also lately, (with amendments of *Thuanus*) printed at *Amsterdam* 1663.

*b* Platina. *Baron. an.* it 502.

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it may be, all will not agree of, what was the meaning and authority of such censures in those times. We are also told that *Euphemius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, threatned to depose this *Anastasius*: if so, then it seems others besides *Rome* can unthroned Princes; but I wonder why (a) *Baronius* brags so much of this, it being quite contrary to the *Roman* greatness and prerogative. But let us come to realities.

a An. 491.

*Tiberius* the Second being dead, there succeeded him in the Empire *Mauritius*, famous in War, but he was tainted with covetousness. In this time, *John*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, made the means to have himself call'd *Universal Bishop*: at this Title, *Gregory* the First, surnamed the Great, Bishop of *Rome*, taketh great offence; and hoping to get this pull'd by his acquaintance with the Emperour *Maurice*, having formerly been at *Constantinople* with *Tiberius* and him to prove a confirmation for *Pelagius* the Second in his Popedom, having also been God-father to one of *Mauritius* his Sons; as also himself confirmed in the Papal Chair by the same Emperour.

Upon these, and suchlike good turns and acquaintance, he questioned not but to have this Title taken from *John* of *Constantinople*; to which purpose he sends to *Mauritius*, his Empress and others, Letters after Letters, affirming it to be a (b) *New name against Gospel and Canon; a title of vanity, profaness and blasphemy; a (c) horrible and wicked word; (d) that none of his Predecessors had ever used such a profane title, to be abhor'd by a Christian mind*; and suchlike, to be read in his Epistles. But the Emperour did not care to trouble himself with these paper-squabbings, onely wish'd that they would not bring a scandal to the Church by this railing.

b Lib. 4. Epist. 32.  
c Id. Epist. 38. & 39.  
d Epist. 36.

This troubles *Gregory*; yet he giveth the Emperour all the noble Titles that could be, calling of himself onely (e) *Dust and very Worm of the Earth, his most unworthy man or servant, &c.* And indeed, he as well as (f) other Bishops of *Rome* in those times were exactly obedient to the Emperours (however the case is alter'd now) of which one instance at this time may satisfy.

e Lib. 6. Ep. 62, & 63, & 64.  
f *Duarenus* de sacris Eccles. Ministr. lib. 1. cap. 5. and see more of this in *Andr. Rivet. Jesuita Vapul. cap. 28. & 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42. pag. 539, 540, 541, 542, &c.*

This Emperour perceiving that every one in those zealous times, thought himself either cock-sure of Heaven, or lived more idle, or lazie, or free from trouble or danger, if he got but a Monks Cowl on, and lived hum-drumming in a Cell or Monastery, made a Decree against (as I may say) run-away Souldiers (against whom I onely concern myself in the former censure;) In which he Ordain'd, that no Souldier, unless he was dismiss'd, should enter himself in a Monastery to turn Monk, except he were lame, or otherwise unfit for the Wars. And this he sends to Pope *Gregory*, ordering him to see it put in practice and divulged. *Gregory* looks upon this as an unjust-law, even contrary to Christianity; and desires the Emperour to consider how he can answer it at the day of Judgement; yet declared that he had fulfill'd his duty, by yeilding obedience to his commands, and so had accordingly published the Order abroad. But I warrant you *Gregory* the Eighth, and our Modern Popes, would not thus obey the Emperours; and yet they will not say, that this *Gregory* the Great, an holy Saint in their Calendar, in this his obedience and humility was erroneous, or committed a fault.

Lib. 2. Ep. 62.

In the Emperours Army there was one *Phocas*, a common Captain or

or *Centurion*, but a most cruel and wicked man, who upon a Mutiny in *Sclavonia*, made himself very active, so that they flew into open Rebellion; and in this humour, he plaid his Cards so well, that he became the onely Ring-leader (those that were loyal being forced to flee) insomuch, that they heaved him upon a Shield (an old Ceremony not onely in Armies, but also in *France* and *Spain*, in proclaiming their Kings) and shouted him up for Emperour.

Having gone thus far in villany, he proceeds; and to loose no time, in all haste marcheth to *Constantinople*; and that with such a strength, that the Emperour *Mauritius* (who of late had led a very religious life, having sent to all places to be pray'd for) was forced to flee, and so in a little Bark with his Wife and Children, stole out of the City over the Chanel to *Chalcedon* [now call'd *Scutari* or *Calcutin*] but being overtaken by *Phocas* his Souldiers, was brought back to *Constantinople*, where *Phocas* had the Emperours Children, (which then he had seisd on) unurther'd before the Fathers face; the poor *Mauritius* onely repeating that of the *Psalmist*, *Just art thou, O Lord, and righteous are thy judgements*. And, which was more, the Emperour having there one of his Sons a little Childe, the kinde Nurse of it, through a strange pitty, love and loyalty, stole it away, and put her own Childe in its stead to be slain. But the Emperour not to be out done in compassion, unwilling to allow of such a cruel charity, withstood the design, and so had his own innocent Infant murdred before his face, and at last was himself also slain; then their heads were cut off, and their bodies exposed to all manner of contumelies. There were also murder'd *Petrus*, Brotherto the Emperour, and many of the Loyal Nobility.

*Theodosius*, eldest Son to *Mauritius*, who had also been some years before Crown'd *Augustus* and co-Emperour to his Father, being sent upon this Rebellion to *Cosroes* of *Persia*, to desire his aid and assistance against *Phocas*, was also overtaken and beheaded. And to make the Tragedy compleat, one *Scholasticus* an Eunuch having saved the Empress *Constantina* [Daughter to the Emperor *Tiberius*; thus a Father-in-law and Predecessor to *Maurice*] and her three Daughters, hid them secretly in a Church; yet was not this so privately done, but *Phocas* heard of it, and sent to have them delivered. *Cyricius* the Patriarch of *Constantinople* made some opposition, nor would he yeild them up, till *Phocas* had by Oath sworn to do to them no violence; which for some time he kept, thrusting them into a Monastery, but at the years end, had them all four most barbarously butcher'd.

Here we have *Phocas* one of the most absolute Villains in the world: as for *Mauritius*, (a) *Baronius* himself cannot but give him many commendations; yet he will quickly shoot his bolt to finde out the Reason of all these Judgements against him; and all this, because forsooth he would not comply with the liberty of the Church, as they call it, and was not a sure Friend to *Gregory*; for this is that which he aims at. An. 602.  
23.

And now let us see how Pope *Gregory* behaved himself towards this Villain; he no sooner hears of this abominable Murther, and how the Tyrant had made himself Emperour; but he hath the Statues of *Phocas* and his Wife carryed through *Rome* in triumph, with a great many pretty cantings; and then with a great deal of state and glory placed up amongst the other Emperours. Nor was this

- 600 all: for he writes to *Phocas*, congratulating his good success, as the  
 a *Bron. an.* Angels did the Nativity of our Saviour, — [a] *Glory be to God*  
 603. & 3. *in the highest, who, as it is written, changeth the times, and translateth*  
*Kingdoms; — For which we rejoyce that thou art come to the*  
*Empire: Let the heavens rejoyce, and let the earth leap for joy; and*  
*of your gracious actions, let all the people be exceeding glad. —*  
 b *Id. & 5.* In another [b] Letter to the same Tyrant, he rejoyceth, and thanks  
 God that he is Emperour, and that *Mauritius* was taken away. And  
 in another to *Leontia*, Wife to *Phocas*, he thus begins, —  
 c *Ib. & 6.* [c] *What tongue can declare? what minde can conceive, the thanks*  
*which we owe to God for your Empire? —*

And yet if we consult Historians, they will assure us, that this *Pho-*  
*cas* was not onely a cruel, furious and bloody fellow, but also a  
 d *Ib. & 9.* drunkard, wencher, yea, and an Heretick too. But [d] *Baronius* and  
 e *Tom. 1.* [e] *Coquens* are very busie to quit him of the last fault, and so make  
 pag. 333. him a good Roman Catholick. But be as bad as he will, 'tis confest  
 that his Wife *Leontia* was guilty of the same vices. Whereby I can  
 scarce think of Pope *Gregory's* Letters, but I must at the same time  
 remember the flattering and wicked *Addressees*, of late days, made  
 to *Oliver* and his Son *Richard*, by their canting Armies, and suchlike  
 knavish Phanaticks; who in the hight of their wickedness would  
 impudently pretend the Spirit of God to be their Informer. I do  
 not here compare Pope *Gregory* to these Villains; yet I can easily  
 perswade my self, that he had not (as the *Turks* story of their great  
 Prophet) the Pigeon or Holy Ghost, at the writing of these Let-  
 ters, directing him at his ear, as they say sometime he had; and so  
 they always paint him.

The Patriarch of *Constantinople* having (as aforesaid) somewhat  
 angered *Phocas*, for not delivering the Empress *Constantina* and her  
 Daughters to his cruelty, without an oath of security; and the Ty-  
 rant seeing himself thus bravely courted by the Infalible *Roman*,  
 condescended to the request of Pope *Boniface* the Third, and so de-

e Hic Rogante Papa Bonifacio, statuit sedem Romana Ec-  
 clesie ut Caput esset omnium Ecclesiarum; quia Ecclesia Con-  
 stantinopolitana primum se omnium Ecclesiarum scribebat.  
*Paul. Diac. de gestis Romanorum, lib. 18. in vit. Phoca.*

creed, That the Church of  
*Rome* should be the [e] Head or  
 Chief of all other Churches; and  
 this in opposition to the *Con-*  
*stantinopolitan* Church, which

had appropriated to her self the stile of the first Church. And her  
 Patriarchs had took upon them the Title of *Universal Bishops*,  
 which greatly troubled this *Gregory* the First, who in opposition to  
 that other [f] *Prophane* and [g] *Blasphemous* Title [viz. *Univer-*  
*sul*] (but now made use of by all Popes) termed himself the *ser-*  
*vant of servants of God*; upon which Title their [h] Gloss affords  
 us this Distich:

g As *Grego-*  
*ry* himself  
 call'd it.  
 h-1 Q. 7. c.  
*Quoties cor-*  
*dis. Gloss.*  
 & per te.

*Servi erant tibi Roma prius Domini Dominorum,*  
*Servorum Servinunc tibi sunt Domini.*

The greatest Kings once serv'd thee *Rome*, but now  
 To th' least of *servants* thou thy neck dost bow.

This Title hath been ever since used by his Successors, and not  
 onely by them, but also other Bishops sometimes write themselves  
 so,

so, as (a) *Rabanus* of *Mentz*, (b) *Agelnoth* of *Canterbury*, (c) *Anselme* of *Ravenna*, (d) *S. Augustin* himself, and many others; and indeed they confess, that that Title is (e) common to all other Bishops; and so is the word (f) *Papato*. But though Pope Gregory stiled himself so humbly, yet we are told that he declared, that he had Authority to depose the greatest Kings; in proof of which, thus they frame their Arguments.

600

a Epist. to Hincmar of France.  
b Will Somners Antiqu. of Cant.  
c Cognatus, Tom. 2. p. 70.  
d lb.

e Coeffeteau, pag. 807. il est commun à tous les Evêques.

f Vid. Fran. Duaren. de sacris Eccles. Ministr. lib. 1. cap. 10.

About the time that this *Gregory* the Great was a Young man, there flourish'd in *France* one *Medard*, famous (as they say) for his holiness and miracles, and since Sainted; who was at the same time Bishop of two Places, viz. *Nojon* in *Picardy*, and *Tourney* in *Flanders*; and this by the Popes approbation: though I doubt that *Monsieur* (g) *Gazet* is out, when he makes it to be Pope *Hormisdas*, who must have dyed before this, according to the computation of (h) *Chenu*.

g Hist. des Saints, Tom. 1. p. 689.  
h Hist. Episc. Gal. p. 310.

*St. Medard* dying, King *Clotaire* had his body carried to *Soissons* in *Picardy*, and there buried, where he began to build a Church for him; but being murder'd, his Son *Sigebert* finished it. To this they say, this (i) *Gregory* the First gave great Priviledges, with an express Order that that King or Potentate should be degraded or (k) deposed, who violated them: Of this (l) *Baronius* makes a great boasting, how thus the Pope can depose Kings; and *Gregory* the Eighth made use of this instance for an Argument against the Emperour *Henry*.

i Lib. 2. Indict. 11. post Epist. 38.  
k Fran. Bozzius de Temporal. Monarch. p. 225. Belarm. de Rom. Pont. l. 5. c. 8.

l — Vides Iector Pontificis *Romani* esse sancire leges, quibus si ipsi Reges non pareant Regno priventur. *Baron.* an. 593. 86.

And what might not *Gregory* the Great do upon Earth over poor Mortals, whose jurisdiction reached so far, that they say he relieved the tormented soul of *Trojan* the Heathen Emperour out of Hell, and sent it packing to Heaven; in proof and vindication of which pretty action, their famous (m) *Alphonsus Ciaconius* wrote a particular Book.

m Vid. Ciacon. vit. Greg. 1.

Another instance they give us of *Gregory's* jurisdiction over Kings, viz. that Queen *Brunehilde* or *Brunebaut* built a (n) Monastery to *S. Martin* at *Autun* in *Burgundy*, where she her self was buried. To which our (o) *Gregory* the First granted also many Priviledges, but with the same Decree against those who violated any of them: Of which (p) *Baronius* also taketh special notice, and triumphs thus of the Papal Authority in deposing of Kings, as he did formerly. But some think these Deeds and Priviledges are (q) forged.

n Vit. Borth. Cassanum. Catal. glor. mundi, pag. 12. confid. 60. fol. 332.  
o Lib. 11. Indict. 61. Epist. 10.

p Anno 603. 17.

q Vit. Caron. Remonstrant. Hybernorum, part 5. pag. 68, 69.

And truly, *S. Martin* Archbishop of *Tours* deserved both a good Church and great Priviledges, if that be true which they story of him; as how he rais'd three people from the dead, and cured

Pet. Natal. l. 1. c. 47.



600

a Baron. an.  
583.b Villeg  
Flos Sanct.  
Nov. mb. 11.

cured folk by kissing, who had Angels to cover his arms with plates of gold, and those holy Choristers to sing his soul into Heaven, who was compared to the (a) *Apostles* and *Elias*, and of whom they tell many suchlike pretty stories; yet methinks his charity was very odd, to turn away his man, onely because he was (b) good-natured and vertuous.



## CHAP. IV.

1. The deposing of Suintila, King of Spain.
2. The Murther of Childerick the Second, King of France, with his Queen great with Childe.
3. The unfortunate Rule and Murther of the Emperour Justinian the Second, and the troubles of Constantinople.
4. The Popes censures and troublings of the Emperour Leo the Third about Images.
5. The deposing of Childerick the Third, King of France.

## SECT. I.

## The deposing of Suintila, King of Spain.

**A**Nd now let us turn to the West, and in Spain we shall finde the Pens of Authors in as much opposition, as the Swords of Souldiers: for though all confess that (c) *Suintila* was lawful King of the *Goths* in Spain, yet Writers will not agree of his life and exit. For though (d) *Isidore*, (e) *Rodericus*, *Toletanus*, (f) *Alphonfus de Carthagena*, and the other ancient Spanish Historians do declare him to be one of the bravest Princes in the world, not onely for his Justice, Charity, Humility, and other excellent Vertues, but also Valour joyn'd with Success, whereby, they say, he drove the *Romans* out of those Territories; and so was the first of the *Goths* that obtain'd the absolute Monarchy of Spain:

c An. 621.

d Chroni-  
con.

e Lib. 2. c. 17.

f Cap 33.

g Cap. 75.

Yet some of our Modern Writers lay all manner of Tyranny and Vices to his charge, drawn thereunto, I suppose, by that which they finde set down in the Fourth Council of (g) *Toledo*. Though methinks 'tis somewhat odd, that learned *Isidore*, the great Bishop of *Sevil*, and one Sainted in the *Roman* Calendar, should so soon write contradictions, as not onely by his subscription to this Council, to commend the usurping *Sisenandus*; but to declare *Suintila* [*Cintila*, *Santila*, or *Suintibila*] to be abominable vicious, tyrannical, a fugitive,

*h* Prater has militares gloriæ laudes plurimæ in eo Regis Maj. Itatis virtutes, fides, prudentia, industria in judicis examinatio, strenua in regendo regno cura, præcipua circa omnes munificentia, largus erga indigentes & Inopes, misericordia satis promptus; ita ut non solum Princeps Populorum sed etiam Pater Pauperum vocari sit dignus. *Isidori Chron.*

and what not? whom a little before he had (b) magnified for a brave Souldier and King, for one vertuous, faithfull, prudent, industrious, just, munificent, and liberal; that he ought

to

to be call'd the Prince of his people, and Father of the poor. He had done well if his Subscription had been true, to have corrected his History, that they might not stand thus at defiance against each other to deceive Posterity; we cannot plead *Isidore's* ignorance, seeing he lived in the same time and Country: and why may not this good Character in his Chronologie be more true and authentick, than that other testified by his and the others subscription, since the first was writ freely, and privately, without any obligation to flatter, onely to inform Posterity, whilst the other (as is very [a] probable) was onely subscribed to gratifie and pleasure *Sisenandus*, a dissembling and powerful Usurper? But 'tis all one to my purpose, were he good or bad.

a *Marian. de rebus Hispan. lib. 6. cap. 5.*

And here we have another rancounter amongst Historians: for, the aforementioned *Rodericus Ximinius*, Archbishop of *Toledo*; and *Alphonfus de Carthagena*, Bishop of *Burgos*; with [b] *Michael Ririus*, [c] *Cesare Campana*, and several others, give not the least hint of any opposition that *Suintila* had in his Government, but that he dyed at *Toledo*: and the learned *Belgick* Jesuit, [d] *Andreas Schottus* agreeth to the last, whilst other Writers are confident of his deposition; the story of which is rather hinted at than told, but in sum thus:

b *De Reg. Hispan lib. 2.*

c *Arbori delle famiglie Regali di Spagna. pag. 34.*

d *Bibl. Hispan. Tom. 1. p. 163.*

One *Sisenandus* or *Sisnandus*, but of what relation Pens will not agree, great in Wars and Authority, having a desire to make himself King, plotted Treason with some others of the Nobility: and the better to carry on this Rebellion, he sent to *Dagobert*, King of *France*, to desire his assistance; the which he obtain'd; by his great promises and treasure which he sent to this *Dagobert* (who sent the Wealth to *St. Denis*, where he had built the great Church; since that, the burying-place of the *French Kings*.) A strange piece of Policy (commonly in practice) for Kings not onely to assist, but (if beaten) to protect Rebels against their Sovereigns, when two to one it may a little after be their own case. And as this is a strengthening, so 'tis an encouragement, by the certainty (if overcome) of a refuge to Rebellion.

*Dagobert* accordingly sends *Abondant* and *Venerand* (or [e] *Venerabandus*) with an Army of *Burgundians*, who enter *Spain*, and march straight-way to *Saragoza*: Upon this the *Gothick* Rebels revolt, joyn to *Sisenand*; by which he grew so powerful and strong, that *Suintila* with his Queen and Children were forced to flee, and so *Sisenandus* by his treason obtain'd the [f] Crown.

e *Jo. de Bassiers Hist. Fran. Tom. 1. pag. 183.*

f *An. 631.*

The Laity having thus proved themselves bold Rebels, let us see if their Church be cleer from this vice. *Sisenand* having thus usurp'd the Throne, cunningly courted peace with all people; and in the third year of his Reign, pretending forsooth a great care for Religion and the Church, [though his (g.) design was to get himself fully seel'd, and the through extirpation of *Suintila* and his Relations]. call'd a Council at *Toledo*, where met some LXX *Spanish* and *French* [i.e. that part of it then under *Spain*] Bishops.

g *Jo. Mariana, lib. 6. cap. 5.*

The Bishops being met at *Toledo* in the Church of *Santa Leocadia*, [a (b) *Virgin-Martyr*] *Sisenand* like an Hypocrite, humbles himself before the Council; and with many tears and sobbings, upon his knees desires their blessings and prayers, and to mend the faults they found in the Church, and suchlike good words. After some Consultation, and the making of some *Canons*, they gratifie *Sisenando* to the

b *An. 305. 9. Decemb.*

600 the purpose, not onely by declaring of him true and lawful King, and confirming of him in the Throne, but by dashing in pieces all the hopes of *Suintila* (whom they call *Suintilanus*) against whom they raunt very dapperly, calling of him Fugitive and Runaway from his Authority. A pretty jest, that *Titius* should be call'd coward, and worthy to loose his Lands, when being over-power'd by a company of Robbers, he is forced to flee to save his life. And thus they deprive *Suintila* his Queen and Children of all benefit there.

Qui propria  
scelera me-  
tuens se ip-  
sum Regno  
privavit, &  
potestatis fa-  
cibus exiit.

a De Insti-  
tut. Reg.  
c.6.

*Sisenandi* proditiōe an rebellione *Suin-  
thila* sublatuſ est. *Jō. Marian.* de reb.  
*Hispan.* lib.6. cap.4.

b *Siferandus* rex creatur, qui per Tyranni-  
dem Regnum fuit adeptus. A. S. Bibl.  
*Hispan.* Tom.1. pag.163.

c Hist. of  
Spain,  
pag.150.  
Rob. Tolet. l.3. c.12. *Alphonſ.* de Carthag. cap.19.40. *Andr. Schott.* pag.170. *Jō. Ma-  
rian.* l.6. c.17.

Having thus confirm'd *Sisenando*, they go on and make strange curses and threats against any that shall indeavour to disturb him in his Throne, or, who shall intend by sinister ends to aspire to the Crown. A pretty Type of *Oliver Cromwel* and his Parliament, who having beat out the true Heir to the Crown, and so made himself Lord Paramount, they vote it high-Treason for any to opposethat Government, or deny the Authority and Rule of his Highness forsooth; as if it were vertue and godliness in him to depose a lawful Prince, but Treachery and Villany in others to withstand an Usurper. And *Mariana* the Jesuit himself (though a great Patron to (a) Treason) doth confess that *Sisenandus* obtain'd the Kingdom, either by Treachery or Rebellion, though to me in the conclusion there is no difference. Another of the same Society, viz. *Andreas Schottus*, doth confess that *Sisenando* obtain'd the Kingdom by force or (b) Tyranny: and so to conclude this story, we see not onely an action, but also a Vindication of Treason and Rebellion, and that by one of their Councils. Nor is this any such wonder; for they say that the twelfth Council of *Toledo* did the same courtesie to *Flavius Ervigius* [or *Ervingius*, *Eriginus*, or *Hermigius*] after he had Trayterously endeavour'd the poysoning of the renowned King *Bamba*, or *Wamba*, and so got the Crown, to which he had no (c) right. And so much at this time for *Spain*.

## SECT. 2.

### The Murther of Childerick the Second, King of France, with his Queen great with Childe.

AND now let us walk over the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and take a turn in *France*, where we shall finde *Childerick* the Second, King, but in short time most barbarously murdered; the story thus in short:

a *Gaguin.*  
fol.22.

This *Childerick*, (but for what fault Authors will not tell us) had caus'd on *Bodilo* [or (d) *Bolidus*] to be bound and whipt with Rods: Upon this he and some others of the Nobility contrive a Plot against their King, though at first in their Councils they could not agree; for though they concluded to take the Kingdom from him, yet some were onely for depriving him, and to have him shorne, and so thrust into a Monastery for a Monk; whilst others would be satisfied

satisfied with nothing but his death, to which at last the rest consented. 600

Accordingly *Bodille* seeing the King one time hunting, and but few with him, having call'd his fellow-Traytors together, went and presently (a) slew him; but this not satisfying, to increase their Villany, they took his innocent Queen *Blitide*, great with Childe as she was, and murder'd both her and the Infant. Anno 657.

### Sect. 3.

#### The unfortunate Rule and Murther of the Emperour Justinian the Second, and the troubles of Constantinople.

SOME few years after this, the Emperour *Constantinus Pogonatus* the Fourth dying; his Son *Justinian* the Second succeeded in the Empire; and being then but young, did several things unadvisedly, which procured him the ill will of many of his Subjects.

Amongst the rest *Leontius*, a famous Souldier, and one that had been General, resolved to rebel, and make himself Emperour; which design he discover'd to *Gallicanus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and other friends, who consented to the Treachery. Upon this, he privately armed a great many men, who upon a day appointed, went to his house, where he headed them; thence went to the Goals, and set all the Prisoners at liberty; And thus having gathered a sufficient company, he went to the Emperours Palace, where he was proclaim'd Emperour: and thus apprehending *Justinian*, very cruelly cut off his Ears and Nose, and some say his Tongue, and then banish'd him to *Chersonesus*.

*Leontius* having thus made himself Emperour, sends an Army, but not big enough, against the *Sarazins*: the General *John* with this little Army troubled the *Sarazins* as much as could be, but earnestly solicited *Leontius* for more supplies, but without effect; whereupon he himself posted privately to *Constantinople* to perswade *Leontius*, and in his absence left as General one *Tiberius Abismarus*. The Army at last began to murmur to see themselves thus neglected, and proceeded so far as to perswade *Tiberius* to make himself Emperour.

*Tiberius* having thus taken upon him the Title of Emperour, left his design in *Asia*, and in all speed ships his Army for *Greece*, where being landed, many of his friends joyn'd to him, and so went straight to *Constantinople*, where *Leontius* had fortified himself; but *Tiberius* by force took the City, and *Leontius* Prisoner, and cut off his Nose and Ears, and slew many of his Friends; and grew so jealous, that he banish'd one of his own dear Friends, viz. *Philippus*, onely for saying he dream'd that an Eagle alighted upon his head, as if by this he would aspire to the Empire, which after accordingly happened.

For more security, *Tiberius Abismarus* resolved to kill *Justinian*; of which he hearing, escaped, and fled into *Sarmatia*, where he married *Theodora*, Daughter to King *Chaganus*: but this King being

600 corrupted by *Tiberius*, resolved to deliver up the Emperour; of which *Justinian* being informed by his Wife, fled secretly thence: and after long wandering up and down, he got to *Trebellius*, King of *Bulgaria*; who pitying his case, rais'd an Army for him, with which he marched to *Constantinople*, and took it and *Tiberius*, whom with *Leontius* he made to be carryed in disgrace through the principal Streets of the City; and then being brought before him in irons, they fell flat down at his feet, upon whose necks *Justinian* trod, and then they were both onely beheaded; and *Callimicus* the Bishop had his eyes put out, and himself sent as a present to the Pope. They say farther, that he was so incensed against the Rebels who had done those great indignities to him, that he never wiled or blew his cut Nose [whence he was call'd *Rhinetus*] but he caus'd one of *Leontius* his faction to be slain.

*Justinian* being thus again restored, resolved to be revenged upon the people of *Charsenosus*, who had formerly designed his distraction, and abused him; and accordingly sends an Army against them. Upon this they prepare for defence, and desire the formentioned *Philippus* to head them; which he doth, calls himself Emperour, and many of *Justinians* Army revolt to him; and so being very strong, he marcheth towards *Constantinople* in two divisions, one commanded by *Maurus*, who took *Tiberius* (a young Son to *Justinian*, but crown'd also Emperour) in a Church begging mercy at the Altar, whose head he presently cut off; and the other Army was commanded by *Elias*, who seisd upon *Justinian* himself, and beheaded him with his own hands. And this was the end of unfortunate *Justinian*; and *Philippus*, surnamed *Bardanes*, was held for next Emperour.

This *Justinian* desiring to see Pope *Constantine*, then sitting in the Chair at *Rome*, sent to him, and (a) commanded him to come to him at *Constantinople*; who accordingly obeyed, the Emperour going out to meet him, and in sign of humility, not onely imbraced him, but kiss'd his feet. And this we are (b) told was the first Emperour that kiss'd the Popes Toe; which was not so much a fault in *Justinian*, as in *Constantine* to permit: which in my opinion is since that aggravated by placing a Cross at the end of the Shoe or Pantosle, to take away the objection of worshipping a man, since it would be a greater sign of Religion to place that Badge in a more honourable place; but whatever be the pretences, pride and policie (to promote greatness and reverence) is the reason. Though for mine own part, since I finde the greatest Potentates submit themselves to such a salute, I should not scruple to kiss a worse part, if custom gave it authority; for those mens consciences are the worst part of their Religion, which take pet or boggle at those ceremonies, which time and fashion have made signs of civility: and who can now deny the Pope to be a Temporal Prince within his own Territories? And besides this, curiosity is a good prop to the Argument.

And thus by the (c) Murther of *Justinian* the Second, and his Son *Tiberius*, ended the Imperial Family of *Heraclius*, which had continued just an hundred years.

*Philippus Bardanes* having thus made himself Emperour, the Pope [*Constantine*] and he fell out about Religion; and so the Pope excommunicated him, and declared him an Heretick [but said nothing against his Rebellion or Murther:] but to end the strife, *Artemius* his

a Hic Constantinum  
Papam ad se  
venire jubens  
honorifice suscepit  
ac remisit.  
Paul. Diacon. vit. Justin. & Anastasius  
Bibl.  
b Genebrard.  
Chron. Tom. 2. pag. 706.  
Coeffeteau, pag. 481.

c An. 711.

his Secretary and others conspire against him : and one day, he resting himself after his disports on horse-back, they rushed into his Lodging, apprehended him, pluck out his eyes and banish'd him; and the next day they proclaim *Artemenius* Emperour, who changed his name to *Anastasius*.

*Anastasius* the Second sends a great Army against the *Saracens*, but they took a gig in their heads and revolted, chusing for Emperour one *Theodosius*, a good man, but of no great birth, being onely a Collector of Subsidies.

*Theodosius* thus Emperour, though really against his will, took *Anastasius*, and gave him his life, but made him a Monk: but he continued not long, for *Leo* who was General to *Anastasius* the Second, resolves in vindication of his former Master to oppose him; and so having got a great Army, marched towards *Constantinople*, and in the way, took prisoner a Son of *Theodosius*. Upon this the Father began to grow fearful; and not daring to resist so great a power, yeilded himself upon promise to have his life secured, which was granted: *Theodosius* and his Son, as they say, being both shorne and made Monks. And *Leo* being thus successful, was made Emperour, having three, who had sat in the Imperial Throne, his Prisoners, viz.

I. *Philippus Bardanes*, whom *Anastasius* had cast into prison, and pluck'd out his eyes.

II. *Anastasius*, who was forced into holy Orders by *Theodosius*.

III. *Theodosius*, who thus submitted to *Leo*, and was also put into holy Orders.

#### SECT. 4.

### *The Popes censures and troublings of the Emperour Leo the Third about Images.*

**L**EO the Third before this, call'd *Isaurus Conon*, from his Country *Isaurus* in *Asia*, surnamed also by his Enemies *Iconomachus* from his hatred to Images, for which cause Pope *Gregory* the Second falling out with him, was the occasion of great mischief to Christendom.

This *Leo* (a) declaring against Idolary, as he said, commanded that all Images in the Churches of *Constantinople* should be taken down; and sent to *Gregory* the Second at *Rome* to have his Orders there also obey'd: but this the Pope stiffly withstands, affirming the Emperour to have nothing to do in things of Religion, and perswaded all people in this to oppose the Emperour; which took such effect, that in *Constantinople* it self, some men did not onely reason against the Imperial Decree, but the women assaulted those who according to Order went about to execute *Leo's* commands; inso-much, that he was forced to use severity against those who opposed his Edicts.

And in *Italy*, so zealous were the people by the perswasion of the Church-men, that in *Ravenna*, where the Imperial Authority most resided, they flew into such open Tumults or Rebellion, that they

a Tollendi ut ipse dicebat Idolatriæ causa, *Platin. vit. Gregor. II.*

700

murther'd *Paulus* the Fourteenth *Exarch*, being the Emperours Lieutenant or Deputy; in *Rome* it self they took *Petrus* the Duke, and put out his eyes; and in *Campania* they beheaded the Duke *Exbilaratus*, and his Son *Adrian*, who there took the Emperours part against the Pope, who now began to shew themselves Enemies; and two to one, if the Emperour could have got the Pope into his clutches, he had made him smart for his opposition.

a Quo toni-  
tri exitati  
fideles Occi-  
dentale mox  
deficiunt  
penitus à  
Leonis Im-  
perio, Apo-  
stolico Pon-  
tifici adherentes.  
Sic dignum posteris idem Gregorius reliquit exemplum, ne in Ecclesia Christi regnare si-  
nerentur hæretici Principes, si sæpe moniti in errore persistere obstinato animo invenirentur. Baron. anno  
730. 5.

But *Gregory* on the other side had play'd his Cards so well, that he had dwindled the Imperial Jurisdiction in *Italy* to nothing, by his Excommunication, and suchlike Censures, not onely forbidding any more Tax or Tribute to be paid him, but that he should not at all be obeyed. And here (a) *Baronius* according to his custom, huggs and applauds *Gregory* for his Censures against the Emperour, whereby he got the people to his own Devotion; and also left a good Example to Posterity, not to permit obstinate Heretical Kings to Rule; as the Cardinal saith, who never lets any piece of Rebellion pass without commendation.

But for all this, *Leo* kept his Imperial Seat in *Constantinople*, and continued in his resolution against Images, and so had them pull'd down; nor could *Gregory* the Third, who succeeded his Name-sake, stop his proceedings, though by his Censures, with the consent of the *Roman* Clergy, he did not onely declare him deprived from the Communion of all Christians, but also deposed from his Empire. But *Leo* never thought himself the worse for these brutish Thunderbolts, and so reigned as Emperour to his dying day, having sat in the Imperial Throne twenty four years. And his Son *Constantino* the Fifth carryed the same Opinion against Images, which did not a little perplex the Popes in his time.

But the Popes quarreling about these trifles, was the occasion that the Emperour of *Constantinople* lost his jurisdiction in *Italy*, *Ravenna* being about this time taken by *Aistulphus*, the two and twentieth King of the *Lombards*, in *Italy*: *Eutichus* the Fifteenth and last *Exarch* forced to flee (this *Exarch* Government having ruled as the Emperours Deputies, almost CC years in *Italy*, keeping their Seat at *Ravenna*) but the Popes gain'd by this; for the Popes (as some say) having made *Pepin* King of *France*, in requital desired his assistance against the *Lombards*, who accordingly march'd into *Italy*, beat *Aistulph*, took *Ravenna* from him; which with many other Cities he gave to *S. Peter*, whereby the Pope in a manner held himself Master of that which he now doth in *la Marca di Ancona*, *Romagna*, *di Urbino*, *Bononia* and *Ferrara*: which they say was confirm'd by his Son *Charles* the Great, with the Addition of the Dukedoms of *Spoleto* and *Tuscany*, and the Islands *Sicily*, *Corsea* and *Sardinia*, reserving to himself the Sovereignty of them: but some men give that which is none of theirs to give, and so might *Charlemain*; but right or no right, the Popes do not use to loose any thing that is to be had. This *Charles* the Great also (b) beat *Desiderius* who succeeded *Aistulph*, and was the last King of the *Lombards*; and so that Kingdom and Rule ended, after they had triumph'd in that part of *Italy* (from them) call'd *Lombardy*, and the adjacent parts,

b An. 774.

parts, for above CC years; and now the Pope began to strut it with the proudest, throwing off the jurisdiction of the Western Empire, having his daring *Lombards* thus brought to nought; and *Charles* the Great, the Champion of *Europe* his friend, doubly engaged to him the See of *Rome*, authorising his Father *Pepin* to be King of *France*, the first step to *Charles* his greatness; and after, as they say, Crown'd him the first Emperour of the West, in opposition to that of the East or *Constantinople*.

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## SECT. 5.

*The deposing of Childerick the Third, King of France.*

**H**AVING here treated somewhat of *Pepin* and *Charlemaign*, let us see how they came to their greatness and government. There having reign'd in *France* Eighteen Kings, since *Merovee* (some say *Grand-childe* to *Pharamund*) who was the first that brought these *German* people into *France*, and there settled them; there then succeeded in the Kingdom *Childerick* or *Helderick*, by some falsely call'd *Chilperick*, of which name there hath also been two Kings of *France*.

About the year DLIX *Clotaire* the First set up the Office of the *Majordom* [*Maire du Palais*] being the principal Officer in the Kingdom, one *Landregesle* being the first that was chosen; these by little and little rais'd their Authority so high, that they disposed of all things. For though at first they were onely Stewards to the Kings Household, and could stretch their jurisdiction no farther; yet after the death of *Clotaire* the Second, they began to increase their power; and at last taking opportunity by the negligence and weakness of some Kings, they began to rule all things. The first that advanced the Majordoms was *Ebroin*, in the time of *Theodorick* or *Thierry* the First, a very meek and patient King. In this Kings reign was also *Pepin* the *Gross*, Major of the Palace: Son to this *Pepin* was *Charles* surnamed *Martel*, who had himself call'd Prince and Duke of the *French*; and in his Tomb at *S. Denis* he is stiled (a) King; and the truth is, he ruled both King and People. Son to this *Charles* was *Pepin* surnamed the short, who deposed his Sovereign, and made himself King; the story thus:

a *Carolus Martellus Rex.*

*Pepin* agitated by an ambitious humour, resolves to make himself King of *France*; and to facilitate his Treachery, he had several of his Creatures prompted to sound nothing but his commendation; and having thus got a good esteem amongst the Vulgar, (who love nothing more than novelty) and having also gain'd over to his Faction and interest, what by former favours, future promises, and some awe, many of the great ones; he procures an Assembly or Parliament to be held at *Soissons*, by the Prelates and Nobility: for as then the third Estate or Commons had no authority in voting, onely the liberty of preferring their complaints.

The Assembly presently agreeth to the preferment of *Pepin*: nor was there any thing which lay in the way, but one scruple, viz. the Oath of Allegiance they had formerly sworn to *Childerick*. And if they



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they could be but disingaged from this, they were then resolved to pull down their King, and set up the little Candidate.

To cut in pieces this *Gordian-knot*, 'tis concluded to send to the Pope *Zachary*, whom (to gratifie themselves) they would fancie to have the power to absolve Subjects from Allegiance and Oaths. And so two are pitch'd upon to go as Ambassadors to his Infallible Holiness, about the pretty, loyal and honest Errand.

a Jo. de Bus-  
sieres Hist.  
Fran. Tom.  
I. pag. 244.  
b Jo. Pits de  
Scriptor.

Angl. pag.  
164.

c Dav. Ca-  
merar. de  
Scot. fortit-  
tud. p. 100.  
Tho. Dem-  
ster. Appa-  
ratus ad Hist.

Scot.  
d Jan. de  
Serres, pag.  
184.

The first was call'd *Burchard* [but now by a *French* (a) Jesuit erroneously call'd *Richardus*] acknowledged by all men to be a *Britain* by birth; but of what Kingdom is the Question, since both (b) *English* and (c) *Scotch* declare him to be theirs; some will also have him to have been Bishop of (d) *Bourges* in *France*, but I see little reason for that opinion; neither *Claudian Robertus*, nor *Chenu* making any such name or man in their Histories of that Archbishoprick: And therefore we shall with the common opinion, conclude him to have been the first Bishop of *Wirtzburg* in *Franconia*: However, he is well enough, being Sainted in the *Roman* Calendar. The other imploy'd in this Ambassie was *Tulrad*, chief Chaplain to *Pepin*, and made Abbot of *S. Denis*.

These being got to *Rome*, and brought to the Popes presence, *Burchard*, as the better man, told his tale at large, stuff'd with the commendations of *Pepin*, and his Father *Charles Martel*, what great maintainers they had and would be to the *Romish* See: And as for King *Childerick*, they render'd him the worst of all Creatures; but what was worth all the rest, they promis'd him, that if he would do *Pepin* this favour, that he, when he was King, would assist the Pope against his Enemies the *Lombards*, and by reducing of whom, the Pope would in a manner Rule all *Italy*.

This was that which *Zachary* look'd for; and so the bargain being thus struck, the Pope by some pretty knack or other, declares the *French* disingaged from the Oath of Allegiance, they formerly sware to *Childerick*; and with this good news the two Ambassadors return joyfully to their Associates at *Soissons*, the Pope having delegated *S. Bonifacius* to annoynt *Pepin* King.

Nic Serar.  
Hist. Mo-  
gunt. p. 341.  
e Hist. Mo-  
gunt. p. 438.  
f Spotwood  
pag. 20.

This *Boniface* was then the first Archbishop of *Mentz* [which before him had onely Bishops] he was first call'd *Wenefrid*; but when *Gregory* the Second consecrated him Bishop, he changed it to *Bonifacius*, from his good deeds: he was born in *Britain*, but both *Scotch* and *English* strive for him: and it may be that (e) *Serarius* mistakes the *Italian Bonifacius* for (f) this, who is call'd the Father and Apostle of the *Germans*, he being the chief means of their Conversion to Christianity; and he was in all things a true man of the Popes, by whom he is declared a Saint and Martyr.

*Bonifacius* being accordingly come to *Soissons*, annoynts *Pepin* King; and then according to their ancient Custom, being list'd up by some of the Nobility upon a Shield, to be seen of all, is by the acclamation of the people shouted out King of *France*.

Jan. de Ser-  
res.

And thus was *Childerick* deposed, whose Heir they rounded or shortned, as a badge of infamy and degrading: and the better to understand the ignominy of this, we must know that *Clodion* or *Cloion* the Second, King of the *Francks* or *France*, and Son to *Pharamond*, made a Law, that none but the King, his Sons, or Princes of the Bloud-royal should wear long Hair, it being as with the *Romans* a sign of Rule and Authority; which occasioned their cropping of  
Slaves

Slaves or Servants : and this Custom confirm'd by this Law of *Clodion*, continued a long time in *France* ; insomuch that *Clodamire*, Son to *Clouis*, being slain in Battail by the *Burgundians*, was found and known from the rest of the dead men, by his long Hair. And which is more, this badge they observed with such Reverece and Devotion, that their Histories tell us that Queen *Clotilde* would rather allow her Sons heads to be cut off than their hair ; as if she exprest by that, an honourable death before an ignoble life. This King *Clodion*, for his establishing this Custom amongst his people, was surnamed the (a) *Hairy*.

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But the dishonourable cropping was not all they did to their King *Childerick* ; but as if to make him ever after incapable to sit in the Throne again, they had his Pole shorne or shaven, his Robes pull'd off, and a Religious Habit put on ; and so forcing of him to be a Monk, thrust him into a Monastery : and they served his Queen *Geselee* after the same way, making of her be vail'd, and so thrust into a Nunnery. And thus ended the Royal Family of the *Merovingians* [so call'd from King *Meroveus*, the first that brought them out of *Germany*] after they had raigned over the *French* 600 years.

a Le Chevelu.

As for *Childerick*, I believe he was easie-natured-enough, apt to be cheated by every knave, being none of the wisest : but yet it will not follow, that he should therefore be deposed ; but on the contrary, upheld by good assistants and counsels, himself being tainted with no vice or wickedness ; but on the contrary, as (b) *Paolo Morigi* will assure us, very religious, good-natured, and peaceful : and all the time to his dying day in the Monastery led a very heavenly life.

b Chilperico non firmasse punto dell'ingiuria fattagli per haverlo

privato del Regno, anzi essendo di natura pia, è pacifica, si arrecò à gloria l'esse fatto Monaco. Perche tutto il tempo che visse nel Monasterio, egli menò vita Angelica. *Paolo Morigi* Hist. de Personaggi illustri Religiosi. lib. 3. cap. 18. pag. 138.

Here some raise an objection concerning the anoynting of *Pepin*, surnamed the (c) short, for his littleness : for some will have him onely anoynted by S. *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz* ; others onely by Pope *Stephanns* the Third. But (d) *Scravins* thinks it no great wonder to have them both true, it being not the first time, as he sheweth, that a King hath been twice anoynted, as amongst the *Israelites* ; and that *Pepin* was also Crowned by Pope *Stephanns* the Third, they with joy confesse ; and thus tell the story :

c Le bref. d Hist. Mogunt. lib. 3. not. 38. pag. 522, 523, 524.

The *Lombards* being rampant in *Italy*, the Pope for his security, and to beg assistance, fled to *Pepin*, at his coming into *France* : *Fulrad* the Abbot, and Duke *Rotaldus*, were sent to congratulate him in the Kings name ; and moving forward in his journey, *Charles* his Eldest Son waited upon him ; and three miles off *Paris*, *Pepin* himself met him, alighted off his Horse, prostrated himself before him, kiss'd his feet, and [the more to curry-favour with that See, whence he had his Crown, and was now to desire another courtesie] very humbly play'd the part of a Lackey, himself refusing to ride, but on foot very dapperly leading by the Bridle the Horse on which Pope *Stephanns* rode. Whilst this Pope stay'd in *France*, he anoynted at S. *Denis* *Pepin* for King, *Bertrad* his Wife for Queen, and his two Sons *Charles* [afterwards Emperour, and call'd *Charlemaign*] and *Caroloman*, as Princes to succeed their Father ; whom he publicly declared

P. Mexia vice di gl' Imperadori, vit. Constantin. V. fol. 206. b. Jo. de Bussièrès, Tom. 1. pag. 249, 250. Grimston's Imp. Hist. pag. 371.

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declared to be the true and lawful King ; and that it should be unlawful hereafter for the *French* to have any King, but of the Race of *Pepin*. The Pope having done this good turn to *Pepin*, he in requital beats the *Lombards*, and the Towns taken from them bestows upon St. *Peter* for the good of his soul ; and having thus resettled the Bishop of *Rome*, returneth to *France*. And this *Pepin*, as (a) *Scipion Dupleix* saith, was the first Christian King that ever was anoynted.

a Hist. de  
France,  
Tom. i.  
b Id. pag.  
338. & 4.

I shall not trouble my self with the dispute of this (b) *Dupleix* against *du Haillan* and *Hotoman*, whether the Kingdom of *France* be Hereditary or Elective : for if these great *French* Lawyers and Historians cannot agree, they will never grant a stranger to be Umpire ; though I shall willingly grant that Monarchy absolute and Hereditary.

And again, though some will have this deposition done onely by the Authority remaining in the *French* ; yet I finde most of the (c) *Romanists* affirm it acted onely by the Popes authority ; and so vapour with this story, as an example of the Popes power to depose Kings. And so I leave it, as I found it.

c Bellarm.  
de Rom.  
Pont. l. 2. c.  
17. l. 5. c. 8.

*Gasp. Sciop. Ecclesiast. pag. 511, 512. Dionys. Caribuf. de Auth. Pap. l. 1. art. 6. Celsmanianus de jur. Principat. l. 3. c. 3. Fran. Duarenus de Benefic. l. 1. c. 4. Fran. Gbetius Theol. Moral. v. Papa, & 10. S. Raymond. Sum. l. 1. tit. de Hæret. & 7. pag. 41. Jo. de Turrecrem. Sum. de Eccles. c. 14. propos. 4. Lud. à Param. l. 1. Q. 1. Opin. 4. & 55. Sylvest de Priero Sum. v. Papa, & 11. Dorn. à Soto ditt. 25. Q. 2. Art. 1. Alphons. à Castro de Hæret. punit. lib. 2. c. 7. Guil. de Monserrat de success. Regum. dub. 1. & 30. Jo. Quinsinus Repet. in C. Novit. de judic. & 127. Jo. de Sola de Benefic. part 4. Q. 8. & 25. Fran. Duarenus de sacris Eccles. Minitt. lib. 1. cap. 4.*

CHAP.



## CHAP. V.

1. *The Murther of Constantine the Fifth, Emperour of Constantinople, by his Mother Irene.*
2. *The miserable and troublesome Raigh of the Emperour Lewes le Debonnaire, by the many Rebellions against him.*
3. *The Murther of Michael, Emperour of Constantinople: with Pope Adrian the Second his opinion of the Murtherer.*
4. *Several Insolencies and Murders committed by the Venetians against some of their Dukes, about this time.*

## SECT. I.

*The Murther of Constantine the Fifth, Emperour of Constantinople, by his Mother Irene.*

**W**E have formerly seen a quarrel between the Emperour and Pope, about the worshipping of Images; and now we shall perceive a giddy zeal make a Mother monstrously unnatural.

Leo the Fourth Emperour of *Constantinople* being dead, his Son *Constantine* the Fifth succeeded; but being then young, his Mother *Irene* governed all: she was very earnest for the worshipping of Images, and (which hugely gratified the Pope of *Rome*) she had the use of them confirm'd by a Council at *Nice*: and though she was a woman, and the handsomest of her time, yet she wanted neither policie nor courage to sway the Imperial Scepter; and for that time she governed, she was esteemed by most.

But *Constantine* being now come to years, takes the Government upon himself, hath his Mother *Irene* to live by her self, shews himself, as his Father and Grand-father had done before, zealous against Images, and willing that Priests should marry; and commands *Stauratins*, an Infant of his Mothers, not to meddle any more with State-Affairs: though at last he let *Irene* have a great hand in the Empire.

But she not content, unless she had all, conspires against her Son; and with the assistance of *Stauratins*, won the Army over to their Faction, and so violently seized upon the Emperour, (who endeavoured an escape, but could not) whose eyes she unnaturally ordered to be pluck'd out; which was acted with such violence upon him, that he dyed presently after. And some Historians tell us (which must be left to every mans belief) that the (a) Sun, as disdaining to shine upon those who had wickedly pluck'd out the eyes of their

A a

a *Christ. Befold. Synop-  
fis Hist. Uni-  
vers. p. 307.*

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Soveraign, vail'd himself up in blackness and mourning, that for seventeen days together there was no light upon the Earth.

As for *Irene*, there were some Overtures of a Marriage between her and *Charles* the Great, so to unite the Empires. But *Charlemaign's* Ambassadors coming to *Constantinople*, found that design spoil'd by a great alteration: for one *Nicephorus* having made the Army sure to him, besiegeth *Irene*, takes her prisoner, is himself declared Emperour, giveth an Oath of Allegiance to the Army, banisheth *Irene*, confining her to the Island *Lesbos*, where she pines away with anguish and grief: and so *Nicephorus* struck up a peace with *Charlemaign*, and the Empire's divided.

This *Charles* was the first that was Emperour of the West or *Germany*, at whose Coronation the Pope did Adore him, as used to be done to ancient Emperours; that is, as (b) *Dupleix* saith, the Pope kneeling on the ground, humbled himself before him, acknowledging him to be Emperour of *Rome*.

a Alors le Pape (au report de nos Annales) a-

dora (*Charles* à la maniere des anciens Emperours, c'est à dire, s'humilia devant luy les genoux à terre, le recognoissant comme Emperour Romain. *Scipion. Dupleix*, Tom. I. pag. 449. & 4.

b Vindiciz Hispan.

The *French* and *Spaniard* are yet at dispute concerning their Relation to this *Charlemaign* and the Empire; the *Castilian* affirming himself to have much of this *Charles* his blood in him, being in part descended from him, and so hath more right to the Empire than the other; the Royal-line of *Charles* ending in *France*, by the coming in of *Hugh Capet*. This is as furiously opposed by the *French*; but being nothing to my purpose, I shall refer those of the *Spanish* Interest to the Reasons of (b) *Chiffletius*; whilst those who stand for the *French* may consult the Answers to them by *David Blondellus*, where the *Monsieur* may clog himself with a bad method, and multitude of Genealogies; with a Preface, as some say, of the Gate of *Myndus*, bigger than all the other work or Building. And almost an hundred years ago, *Matthæus Zampinus* wrote an Apology for *Hugh Capet*, as descended from the ancient *French* Kings, and related also to *Charles* the Great. But this by the by.

## SECT. 2.

The miserable and troublesome Raig of the Emperour Lewes le Debonnaire, by the many Rebellions against him.

**C**harles le Maigne [or the Great] being dead, there succeeded him, as Emperour and King of *France*, his Son *Lewes le Debonnaire* [i.e. the Courteous or Affable] by the *Latines* call'd *Ludovicus Pius*; one, though very good-natured and religious, yet was his life nothing but trouble and misery: I shall not say any thing of the Tumultuous *Saxons*, *Hunns*, *Normans*, and suchlike people; but tell you what oppositions he received from his own Kindred, and what Rebellions and Treasons were waged against him by his own Sons.

<sup>a</sup> Bernard, Son to *Pepin*, Son to *Charles* the Great, and so Nephew to

to this *Lewes le Debonnaire*, was call'd King of *Italy*, and there lived to keep those people in subjection to the Empire : but by his inconsiderate Rebellion against his Uncle *Lewes*, he lost both it, with his liberty, eyes, and life too. 800

*Lewes* having made Laws to restrain the excess of some Bishops, procured him the hatred of some of the proud Clergy ; amongst the rest, three were most eminent in this Faction and Rebellion, viz. *Anselmus Bilius* the First, Archbishop of *Millan* ; *Wolfseldus*, Bishop of *Cremona* in *Italy* ; and *Theodulphus*, Bishop of *Orleans* in *France* : these sob'd up *Bernard* with strange hopes of success, if he would war against his Uncle *Lewes* ; and in several discourses with him, play'd their Cards so well, that having at first breath'd into him discontent, to which his own proud humour perswaded him ; then hopes of carrying all, at last ingaged him to appear in open Hostility, titling of himself (a) King of *France*, which he also resolved to seise upon ; to which purpose he had got a strong Army, and fortified the *Alpean* passages into *Italy*.

a P. Berthault Florus Franciscus, pag. 118. J. de Serres.

The Emperour *Lewes* informed of this, employs his whole care to provide himself with a sufficient force ; which having gathered together from several places, marched towards his Enemy. *Bernard* understanding the great strength of *Lewes*, and his own Souldiers running away from him, whereby he knowing that he was not able to stand against him, having consulted several ways for his own safety, he found none that were probable to succeed, but his submission ; and knowing the Emperour of all men to be most merciful and good-natured, taking his opportunity, he goeth to *Lewes*, acknowledgeth his fault, and humbly begs his pardon ; and so did others, the chief of this Rebellion ; by which means a full discovery of the design was made : but that which incensed most, was, that the Emperour by these confessions understood, that some of his own chief Councillors, and most intimate familiars, were privy to, and ingaged in the Treachery.

They are all imprisoned, and an Assembly being held at *Aken* in *Germany*, they are all there declared, according to their old Laws, guilty of High-Treason, and so the chief of them adjudged to death. The Emperour was very willing to spare *Bernard*, onely to have confined him to perpetual imprisonment. But the other Councillors about him so aggravated the pride, arrogancie, and this Treason of *Bernard*, that *Lewes*, though with grief, consented that he should have his (b) eyes pull'd out (it being the common punishment in those times) which accordingly was (c) done ; and the third day after he dyed for grief. The Bishops, who were found guilty of this Treachery, were deprived of their Dignities, and thrust into little Covents.

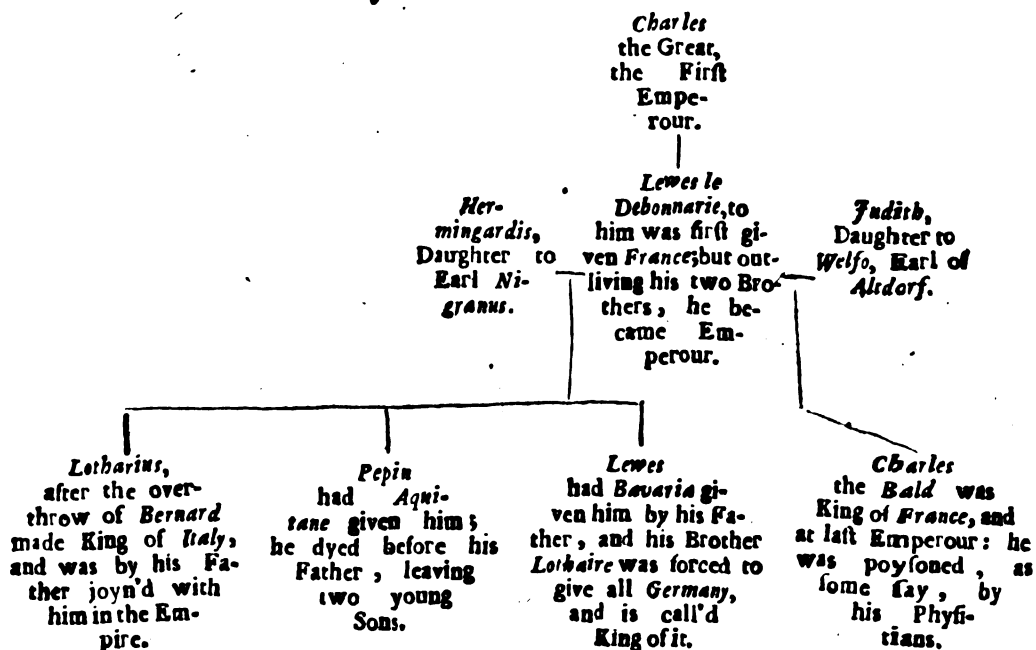
b Jo. de Bufieres, Tom. 1. pag. 333. c Giacom. Filip. da Bergamo in his old Italian Chrono-

cle, (it may be, through a mistake) declares the punishment thus : *Bernardo essendomenato in Aquisgrana fu decapitato*, fol. 304. b.

As for the Emperour *Lewes*, he no sooner heard of *Bernard's* death, but he was hugely troubled, publicly repenting that he had consented to such counsel, openly confessing his cruelty, as he call'd it, and order'd all the Plotters to be set at liberty, and restored to their former Beings.

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But now let us proceed to a more unnatural Rebellion ; and first, for the better understanding of it, the Reader, if he please, for memory-sake may glance upon this small Scheme.



Some have indeavoured to declare the true grounds of this unnatural Rebellion, but others suppose that ambition was the real cause, whatever might be the pretence ; one of them being this : *Lewes* fighting against the Moors in *Catalonia* (as his Father, Grandfather, and Great-grand-father had done before him) there was one (*a*) *Bernardo del Carpio*, Nephew to King *Alonso*, who was so famous in those Wars against the *Saracens* for his great prudence and success, that the Empeur *Lewes* took a special liking to him ; and being of such great Birth, and Duke of *Barcenona*, he took him to him into *France*, making him a special favourite. At this promotion of a Stranger, the *French* took pet ; and at last, by rumours and false news so increased the charge, that the crime also fell heavily upon the Empreſs *Juditha*, as one too familiar with the said *Bernardo*, and as one that had so much possess'd the Emperours affection, that she not onely ruled all, but intended also to get all for her Son *Charles*, from the Emperours other three Children.

But the truth is, these reports are by the Wisest held to be false and impertinent ; for the Empeur, to satisſie the world of the first, order'd *Bernardo* to depart from him ; which accordingly he did, returning into *Spain* : and for any other crime lay'd to him, having beg'd leave, he publickly challenged (according to the custom of those times) any his accuſer, against whom he would clear his innocencie by Combat ; but none appearing, he purged himself by Oath.

As for *Judith*, *Lewes* for peace-sake had sent her into a Nunnery ; nor would he receive her again, till before her Enemies she had clear'd her self : And a late judicious (*b*) Historian sheweth us, that the ancient Writers of those times do confes, that the accusati- ons lay'd against *Judith* were all false and lyes. And their other pretence

*a* Imperial  
Hist. pag.  
392.

*b* Jo. Henr.  
Boecler.  
Comment.  
de rebus sa-  
culi IX & X  
pag. 65.

pretence, viz. the indeavours to have young *Charles* to over-top his Brothers, is very impertinent, considering how he had given to one a great part of *Germany*, to another a great command in *France*; and the Eldest, viz. *Lotharius*, he had had him crown'd Emperour (though himself then living) according to the custom of those times, the better to confirm his succession in the Empire.

But were these pretences true, I see no Authority to warrant this Rebellion, which all Authors cry out against, and acknowledge the cause of all, to be merely Ambition, Arrogancie, with hopes of domineering.

To this Rebellion, several of their proud Prelates had an itching humour, nourishing within themselves an hatred against the Emperour, because he had by Law restrained their Military Pomp, most of them then going habited, and acting like Souldiers, not troubling their thoughts with their Office as Bishops, onely to sweep up the Revenues. The chief of these were *Ebo* or *Ebbo*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, at first a beggerly fellow, but by the Emperours favour thus prefer'd. *Jesse*, Bishop of *Amiens*, and suchlike; and some of the chief Nobility were great promoters of this villany, as *Hilduin*, *Hugo*, *Monfredus*, &c.

*De Bussieres*, Tom. I. pag. 349.

And who most head these, but *Pepin* the Emperours Son? and so having got a considerable Army together, he marcheth against his Father, and in his way takes *Orleans*.

The Emperour upon notice of this, sends his Empress for security or policie to a Nunnery at *Leon* in *Picardy*, himself going to *Compeigne* neerer *Paris*. *Pepin* hearing of this, sends a party of his Confederates to *Laon*, where by force they take out *Juditha*, and carry herto their General; where she is threatned with all manner of torments and deaths, unless she will use all her Arguments and Interest to perswade *Lewes* to become Monk, and resign the Empire, and she her self to turn Nun. Upon this, she is carryed to *Compeigne*, where she privately perswades the Emperour to be as cunning as possible in this great concern: and having discovered to him some other hints, she returns to the Confederates, by whom she is sent to *Poitiers*, and there thrust into the Abbey of (a) *S. Radegonde*, and there by force vailed as a Nun: *Pepin*, and his Confederates, publickly rejoycing at this fine act of theirs, thinking that now they had all at command, and as heart could wish.

a De S. Croix.

Whilst these Insolencies were acted in *France*, *Lotharius* or *Lotaire*, the Eldest Brother, was in *Italy* at his command; but that he leaveth, and cometh to be an Actor with the rest. At his first coming in, his Councils were divided; for though he declared against any incivility to be done to his Father, yet he punished all *Don Bernardo's* Relations he could met withal; one he banish'd, and another he commanded to have his eyes pull'd out, and then did as much as approve of all that had been hitherto done; and so the Emperour remain'd without any Power or Authority, excepting the bare Name.

Having gone thus far, 'twas at last supposed the most plausible means to bring their designs about, to have a publick Meeting or Assembly held; where they did not question, but their actions would be approved of, and the Emperour forced to resign. Upon this, it behooves *Lewes* to play his Cards well now or never; and having consulted all ways, at last he found none that had any hopes of



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of security, but to trust to his old Friends the *Germans*, whereif he could procure the Assembly to be kept, he question'd not but all would go well; for he thought that at this time he had little reason to confide in his Country-men the *French*, who had thus in time of such need left him in the lurch.

And accordingly he behaved himself so cunningly, that he not only got the Parliament to be held in *Germany*, but also that none should appear at this meeting in a Warlike posture, and accompanied with no more than his own Family and Attendants. And having thus secured himself, he goeth to the place appointed with his Son *Lotharius*, where seeing himself strengthened with the affection and assistance of a great many *Germans*, he pluck'd up his courage, and began to oppose the vapours of his Enemies; and in full Parliament, being informed that the two Lord Abbots, *Halduin* and *Walachus*, his main opposers, had come to the Meeting attended with Armed men, boldly ask'd them, how they durst appear so accompanied against the Edict? and to punish this their insolencie, commanded both of them with their Souldiers to depart the place, confining the first to reside and winter at *Paderborn* in *Westphalia*, and the other at *Corbie* in *Picardy*.

This action quite broke the hearts of the rest of the Conspirators, and put them to their wits ends; and scarce knowing which way to turn themselves, the next night, the chief of them went to *Lotharius*, to consult what should be done: nor need this take up much time of consideration; for they found but two ways, either presently to put it to the venture of the Sword, or to withdraw themselves from the Parliament, till they could increase their force, either to carry all *France*, which they doubted not of, or by some policie to get the Emperour out of the *Germans* protection; but by all means they perswaded *Lotharius* never to comply with his Father; and having thus vented their wicked counsels, they returned to their Lodgings.

The Emperour *Lewes* was not idle all this while, but kept his Spies on foot, by whom he understood the design of this *Convention*: Upon which, next morning he sends to his Son *Lothaire*, advising him not to be rul'd by such wicked counsel; nor to trust to such false Friends, who had rebell'd against their Sovereign, and would in time, to a dvantage themselves, desert him too, for all their present fair promises; desiring him to leave the Confederates, and to come to him, where he should be lovingly received.

*Lotharius* at last thinks it best to obey his Fathers good advice, and accordingly goeth to him, where he was accepted with the dearest affection of a Father. The Conspirators inform'd of this, knew not what to do; but at last thought it best to perswade the Vulgar to Sedition, and so presently gave out that *Lotharius* was seisd upon, closely clapt up in prison, and by the appointment of his injured Father was presently to suffer, unless by violence he were released. The people upon this hurry into Tumults, and so in a tumultuous manner reel towards the Palace, breathing forth nothing but destruction, and the relief of the supposed Prisoner; and in this fury fall upon the Emperours Life-guard, who loyally and valiantly, for preservation of their Master, defend the Palace-gates, and keep off the injured Rabble and Confederates. *Lewes* informed of this outrage and danger, resolved to undeceive them

them; and taking with him *Lothaire*, shew'd themselves to the insolent Rebels, whom he desired his Son to satisfy and pacify. *Lotharius* having commanded silence, and obtain'd it, informed the people of their mistake; and in a large Speech declared the agreement and amity between his Father and himself.

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The multitude by this means being pacified, the whole design of the Faction and Rebellion fell to the ground; by which means *Lewes* obtain'd so much courage and authority, that he had the chief of the Confederates seisd upon, and in publick Parliament convicted of high-Treason, and so condemned to death. But such was the mercie of the Emperour, that he onely had the Clergy-men deprived, and some of the Laity, for security sake, confined to Monasteries: And as for his Rebellious Son *Pepin*, forgetting all animosity, he received him into the height of his paternal affection. And having thus eas'd himself of one Rebellion, he sent for his Empress *Juditha* from the Abbey of *Poitiers*, whom yet he would not receive to his bed, till according to his Laws, she had purged her self from all the crimes and objections lay'd against her. And thus peace being made between him and his Children, he dissolved the Parliament, sending his Sons to their respective charges, viz. *Lotharius* to *Italy*, *Pepin* to *Aquitaine*, and *Lewes* to *Bavaria*. But not content with this favour and mercie, to compleat his Charity, after the holy Feast of *Easter* was finished, he by a general Act of Oblivion pardoned all those whom he had before punished, deprived or confined, freely granting to every man the liberty of departing and injoying what they did formerly, according to their own humours and pleasures.

Now we might suppose that all would be quiet, the chief of the Rebels, by the Emperours mercie, not onely being shamed, but oblig'd into loyalty: but we shall finde the contrary. For the aforesaid *Bernardo*, having by his intreaty procured another Parliament to be held for the publick clearing of himself from all accusations lay'd against him; accordingly he came, and according to the unjust and heathenish custom of those times, offer'd to prove his innocencie by Combat; but none appearing to fight him, by Oath he publicly prov'd himself unguilty. The Emperour to satisfy all parties, sent to his Son *Pepin*, who seemed the greatest Enemy, to be present at this meeting and purgation of *Bernardo*. But *Pepin* doth not presently obey, but protracts the time till the Parliament was dissolved, and all finished; which affront so much incens'd *Lewes*, that he commanded *Pepin* to be seisd upon, who at last giving his Keepers the slip, escaped and fled to *Aquitaine*, where (upon what account I know not) he got *Bernardo* to revolt from the Emperour, and joyn with him in the same Rebellion: But *Pepin* being seisd upon again, was, to prevent his farther mischief, carryed whence he had most sway, and confined to *Trevers* in *Germany*; but from this restraint and judgement he also escaped; and being at liberty, made it his whole design to molest and oppose his Father, filling all places he could with Insurrections; which so incens'd *Lewes*, that (seeing by fair means he could not reclaim his Son) he deprived him of all jurisdiction over, and to *Aquitaine*, and whatever else he possesst, giving the same to his Sons *Lotharius* and *Charles*.

*Pepin* seeing himself thus deprived of all, resolved to make others  
as

800 as bad as himself ; and first, he felt the pulse of his Brother *Lothaire*, which with a little bad counsel, he moved to beat according to his own desire ; and in this humour, they both resolved to renew the Rebellion, to depose their Father, and so rule all : and to this Treachery their (a) Prelates and Clergy were the main Trumpeters, by their preachments, scribbling, and bad Example.

a Ipsiq; Antistites Bucinatores

belli præ cæteris, voce, scripto, opo, & multo maxime exemplo factionem promovent. Jo. d. Buffiers, Hist. Franc. Tom I. p. 359.

a Campus Mendacii.

According to the plot, the Sons march'd against their Father : Pope *Gregory* the Fourth coming from *Italy* (some say with *Lotharius*) to the quarrel, but whether to end it, or foment it, I cannot swear ; but the report went then strong, that the Pope assisted the Sons. By this time the Armies drew near one another in *Alsatia*, and were ready to joyn Battle in a large Field, call'd by the *German*s (b) *Lugenfeld* [i.e. the Field of lyes or deceit] between *Basel* and *Strasbourg*. But here the Pope seem'd to offer his assistance to a reconciliation.

The Sons perceiving that the more they delay'd, the stronger they would grow, by the hourly coming over to them of some of the Emperours Army, desired Pope *Gregory* to enter into a treaty with their Father ; who accordingly goeth to *Lewes*, whom he found armed amongst his Officers and Army. To be short, time is thus delay'd for several days, and then conditions granted by the Emperour, with which *Gregory* returns to the Confederates. But this was the ruine of *Lewes* ; for whilst this design was cunningly driven on, the Sons by their *Agitators*, had so wrought with the Imperial Army, that the morning after *Gregory*'s return, they did not onely run away by piece-meal, but upon a sign given, by whole Troops, Regiments and Squadrons, they basely revolted, and march'd over to the Sons, leaving the poor Emperour onely attendant with a few of his faithful and loyal Servants : from which cheating and treacherous action the place hath ever since, to this day, been call'd, as aforesaid, *Lugenfeld*.

The Emperour seeing himself thus left in the lurch by his perfidious Army, and so neer his Enemies, that there was no hope of escaping, and if he could, knew not whither to go ; desireth his Friends, then left with him, to depart and shift for themselves, that so they might avoy'd the fury of their Rebellious Enemies, not willing that they should suffer ruine for their fidelity and honesty : and having thus perswaded them, with tears and sighs of both parties they stole away. And being thus left onely with his Wife, his young Son *Charles*, and a few Servants, he sent to his Rebellious Sons, that he would deliver himself into their hands ; provided they would take care that no affront or violence should be done to him, and those few with him : the Sons consent to it, and command him to come to them ; who forthwith mounting on Horse-back, with his few Friends, rode to their Camp, where the Empress was taken from him, delivered to his Son *Lewes*, and by him sent into *Italy*, and there thrust into a Nunnery at *Tortona*, in the Dukedom of *Milan* ; and the Emperour with the rest of his Companions were also confin'd : And now they parted all amongst them, and rewarded themselves ; *Pepin* was restored to *Aquitaine* ; *Lewes* had *Bavaria*, with some other Additions ; and *Lothaire* posselt the Empire, and most

most of *France*; and so the other Brothers departed to their Domi-  
nions.

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*Lothaire* had his Father in his custody, whom he carried to *Soissons*, and there thrust him into the Abbey of *St. Medard*, and his Son *Charles* into another Monastery; and having appointed a Parliament (for the better colour to his Rebellion) to be held at *Compeigne*, at the time appointed they met, where the condition of the Emperour was considered, a company of lying accusations brought in against him, invented crimes falsely lay'd to his charge, and what not? to make him odious to the people. *Hebo*, the Archbishop of *Rheimes*, and other Prelates (the Ring-leaders of the Rebellion) spoke and acted furiously against him. In the mean time they sent to him, to see if he would quietly and freely resign the Empire, which he absolutely refused to do, declaring he would never part with his Authority; protesting against them as no Judges over him, he being their Sovereign, and they onely his Subjects.

But this put not the least stop to their villany; on the contrary, rather increasing their insolencie: and so in a formal way (like our bloody High-Court of Justice) proceeding against him; whom, though not heard, nor permitted to approach or speak for himself, they adjudged not worthy to Rule; and by their pretended authority, did there deprive him of all Right, Power, Jurisdiction, or interest he had to the Diadem; and so adjudged him to a Monastical life, never to meddle hereafter in any Business. Nor was this all, but, that the Action might carry the greater shew of Equity with it, they by some false Friends had so cunningly dealt with the Emperor underhand, that for all his former resolution, for peace-sake he was over-perswaded or threatned to confess himself guilty, and that in the most publick and vilest fashion, to procure to themselves the greatest honour with the people, and most ignominy to himself. And the manner was thus:

*Lewes* was carried to *Compeigne*, and then in the great Church of the Blessed Virgin, before the Parliament and People, he kneel'd down upon an Hair-cloth, and did publicly confess before them all, that he had done many things amiss, whilst he sway'd the Scepter: But this they thought not sufficient, and therefore the Bishops commanded him to make a farther and fuller acknowledgement of his crimes and offences; to which purpose, they had aforehand drawn up a large writing, of a great company of sins, abuses and enormities, of all which he was there declared guilty. The forged Charge it self being long, false, and imperfect, I shall refer you to (a) *Baronius*, and the excellent French Antiquary, (b) *Andrè du Chesne*, to whose learned Collections his industrious Son *Francis*, five years after, added two other large (c) Volumes.

a An. 833.  
b Hist.  
c Franc. Scrip-  
tor. Tom. 2.

This slanderous Paper being given into the Emperours hand, he was made to read it before them with a loud voice, and with trickling tears, to acknowledge himself guilty of all those untruths; which done, the Prelates subscribed their names as Witnesses; and for a farther confirmation of it, 'twas then lay'd upon the High Altar, as a full and compleat Testimony against *Lewes*. Yet did not all this satisfy, for as yet the Emperour had not been dispossess of his Imperial Badges; and so to finish their malice, first, they make him take off his Sword and Belt, both which were laid also

pag. 331.  
332, 333.  
e Paris  
1641.

800

upon the Altar; then the Bishops pull off his other Royal Robes, instead of which, first they put on him an Hair-shirt, then the other Weeds belonging to a Monk; so Mass being ended, the people are dismiss'd, and poor *Lewes* thrust into a Monastery, whence the Parliament being dissolved, *Lotharius* leads him in that pittiful habit and condition to *Aken* (or *Aix*) in *Germany*.

Here have we seen a good, pious, and virtuous Emperour brought to the worst of ignominies, by his own Rebellious Sons and Subjects; and now his unnatural Childe *Lothaire* ruled and sway'd all according to his own pleasure, which stir'd up discontent in many, whilst the patience of the holy *Lewes*, at the long run, moved pity and compassion in others. But not to dwell on this sorrowful subject too long: to be short, several consult seriously about the business, resolve to be eas'd from their bondage, determine the restoration of *Lewes*; to which purpose after some consideration, some *Grandees* levy men, which at last, increase to a considerable strength, and so send to *Lotharius* to have his Father restored; who replyeth, That none can grieve more than he for the hard dealings against his Father; but he being deposed by the Decree of the Bishops, he cannot be restored without their consent; and desires the presence of some of those Gentlemen to consult with him. In the mean time he had departed from *Germany*, carrying his Father Prisoner with him to *Paris*, and thence to *S. Denis*. But perceiving himself not able to cope with his Enemies, who came too suddenly upon him, he withdrew into *Burgundy*, leaving his Father behinde him. In the mean time, those who intended the Restoration of the Emperour, came to *S. Denis*, release *Lewes*; to whom they offer their service, and desire him to take upon him the Empire again. This he denyeth, unless he were declared innocent, and restored by Bishops, because by them he had formerly been deprived. Upon this some Bishops are got, who in the great Church at *S. Denis*, declare the former sentence illegal, with their own hands take off him his Monkish Attire, invest him with the Sovereign Purple, gird his Sword and Belt to him again; and all this publickly before the people. And so we have him Emperour once again.

But his Son *Lotharius* was far from submitting to, or acknowledging any legality in this action; and so having got a considerable Army, he ruineth all before him, making *Vienne* in *Dauphinè*, and other places there, submit to him; thence he returneth into *Burgundy*, where he taketh *Chalons* upon the great River *Soane*, which he destroyeth, and he headeth the two loyal Noblemen, *Gosselinus* [or *Gotselin*] and *Sanila* [or *Samila*] and to heighten his cruelty and Rebellion, takes the Lady *Gerberg* out of a Nunnery where she profest, made her be put into a Wine-vessel, and so thrown into the River *Soane*, where she was drown'd; and thence proceeded in his fury to other places in *France*. But the patient Emperour sent to his Son *Lothaire* a pardon, and took him into his favour again; the Son being the more willing to accept of it, because he now found that he was not able to withstand his Father.

And now we might think again that all would be quiet, and after so many pardonings and favours, they would let the good Emperour live in peace. But we finde quite contrary; for his Son *Lotharius* troubles him again in *Italy*: but this being pacified, his youngest Son *Lewes* rais'd forces and rebell'd in *Germany*; the news of

of which being brought to the good Emperour, so hugely troubled and perplext him, that it put him into a disease, which never left him till his dying day, which followed not long after; all which would be too tedious here to relate, the former action being satisfactory enough to any man, of the heinousness of these unnatural Rebellions. 800  
Anno 840.

We have formerly hinted of Pope *Gregory* the Fourth, coming from *Rome* into *France*, in the time of these late Rebellions; and how by his means, time was protracted at *Lugensfeldt*, to the ruine of the Emperours Cause, and his Dethronization: To which I shall add nothing, but onely this by the by, that some will not at all grant, that the Pope himself had any design against *Lewes*, but meerly came upon a good intent to make peace amongst them: Against which Objection I shall not trouble my self with a Reply, but onely refer the Readers to the Learned Collections of (a) *Henricus Boecherus*, and the Lord (b) *du Pleffis*, where they may finde, by some instances, that it was the opinion of the ancient Historians, and those who lived too about the same time, that the Pope joyn'd with the Sons in Rebellion against the Father. However it be, 'tis confest by all parties, that in *France* the Pope left a very ill name behinde him, for his too much (as they thought) compliance with the Sons.

The truth is, the Emperour might very well take some distaste against *Rome*, for that noted sedition there; in which *Theodore*, chief Secretary to the Church of *Rome*, and *Leo* the Nomenclator, had their Eyes pull'd out, and Noses cut off, and so slain in the *Lateran* it self; and no one crime objected against them, but their affection to the Emperour: Of which action Pope *Paschal* the First was accused by some; but he indeavour'd by his Agents to clear himself of this crime to the Emperour: but this not satisfying, and seeing *Lewes* farther resolved to finde out the business, he by his own Oath declared himself guiltless; and yet at the same time so stout was *Paschal*, that he would not permit those who had slain them to be punished, or to fall under any secular Judge; and the reason of all this was, because they were people that belong'd to the Family of *S. Peter*. A pretty *Maxime*; yet were it worse, it would be authentick enough in that household. And *Jaques de Montbolon* [a false name, I suppose, for I think the true Author was the great French Jesuite *Pierre Cotton*] when in this case he makes it his design to make an Apology for his Society, handleth the Question so slightly, cunningly, and with such *Leger-de-main*, shifting himself (according to his other Writings) this way and that way, that every man may take him as he thinks fit, and so may be of any side, either accusation or vindication, But this by the by.

'Tis true, Pope *Paschal* did also declare those who were slain to be guilty of death, and that they justly suffer'd; but this was so little satisfactory to *Lewes*, that he sent some again to *Rome* to examine and try the business: but the death of the Pope, in the meantime, render'd that Journey useles. By this we see that the Emperours yet kept up their Jurisdiction over *Rome*; nay, and the Pope too, in relation to their Elections. For when *Gregory* the Fourth was chosen at *Rome*, he was not Consecrated, nor acknowledged as full Pope, till the Emperour *Lewes* his Ambassadors had been at *Rome*, and throughly examin'd the Election, and informed the Emperour.

B b 2

who

a *Derebus*  
seculi IX &  
X. pag 68.  
b *Mytt. Iniq;*  
pag. 157.

Plaidoye  
pour les Pe-  
res Jesuites,  
res Jesuites,  
p. 403, &c.

*Hen. Boecle-*  
*rus*, pag. 84.

800  
a V. Greg.  
IV.

b Ne jura  
Imperii a-  
mitteret.

c Page 497.

--- Ils n' o-

soient le

Consacrer

sans le Con-

sentement de l' Empe-

meur, qui s'en estoit

reservé la Connois-

sance, & qui d'ail-

leurs vengeoit seve-

rement le

mepris s'il n'y

estoit appelé. Pa-

rami cela c'estoit

comme chose impos-

sible d'envoyer vers

luy, tout le pais

estant couvert de

ces Infidelles.

who consenting, he was then Consecrated. And (a) *Platina* him-  
self confesseth somewhat to this purpose, viz. This *Gregory* was  
of such modesty, that being chosen by the Clergy and people of Rome,  
he would not enter into the Popedom, till he had been confirmed by  
the Emperours Ambassadors, sent for that intent to Rome, and who  
diligently examin'd the Election: And the reason why *Lewes* did  
thus concern himself with the Popes Chair, was, as the same *Platina*  
saith, (b) That he might not lose the Rights and Priviledges of the Em-  
pire. And some years after this, *Leo* the Fourth being chosen Pope,  
and Consecrated, without acquainting the Emperour *Lotharius*  
with it, yet was this action winck'd at by the Emperour, upon a  
reasonable and necessitating excuse, viz. the *Saracens* raging up  
and down *Italy*, they could not conveniently send with the ac-  
customed Grandeur information to *Lothaire*; and by reason of such  
Pagan Enemies, the delay of having an authentick Bishop was then  
dangerous. And their own (c) *Coeffeteau* doth make this Apology,  
confessing that otherwise they durst not be Consecrated without the  
Emperours approbation or confirmation.

d Du Plessis,

p. 154, 155.

e Fulmen

Brutum, pag.

181, 182,

183.

f Annotat.

in *Platin.*

g De Rom.

Pont. lib. 3.

cap. 24.

h An. 853.

i Fabula

*Joanna* Pa-

pissa.

k Familier

Eclaircis-

ment de la

Question.

l Myst. of

Iniq. p. 167.

m Hist. Ec-

cles. tom. 1.

cap. 9. p. 616,

617.

n Pope

*Joane*, a Di-

alogue.

o *Joanna*

Papissa re-

stituta.

p Traité con-

tre *D. Blon-*

dell.

To which we may add, that the people of *Rome* at these times,  
and by the Popes order or consent, swore Allegiance to the Em-  
perours. These things (with some other (d) reasons mentioned by  
others) well considered, may give a notable blow to that which  
they call the Donation of *Lewes* to the Popes [as for those of *Pepin*  
and *Charles* the Great, they are talk'd of, but I have not seen them  
set down in set words.] And the vast (e) disagreements in the Co-  
pies themselves, and yet all held authentick, may add to its  
suspicion.

But as this is not exactly the intent of my design, no more is the  
History and Assertion of Pope *Joane*, who is said to have flourish'd  
about this time. But to be free, as for those who are resolved to de-  
ny the story and being of such a Woman-Pope, they may strengthen  
their Faith by the reading of (f) *Onuphrius*, (g) *Bellarmino*,  
(h) *Baronius*, (i) *Floromundus de Remond*, and of late (k) *David*  
*Blondell*, a French Protestant. As for those who are willing to be-  
lieve it, I shall refer them for more confirmation to (l) *du Plessis*,  
(m) *Hottingerus*, our learned Country-man (n) Mr. *Alexander*  
*Cooke*, with the two French-men, (o) *Samuel Marisus*, and *Le Sieur*  
(p) *Congnard*. As for my own judgement, I shall wrap it up with-  
out partiality or passion in this, that I am so far from being satisfied  
with the reasons brought against the being of such a woman-Pope,  
that I may fancie those who assert a Pope *Joane*, afford better Au-  
thority, Testimony, and Arguments, than those who deny it: And  
as *Cooke* in English hath sufficiently answered *Floromundus* and the  
rest, so doth *Marisus* in *Latine*, and *Congnard* in *French* a-  
bundantly confute *David Blondel*, though a man of great read-  
ing. But be it this way or that way, it shall never trouble me; and  
so let every man think as he pleaseth, for so they must and will:  
Nor do I positively determine any thing here my self. And so  
much for our Pope or No-Pope *Joane*, a story that hath drawn  
forth to open *Battalia*, and siding, the greatest Pens in *Europe*; some  
to

to vindicate, others to annihilate the sitting of such a Lady in the Porphyrie Chair, as Infallible Head of the *Romish* Church: nor to this day will either party give ground or yeild, but still fight it out; and which is more, both singing *Victoria*, and triumphing as Conquerours: and thus it hath the happiness or misfortune to fare, as some other Articles of the greatest consequence in Religion, never to want Friends and Enemies

Thus have we seen the pious and victorious Emperour, *Lewes le Debonnaire*, miserably banded to and fro by his own unnatural Children and rebellious Subjects, and by the consent of the chief of his Clergy [and those too, as Historians observe, whom himself or his Great Father had rais'd and prefer'd from the meanest condition to these chiefest places of Honour and Riches] used with all manner of reproach, villany, and ignominy; yet they farther observe, that severe judgements fell upon the chief of them, who within a year were taken away by a Plague or Pestilence from Heaven. And as for the sons themselves [except *Pepin*, who dyed whilst his Father lived] after the decease of the Emperour *Lewes*, we may finde them all together by the ears, prosecuting one another with all manner of violence and fury.

But we shall conclude this Tragical story of good *Lewes* with his Epitaph, as it is in the Monastery of *St. Arnulf* at *Meiz* in *Lorraine*, which is according to the riming fashion of those times; by which we may judge the height of their Wit and Poetry: for 'tis to be suppos'd that such a great Emperour had none of the worst Poets of those days to celebrate his fame and memory thus upon his Tomb [and yet we have had many worse made since upon other Emperours and Kings.]

*Imperii fulmen, Francorum mobile culmen,  
Erutus à seculo conditur hoc tumulo.  
Rex Lodowicus pietatis tantus amicus,  
Quod Pius à Populo dicitur & Tumulo.  
Heldegard sobiles Karoli Magni pia proles,  
In Pacis metas colligit hunc pietas  
Rumelicum villam, quicquidve refertur ad illam,  
Arnulfo sancto contulit, huicq; loco.  
Stirps à quo Procerum, Regumq; vel Imperatorum,  
Quorum muneribus seditur ille locus.*

After this *Lewes* succeeded in the Empire his Son *Lothaire*, who at last willingly resigned [making himself a Monk] to his Son *Lewes* the Second; of whom I shall say nothing, but that in his time the Popes began by degrees to neglect to have their Elections confirm'd by the Emperours, whom by little and little they began to trample upon; the greatest Monarchs being now, I know not how, sob'd into a servile reverence of those, whose Predecessors had formerly been their Inferiours, of which this *Lewes* the Second may serve for an Example.

*Nicholas* the First being chosen and Consecrated, this Emperour being then at *Rome*; one time the Pope in great State attended with all the chief of the City, went to give *Lewes* the Second a visit; who hearing of it, resolv'd to meet his Holiness; and being met, the Emperour alights from his Horse, and on foot with great humility

*Jo. de Bussieres. Tom. I. p. 368.*

*Anast. vic. Nichol. I. Platina.*



800 humility like a Foot-boy led the Popes Horse by the Bridle, and at his departure did the same; though certainly it might have been commendable in *Nicholas*, not to have permitted so ignoble an action, if not manners to have descended too, and gone afoot with the Emperour: but with the Proverb, When Humility vamps on foot, Pride may ride on cock-horse.

## Sect. 3.

*The Murther of Michael, Emperour of Constantinople: with Pope Adrian the Second his opinion of the Murtherer.*

But as this Chapter begins with bloud, so let it end: And first, we have about this time *Michael* [one whose life and rule I shall not commend] Emperour of *Constantinople*, murder'd in his Chamber by *Basilus*, one whom *Michael* had rais'd from the basest condition, to the highest preferment; from a common Horse-courser, to the greatest Authority; and had declared him the next Emperour, as now he made himself by the Murther of his Master and Sovereign. But *Photius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople* [made so by *Michael*, *Ignatius* being turn'd out] deny'd to give him the Sacrament, as guilty of such an abominable crime; and yet they declare this *Basilus* to be (a) *Pious and Orthodox*, which we may *English*, a good *Roman Catholick*. And the truth is, no sooner was the murther done, but Pope *Adrian* the Second congratulates him by his (b) Letters, calling of *Michael* a Tyrant; but as for *Basilus*, thus he salutes him: *Thou art in our time as another peaceful Salomon, who hast bearkned to the words of God thy father, and hast not forsaken the Law of thy Mother*; that is, as they say, the Church. Which words put me in minde of *Richard Baxter* [that motly of Presbytery] who call'd his friend and name-sake *Dick Cromwell*, the wise *Salomon, and son of a valiant David*.

a *Basilus*  
vero pius  
Orthodoxus.  
Cognam  
Antimora.  
rom. 1. pag.  
455.  
b Apud Bin.  
Concil. Ge-  
neral.

c Can. 3. x.  
quo honore  
cum libro  
sanctorum  
Evangelio-  
rum.  
d Can. 21.  
e Can. 14.

f Can. 22.

g Can. 17.

h An. 869.

i An. 1435. (i) *Florence*.

*Basilus*, and his friend *Adrian* the Second, agree to have a Council at *Constantinople*, in which *Photius* is turn'd out and curs'd, and *Ignatius* restored: and here things were so carryed, that the Pope by the Power of *Basilus* had what he could desire. (c) Images [which the former Emperours of the East always withstood] are now declared to be held in equal honour with the Gospel, or Word of God. (d) That the Church of *Rome* is above other Patriarchships; that none might speak or write against the Pope under pain of *Anathema*. That (e) Bishops should not go forth to meet Princes, and if chance to meet, not to alight from their Mules or Horses, or kneel before them upon the score of reverence. That Bishops may be equal to Kings or Emperours. That these (f) secular Monarchs should not interest themselves in the promotion or election of Bishops: Nor is it fitting that they should be present in their (g) Synods, unless they be General Councils. And thus *Basilus* and Pope *Adrian* gratifie one another. And this they call the (h) Eighth General Council, though the *Greeks* since that will scarce acknowledge it so, but rather that held (some hundred years since this) at

Other

Other Histories might here be enlarged upon, which hapned about these times, as that of *Donald* the Fifth, King of *Scotland*, one vicious enough, who was close imprisoned by his own Subjects; which so troubled him, that (as most Writers confess) he became his own Executioner, and (a) kill'd himself. And here I might speak also of *Ethus*, King of the same Nation, who was also put in prison by his Subjects, and within three days (b) dyed of grief. This *Ethus* is surnamed the *Swift* or *Light-foot*; for that, they say, he could run as fast as a Buck or Hare.

## Sect. 4.

*Several Insolencies and Murders committed by the Venetians against some of their Dukes, about this time.*

And from these might I turn to a people held in those times more civilized, and whose Government and Prudence hath been held, not onely the wonder of the World, but by some the Bulwark of Christendom, viz. the *Venetians*, of whom I might at large relate; they being weary of their popular Government, declared themselves a Bastard Monarchy, by their (c) *Ducal*: And here I might tell how they slew their third Duke (d) *Orso Hypato*, and so changed their Government again to an annual Master or Consulship: the first being *Dominico Leone*. 2. *Felix Cornicula*, or *Cornaschino*. 3. *Deodato*, Son to the former *Orso*. 4. *Juliano Tpato* or *Copario*. And the fifth and last *Zianus Fabritius*, or *Giovanni Fabritiaco*, whose eyes the people put out, and so turned him out of his Office, and agreed to be govern'd by Dukes again; (e) electing to that purpose the fore-named *Deodato*, Son to their former Duke *Orso*; and having ruled thirteen years, they put out his (f) eyes too. Then was *Galla* the Fifth Duke, whose eyes they also (g) put out. After him they appointed to be Duke *Dominico Monegario*, or *Menicaccio*, whose eyes they also (h) put out: After succeeded *Manritio*; then his Son *Giovanni*, whom they (i) banish'd: To him succeeded *Obelerio*, whom the people (k) cut in pieces, drew his guts about the streets, and slew his Wife of the Bloud-royal of *France*. The next Duke was *Angelo Partitiato*; then *Justinian*; then his Brother *Giovanni Partitiato*, who going to prayers to St. *Peters* Church, was seisd upon, disrobed, and his beard and head being shaven, was (l) thrust into a Monastery in *Grada*. And after him was elected Duke *Pietro Tradenico*, or *Gradenico*, who was (m) murder'd as he came from St. *Zacharies* Church. And so for this time I take my leave of the City *Venice*.

*Petr. Mar-  
cel. de vit.  
Princip.  
Vener. Tho.  
de Fougassers.  
Ja. Howel  
Hist. of Ve-  
nice. Will.  
Thomas  
Hist. of Italy.  
c An. 697.  
d An. 737.  
e An. 742.  
f An. 755.  
g An. 756.  
h An. 764.  
i An. 804.  
k An. 809.  
l An. 836.  
m An. 864.*



## CHAP. VI.

1. *The deposing of the Emperour Charles the Third, surnamed the Gros.*
2. *The jumbling of Emperours, by the obstinacie of the Pope; all which are made more plain by an exact Chronology.*
3. *The hurly-burly amongst the Popes themselves, whereby their personal Succession is shaken.*

## SECT. I.

*The deposing of the Emperour Charles the Third, surnamed the Gros.*

**N**OW began the Popes Authority to increase to a wonder; and every man thought himself cock-sure, if he had but that Bishop of his party, who now in all Countries, and over the greatest Monarchs, held himself an Intallible Judge; and if not submitted to, had the strength of his Coercive Power, and the terrible vertue of his Censures and Paper-thunder-bolts, vapor'd and prattl'd up by his Hirelings, to affright an ignorant and poor deluded people.

*a Gononius  
sec. 7, 8.  
Dauroult.  
c. 3. Tit. 67.  
b Dauroult.  
c. 4. Tit. 17.  
c Id. ib. Tit.  
18  
d Id. cap. 8.]  
Tit. 22. 3.*

And to make this his Prerogative more formidable, and so to gain an easier passage, and firmer settlement into peoples belief; their Priests daily made use of pretty stories of Gods Miracles and Judgements [imitated by our late Puritans and Phanaticks] sometimes in Purgatory, and sometimes God knows where: and this staple-cheat of reverence and awe was had up on every occasion. Are Images to be worship'd? then what strange (*a*) stories have they against those who reject them! Is the *Roman* Church to be Supreme? then they have pretty (*b*) Tales to confirm it. Must not Kings and Emperours meddle with Church-affairs? they will tell you strange (*c*) wonders to prove it. And if any man question the Popes going to Heaven, they will assure you how Pope (*d*) *Pius* the Second flew up thither, not onely cloath'd in white, but with his triple Crown on his head too; and with suchlike fopperies as used the ancient Monks and Fryars to stuff their Preachments, to the terrifying of old women, and seducement of the wiser. And well might those ignorant times give credit to such fancies, when of late days the chief of their Writers, such as *Baronius*, *Nieremburgius*, *Gononius*, *Dauroultius*, *Waddingus*, *Surinus*, &c. fill up their voluminous Pages with such lying trifles.

And that which made the way more easie for the Popes now to rise to their greatness, and over-top all secular jurisdiction, was the gross ignorance of the times of which we now speak; insomuch, that the

the Ninth Age is ignominiously branded by all parties, for the *unhappy and ignorant* Century, in which we can scarce finde any thoughts of good Literature, learning being in a manner quite forgot. Thus stagger'd the Temporal Jurisdiction; the greatest Monarchs themselves, either by easiness, or bad counsellors, neglecting their own Authority; and sometimes led by a zealous fear, other times by policie, or interest, were willing to think, and easily perswaded, that the Pope had a greater power than *St. Peter* ever exercised, or any of his ancient and honest Predecessors ever thought they had, in relation to a Coercive Authority over Temporal Princes. And what they have once got or made, the people believe [right or wrong:] for the first they will never part with; and the second, they will make an Article of Faith.

And the truth of this may be testified by approved History. The Emperour *Lewes* the Second (of whom we formerly hinted) dying without Sons, a dispute arose about the Succession: but *Charles* the *Bald*, King of *France*, obtain'd it of Pope *John* the Ninth, as some call him, and that, as some say, according to the confession of their [a] *Mexia*, by gifts and Bribery: But after this, *Charles le Chaune* being [b] poysoned at *Mantua*, by his Physitian *Zedechem* a Jew, the canvas began again.

Pope *John* was resolved for *Lewes* the Third, King of *France*; but many of the *Italians* were for *Charles* the Fat of *Germany*: and in this resolution both parties were so stubborn, that the chief of the *Romans* took Arms, seisd upon the Pope, and imprisoned him; from whence he getting free, fled into *France*, where he bestow'd the [c] Empire upon *Lewes* the Third, the [d] Stammerer or Stutterer. But this humour lasteth not long; for a little after, the Pope being assisted by *Charles* against the *Moors*, then invading *Italy*, disannull'd the Coronation of the said *Lewes* the Third, and declared and Crown'd for [e] Emperour this *Charles*, surnamed the *Grosse* or *Fat*. Though I wonder what honest man gave the Pope this power or right of disposing Kingdoms. But as the Proverb saith of Dogs, we may justly affirm, that whilst two strive for a Temporal Title, the Pope is sure to gain, if not the Thing, yet the esteem or honour to dispose of it, a foolish Zeal or Interest being the conveyers.

Yet was the end of this *Charles* the *Fat* deplorable enough; for having been Emperour eight years, and by reason of his excessive fatness, growing very dull and lazie, he was [f] forsaken by all his Subjects; who having cunningly order'd their plots, elected into the Government *Arnulph* his Nephew, bastard to *Carloman*, Son to *Lewes* the Second. Thus was *Charles* the *Gross*, one of the greatest sway then in the world, being Emperour of *Germany*, King of *France*, and other Territories, suddenly thrown down from his Glory: and though a man [g] noted in History for his fortitude, piety, and liberality; yet thus in a moment was he deposed, neglected of all men, insomuch, that within three days he had not one to assist him, or take care of him: he that had commanded so many Dominions and Armies, hath not a boy to wait upon him; and he that had fed so many, had now scarce a bit of bread to put in his mouth, onely what Bishop *Linbert* of *Mentz*, through meer charity and pity did, sometimes afford him; and, some say, that after *Arnulph*, upon his Supplication and Petition, granted him a little allowance.

C c

a Vite di gl' Imperadori, fol. 326. b.  
b An. 877.

c An. 878.  
d Balbus, le Begue.

e An. 880.

f An. 887.

g Nic. Se- rarum, Hist. Mogunt. l. 4. p. 664, 665.

800 allowance. And thus being depofed at a Convention at *Fribur*  
*Grimfton* near *Mentz* in *Germany*, he went into a poor Village in *Swaben*,  
 Imp. Hitt. where, fome fay, he lived in great want and mifery, and fo poorly  
 p. 404. dyed.

Heur. Boc- 'Tis not unworthy the obfervation; that this *Charles* the *Grofs*  
 cler. pag. was the firft that dated his Letters and Patents with the year of  
 189. *Chrift*, which hath fince been ufed by *Chriftians*: \*Whereas, the  
 a Continu- Eastern Princes, even until the Council of *Bafil*, as (a) *Roffe* faith,  
 at. of Sir ufed no other Computation in their Subfcriptions, but that of the  
 W. Ral. world, according to *Enfebins* his account, which, as fome think, is  
 p. 138. erroneous enough; yet two to one, that amongst fuch variety and  
 learned Chronologers, we fhall finde never a Computation true from  
 the Worlds Original.

And thus much for the unfortunate *Charles* the *Grofs*, of whom  
*Wil. Mal-* they tell a ftrange ftory of a Vifion he had, by which he faw many  
*mesbur. de* Princes and Bifhops tormented in Hell or Purgatory, for their facti-  
*gett. Reg.* ous humours, and fomenting of wars; of which I fhall oblige no  
*Angl. l. I.* man to credit any more but this, that as the Dream might be true,  
*c. 2.* fo the punifhment there declared might poffibly be a reward for fuch  
 bloud-zealous Inftruments.

## Sect. 2.

*The jumbling of Emperours, by the obstinacie of the Pope;  
 all which are made more plain by an exact Chronology.*

**T**He depofing and death of *Charles* the *Fat* being known, the  
 Empire fell out into great divifions; for the *Italians* had for-  
 merly began to grumble, that the Emperours, for fo long time, had  
 not been elected within their Country, affirming *Italy* to be the true  
 Seat of the Empire: On the contrary, the *Germans* stood as stiff for  
 their foyl, declaring that by *Charles* the Great, the Empire was  
 tranflated thither, and there it muft remain; and fo accordingly  
 they chufe *Arnolpb* for Emperour, and acknowledge none other. In  
 the mean time, the Popes (now alfo divided into Faftions) and *Ita-*  
*lians* crown other men for Emperours; and fo for almoft LXXX  
 years did each Nation live under their refpective Emperors or Kings.  
 And to this day, fo refolved are moft of the Writers of both  
 Countries, that the *Germans* acknowledge none for Emperours,  
 but who were chofen in their Country; whom, on the other fide,  
 the *Italians* reject as onely inferiour perfons, and write onely thofe  
 to be *Cafars*, who were elected on their fide the Alps. And here-  
 in, *Baronius* is very zealous for his Popes and Country (*viz. Italy*)  
 dafhing out all along thofe of the *German* Elections; for which do-  
 ing, he gives you this thundring reafon, (b) *Because one cannot be*  
*truely Emperour, unlefs the Pope confer it upon him.*  
 b Eo quod  
 nefas eſſet  
 Imperatoris  
 nomen aſſumere, niſi illud eſſet ab Apoſtolica ſede collatum. *Baron. an. 887. & 3.*

But the better to underſtand this jumbling of Emperours, take  
 this following Chronology, in which I ſhall time the affairs accord-  
 ing to *Baronius*, *Panvinus*, or other their chiefſt Hiſtorians.

CHARLES

## CHARLES the GROSSE deposed.

Germany.	A.D.	A.D.	Italy.
<p><b>A</b>rnolph, Son to <i>Carlo-man</i>, Son to <i>Lewes</i> the Second, was chosen Emperour of Germany at <i>Tribur</i>, upon the deposing of <i>Charles le Grosse</i>.</p> <p>In Italy at this time was a great Faction about the Popedom; some stood for <i>Formosus</i>, others were as fierce for one <i>Sergius</i>: but by this means Rome it self was Ruled by force, the friends of <i>Sergius</i> being there more powerful. <i>Formosus</i> to get himself eas'd of these troubles and enemies, sends privately to <i>Arnulfe</i>, and invites him to his assistance.</p> <p><i>Arnulphus</i> having rais'd a potent Army, marcheth into Italy, and at last gets before Rome it self; which he summoned to yeild, but they refuse: upon this layeth siege to it, and several times attempted to take it, but to no purpose, being still beaten off: At last he became Master of it by an unexpected accident, which was thus:</p> <p>A [d] Leveret or young Hare being one time got neer the Army, and affrighted with the noise of Souldiers, ran towards the City;</p>	887	888	<p><b>B</b>erengarins, Duke of <i>Frinli</i>, and <i>Guido</i> Duke of <i>Spoletto</i>, upon the voyding of <i>Charles</i> the Fat, call'd themselves Kings of Italy, which by their factions was miserably divided, making fierce Wars against each other. But <i>Guido</i> was more strong, being countenanced by the Pope <i>Sergius</i>; yet <i>Berengarins</i> counterfeited to Arm for <i>Arnolfus</i>.</p> <p>892 <i>Guido</i> or <i>Wido</i>, Duke of <i>Spoletto</i>, in Rome is crown'd Emperour by Pope <i>Formosus</i>: for which he confirmed those <i>Donations</i>, pretended to have been formerly given to Rome.</p> <p>893 <i>Lambert</i>, Son to <i>Guido</i>, (his Father yet living) was also declared Emperour by the same Pope. [a] But <i>Baronius</i>, though he doth confess this, yet will not let him begin his Empire, till after the death of <i>Lewes</i> the Fourth, Son to <i>Boson</i>, viz. An.904. But upon what account he doth this, I know not. But [b] <i>Onuphrins</i> makes him the sole Emperour after the death of his Father <i>Guido</i>, viz. 894. But in another [c] place he will not let him be Emperour till 896, and then Crown'd by Pope <i>Stephanus</i>.</p> <p>894 <i>Guido</i> or <i>Wido</i> dyeth in Italy.</p>

a An.904.

b Vid. Jo. Gualt. Chron. Chronicorum, tom. 2. pag. 163.  
c De Regn. Ital. An. 896.

Cc 2

Carolus

Germany.	A.D.	A.D.	Italy.
<p>a party of the Souldiers in a frolick ran after her : the <i>Roman</i> Watch seeing them run so fiercely towards the City, and not knowing the cause, thought they came to assault the City, and ran away. The <i> Germans </i> seeing this opportunity, made up to the Walls, which some of them presently scal'd, whilst other with a <i>Ram</i> batter'd down the Gate: And thus they enter'd the</p> <p><i>a Urbs Leonina,</i> so call'd by <i>Leo</i> the Fourth, who compassed it about with a Wall, that it might not lve open to all Invasions, <i>An. 848.</i> <i>Platina</i> vit. <i>Leonis</i> the Fourth.</p> <p>[a] <i>Vatican</i>, and so took the City: <i>Sergius</i> fled, but all his partakers, who opposed <i>Arnulfus</i>, were slain without mercy.</p>			
<p><i>Arnulfus</i> being conquerour, had himself Crown'd Emperour with a great deal of pomp in <i>St. Peters</i> Church, by Pope <i>Formosus</i>; and the <i>Romans</i> take this Oath of Allegiance to him.</p> <p>[c] <i>I profess before God</i></p> <p><i>c Testor Deum amensq; Devoſ, &amp; per Divina Myſteria juro, me quoad vivam, fore in poteſtate Imperatoris Arnulſis, neq; Lamberti aut Matris ejus rebus fautorum, neq; ut dignitatem aliquam adipiſcantur, aut hanc urbem ſervitutē premant, operam daturam. Sigonius de Regno glorie. An. 896.</i></p> <p><i>and all the Saints, and swear by the holy Sacraments, to be a true Subject to the Emperor Arnulf, so long as I live; and never to favour the party of Lambert, or his [d] Mother,</i></p>	896	899	<p>[b] <i>Carolus Sigonius</i> saith, that in this year <i>Lambert</i> was anoynted Emperour by Pope <i>Stephanus</i> the Sixth, having declared the Coronation of <i>Arnulph</i> to be voyd and null.</p> <p><i>b De Regno Italie.</i></p> <p>And</p>

d *Ageltruda*, *Ageltrudis*, or *Engeltrude*.

Germany.	A.D.	A.D.	Italy.
<p>iber, or to assist them to the obtaining of any dignity, or to their bringing this little City into Bondage.</p> <p>This done, <i>Arnulf</i> quits <i>Rome</i>, and Pope <i>Formosus</i> dyeth; after whom <i>Bonifacius</i> the Sixth sits a few days; and then <i>Stephanus</i> the Sixth, who was an Enemy to <i>Formosus</i>, and all his actions; wherefore, they say, he presently calls <i>Lambert</i> to <i>Rome</i>, whom he creates Emperour, and declares the Coronation of <i>Arnulf</i> by <i>Formosus</i> to be voyd.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Sigonius loco cit.</i></p> <p>About this time <i>Arnulphus</i> quitted this world.</p> <p><i>Lewes</i> the Fourth, Son to the Emperour <i>Arnulph</i> (his Father being dead) was solemnly elected by the Germans at <i>Forchaim</i> (in the Bishoprick of <i>Bamberg</i> in <i>Frankenlandt</i>) he was but very young, and so had Governours or Tutors appointed for him; and he was Crown'd at <i>Aix</i> by <i>Hatto</i> (the Tenth) Archbishop of <i>Mentz</i>.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Historians</p>		<p>898</p> <p>899</p> <p>900</p> <p>An. 904</p>	<p>And for the better confirmation of <i>Lambert</i> in the Empire, as about this time, we are told how Pope (a) <i>John</i> the Tenth, (or the Ninth) call'd a Synod of LXXIV Bishops (<i>Lambert</i> himself being also there) at <i>Ravenna</i>. In which, amongst other things, <i>Arnulph</i> is declar'd no Emperour, and <i>Lambert</i> held for the only <i>Cesar</i>: and if so, then it must be either in 898, or the next year, as is probable from the sitting of this Pope <i>John</i>, according to <i>Onuphrius</i>.</p> <p><i>Lewes</i> the Fourth, Son to <i>Boson</i>, Earl or King of <i>Provence</i>, was call'd into <i>Italy</i> to oppose <i>Berengarius</i> (of whom formerly) and by Pope <i>Benedict</i> the Fourth was declared Emperour.</p> <p><i>Berengarius</i> and he had some fighting; but at last <i>Berengarius</i> cunningly (as some say) seisd upon him at <i>Verona</i>, pluck'd out his Eyes, of which he dyed presently</p>

a *Coquens*  
Antimorn.  
tom. I. pag.  
477. 478.



	Germany.	A.D.	A.D.	Italy.
<p>Historians do now and then mightily mistake these two <i>Leweses</i> one for another; and sometimes by their grand errors about these other divided Emperours, the History of these times are very obscure.</p> <p>By the by, take one story of Equivocation: <i>Adelbert</i> or <i>Albert</i>, Earl of <i>(b) Bamberg</i> in <i>Franconia</i>, rebell'd against the Emperour; and in this broyl slew <i>Earle Conrad</i>. <i>Lewes</i> besiegeth him in <i>Bamberg</i>; but after many attempts, found no probability of taking it, or him. Upon this, the aforesaid <i>Hatto</i>, Archbishop of <i>Mentz</i>, perswades to policie, and undertakes the plot. <i>Hatto</i> goeth to <i>Albert</i> in his strong Castle of <i>Bamberg</i>, promiseth his pardon; however, to restore him safe again to his Castle. <i>Albert</i> goeth out with him towards <i>Lewes</i>; but being gone no farther than the next Village <i>Theurstat</i>, <i>Hatto</i> pretends the conveniency of dining: Upon this, they return to <i>Bamberg</i>, dine, and then go to ask pardon of <i>Lewes</i>; whither being come, as a Traytor he is condemn'd to death. <i>Albert</i> challengeth <i>Hatto</i> of his promise, who replyeth, That he had kept it, because he had once return'd him safe and sound to his Castle: And so <i>Albert</i> was beheaded; but how <i>Hatto</i> dyed Authors will not agree.</p> <p><i>Lewes</i> the Fourth of Germany dyed at <i>Ratisbone</i> (or</p>				<p>presently after, viz. 904.</p> <p>(a) <i>Baronius</i> tells us, that this <i>Berengarius</i> enter'd <i>Rome</i> with a great Army, and commanded Pope <i>John</i> to Crown him Emperour, which accordingly was done; but no sooner was he gone from <i>Rome</i>, but the Pope desireth <i>Lambert</i> to comethither, whom he publicly Crown'd for Emperour: and having call'd a Synod at <i>Rome</i>, and the business proposed, the Coronation of <i>Berengarius</i> was declared void, but that of <i>Lambert</i> was pronounced legal, and so they held him for Emperour.</p>
<p>By some old Authors <i>Babenberg</i>.</p>			904	<p><i>Lambert</i>, Son to <i>Guido</i>, though he had formerly been declared Emperour, yet <i>Baronius</i> will not let him begin to Rule as Emperour till this year, being just after the death of <i>Lewes</i> the Fourth, Son to <i>Boson</i>.</p>
<p><i>Scrar. Hist. Mogunt. p. 671. Rosse p. 140.</i></p>			910	<p><i>Lambert</i> was slain by <i>Hugo</i>, Earl of <i>Milan</i>, as he was hunting.</p>
	<p><i>Lewes</i> the Fourth of Germany dyed at <i>Ratisbone</i> (or</p>	921		<p><i>Berengarius</i></p>

Germany.	A.D.	A.D.	Italy.
(or <i>Regenspurg</i> ) in December.			
<p><i>Conrade</i>, Duke of <i>Francia</i>, came thus to the Empire : After the death of <i>Lewes</i>, the Nobily met, and elected <i>Otto</i> or <i>Otho</i>, Duke of <i>Saxony</i> ; but he being old , desired to be excused , and so recommended this <i>Conrade</i> to their choice, and so was accordingly Crown'd at <i>Aix</i> by <i>Hatto</i> , Archbishop of <i>Mentz</i>.</p> <p>This <i>Conrade</i> (<i>Otho</i> dying a year after this Election ) was very jealous of <i>Henry</i> Duke of <i>Saxony</i>, Son to the said <i>Otto</i>, who got him the Empire ; and upon this suspicion endeavour'd his ruine several times, both privately and openly ; for which some censure him of ingratitude. But at the last he made amends for all, appointing this <i>Henry</i>, his supposed Enemy , to succeed him in the Empire.</p>	912		
		915	<p><i>Berengarius</i> formerly mentioned, was now again declared and anoynted for lawful Emperour, by Pope <i>John</i> the Eleventh (or Tenth) and so (a) <i>Baronius</i> before this year will not acknowledge him for a lawful Emperour ; with which exception I shall not trouble my self , but let him and others like it as they please.</p>
<p><i>Henry</i> the first, surnamed <i>Anceps</i>, or the <i>Fowler</i>, for his love of (b) <i>Birding</i>, Son to <i>Otto</i> Duke of <i>Saxony</i>, thus got the Empire : <i>Conrade</i> his enemy, finding himself sick and neer his end, throws by all his jealousie and interest, assembled the Nobility together</p>	920		

Rodulph

Germany.	A.D.	A.D.	Italy.
<p>gether, and made a long Speech to them in commendation of this <i>Henry</i>, whom he desired them to accept for Emperour after his death: they consented to it; onely <i>Everard</i>, Brother to <i>Conrade</i>, grieved a little that he was not the man: but <i>Conrade</i> perswaded him to Patience. Then causing the Sword, Scepter, Robes, and the other Imperial Ensigns to be brought him, he order'd his Brother <i>Everard</i> to carry them to <i>Henry</i>; which he obey'd, and lived a faithful Subject to <i>Henry</i>.</p>			
<p>This Emperour <i>Henry</i> used also an excellent piece of moderation. <i>Arnold</i>, Duke of <i>Bavaria</i>, having by his many Rebellions much troubled the Empire, <i>Henry</i> rais'd a great Army against him; and both parties being ready to joyn battle, <i>Henry</i>, though half certain of a Conquest, desired to speak with him; and then to <i>Arnold</i> so laid open the wickedness of Rebellion, with a promise of pardon and favour, that <i>Arnold</i> presently submitted himself to him, and lived ever after a faithful Subject to him.</p>		<p>923</p>	<p><i>Rodolph</i>, Duke of <i>Burgundy</i>, was call'd into <i>Italy</i> against <i>Berengarius</i>; he went thither with a great Army, and call'd himself King of <i>Italy</i>: some call him Emperour.</p>
<p><i>Henry</i></p>		<p>924</p>	<p><i>Berengarius</i> was overcome by <i>Rodolf</i>; and being in the City of <i>Verona</i>, the onely place then left him, he was murther'd by the treachery of one <i>Flambert</i>, whom this <i>Berengarius</i> had prefer'd. (a) <i>Baronius</i> saith, that <i>Berengarius</i> was deservedly kill'd. However, <i>Flambert</i> was hanged for it by one <i>Melo</i>, friend to <i>Berengarius</i>.</p> <p><i>Hugo</i></p>

Germany.	A.D.	A.D.	Italy.
		926	<i>Hugo</i> , Earl of <i>Arles</i> in <i>Province</i> , was call'd into <i>Italy</i> by the Nobility against <i>Rodulph</i> , and at <i>Pavia</i> was saluted King of <i>Italy</i> . Upon which, <i>Rodulph</i> left <i>Italy</i> , and return'd into <i>Burgundy</i> , of which he is call'd King.
		932	<i>Arnold</i> , Duke of <i>Bavaria</i> , intended to make himself King of <i>Italy</i> ; but <i>Hugo</i> in fight overcame him, and so that design fail'd. <i>Lotharius</i> , Son to <i>Hugo</i> , was by his Father at <i>Pavia</i> declared King of <i>Italy</i> , and so they both ruled together.
<p><i>Henry</i> the Emperour perceiving himself neer death, he commended his Son <i>Otho</i> to their choice.</p> <p><i>Otho</i> or <i>Otho</i>, surnamed the Great, the first of that name, as they</p> <p><i>a</i> Otherwise the Second, if you reckon from <i>Julius Caesar</i>: the Eighth Roman Emperour being call'd <i>Marcus Silvius Otho</i>.</p> <p><i>Henry</i> was declared Emperour, and accordingly Crown'd at <i>Aken</i>, or <i>Aix</i>, by <i>Hiltibert</i> or <i>Hildebert</i>, (by <i>Pedro Mexia</i>, corruptly call'd <i>Olderick</i>;) a Narrative of all the Ceremonies of that great solemnity, you may read in</p> <p><i>b</i> <i>M. gunt. pag. 677, 678. &amp; vid. Boecler. p. 282, 283, 290, 291.</i> (<i>b</i>) <i>Nicholas Serarius</i>.</p> <p>Yet though thus he was declared, acknowledged, and Crowned for Emperour in <i>Germany</i>; (<i>c</i>) <i>Baronius</i> will not allow him</p> <p><i>c</i> Anno 961. 1.</p>		936	
		937	<i>Rodulph</i> dyed in <i>Burgundy</i> .
			Dd Hugo

Germany.	A.D.	A.D.	Italy.
<p>him that Title or Honour, till above twenty years after, that he had got his Consecration from, or by the Pope, viz. 962.</p> <p><i>a Eberard.</i> Henry his Brother rebell'd against him, by the bad counsel of discontented (a) <i>Everard</i>, and others; and though he was several times pardoned, yet he as often rebell'd; but, some say, that at last submitted himself, and acknowledged his fault, and so obtain'd a full pardon.</p> <p><i>Luidolphus</i>, Eldest Son to <i>Otto</i>, rebell'd also, which was the occasion of great mischief; but at last, he also submitted: the Emperour being on hunting, <i>Luidolph</i> came to him bare-headed, bare-footed, kneel'd before him, and with abundance of tears confessing his fault, desired pardon; which moved <i>Otto</i> so much, that he commanded him to arise; and with tears of joy forgave and restored him to all his former honours, and so he continued obedient till his death, some few years after.</p>			
<p>But the most implacable and dissembling enemy that the Emperour <i>Otto</i> had, was <i>Frederick</i>, Archbishop of <i>Mentz</i>.</p>		<p>946</p> <p>949</p> <p>950</p>	<p><i>Hugo</i> dyed in Province.</p> <p><i>Lotharius</i>, Son to <i>Hugo</i>, call'd King of <i>Italy</i>, dyed in <i>Italy</i>.</p> <p><i>Berengarius</i> the Second was call'd King of <i>Italy</i>.  <i>Albert</i> or <i>Adelbert</i>, Son to <i>Berengarius</i>, was call'd King of <i>Italy</i> with his Father.</p> <p>Against</p>

Of *Otto's* particular actions in *Italy*, at his several times being there, I shall not here enlarge.

OTTO.

Against these two the Emperour *Otto* march'd into *Italy*, and made them flee or submit.

962

*Otto*, that had formerly been call'd Emperour of *Germany*, was in this year Crown'd and Consecrated Emperour in *St. Peters* Church at *Rome*, by Pope *John* the Twelfth: And thus he is acknowledged Emperour by both parties. *Baronius* and others being so zealous, that they will let the West want an Emperour for many years, if not consecrated by his Holiness.

Thus we see the pretty whims and variations of Time and Pride, by the too much easiness and credulity of the one side, with the cheat of a terrible zeal on the other: that whereas formerly a Pope could not be without the Emperours approbation, the case is alter'd, and forsooth, a *Cesar* cannot Rule without the Popes Consecration. As for *Berengarius* and his Son, they were forced to yeild up their interest to (a) *Otho*. Though the (b) next year after, *Adelbert* or *Albert* the Son, with the assistance of the *Lombards*, made some opposition against the Emperour, and for some three years held up his head by War. In the mean time his Father *Berengarius* the Second (b) dyeth in *Germany*, and was buried at *Bamberg*. After which, *Albert* was over-power'd by *Otho*, had his Authority and Title taken from him, and not long after he (d) dyed. And thus much in brief, for the better understanding the jumbling and crossing of Emperours.

<sup>a</sup> An. 964.

<sup>b</sup> An. 965.

<sup>c</sup> An. 966.

<sup>d</sup> An. 968.

### SECT. 3.

The burly-burly amongst the Popes themselves, whereby their personal Succession is shaken.

And now methinks it will not be amiss (by the by) somewhat to take a view of the tossings, tumblings, and hurly-burlies of the Popes, whilst these Politicks were acting, which may afford some farther light to the former story: Though I shall not here undertake to give you an exact series of the Popes for this time, not knowing where certainly to finde or have it, the chief of their own Authors not

D d 2

in

in this agreeing, and yet every day we hear the meanest of their Tribe brag that they can shew a continued and uninterrupted Succession; but many talk of Archery, who never saw *Robin Hood's* Bow, and some may talk of Succession, who never undertook to compare their Historians or Chronologers. And he who in this, and the timing of their Popes, shall make their chiefest Authors agree, not onely those who have diligently read over the ancient Writers, but also with sweat and pains view'd and compar'd their Monuments and Originals (as they call them) in the *Vatican* it self, shall do more than *Baronius*, or any other that have done to this day.

But to the business in hand: We heard formerly how Pope *John* the Ninth (or Eighth) was imprisoned by the *Romans* for favouring the Empire of *Lewes* the Third; and how after this, unconstrain'd, on his own head he took upon him the Whim of nulling the Coronation of *Lewes*, and crowning *Charles* the *Grosse* for Emperour.

a An. 882. After this *John*, we have (a) *Martinus*, or *Marinus*, some calling him one way, some another: if the first, you may call him *Martinus* the Second; if the other, then *Marinus* the First, of whom there is nothing observable, but that he obtain'd the Popedom by

b Malis ar- (b) indirect and unlawful means. After him we have (c) *Adrian* the Third, who was of so (d) great a spirit, as *Platina* saith, that he made a Law, that in creating of Popes, the authority of the Emperour should not be expected or required: but we shall not find this

c An. 884. always observed. After him followed (e) *Stephanus* the Fifth (or Sixth) who is said to make this Decree, (f) *Whatsoever the Church of Rome doth ordain or appoint, must be observed by all.*

d Tanti aut- And now we come to the beginning of some notable garboyls and cross-grain'd actions, upon the score of the Election of *Formosus* Pope after the death of *Stephanus*; of which thus briefly: *Formosus* (before his Popedom) was Bishop of *Porto*; from which Pope *John* the Ninth (or Eighth) had deposed him, Excommunicated him, and degraded him to a meer Lay-man; who departed the City, having sworn never to return, or to be Bishop again. After this, Pope *Martin*, or *Marin*, absolves him from his Oath, and restores him to his dignities. After the death of *Stephanus*, the people of

e An. 885. f D. 119. c. 4. Coef. pag. 575. *Rome* fell into Factions, one party chusing this (g) *Formosus* for Pope, the other elected one *Sergius*, of a powerful acquaintance, related to the Marquis of *Tuscane*, then chief of the *Tusculans*: But *Formosus* kept the Chair, though the great *Guido* or *Wido* also favour'd *Sergius*: Yet at last, not able to withstand such opposition, he calls in to his assistance *Arnulph* the *German* Emperour, who takes *Rome*, beats away *Formosus* his Enemies, and is by him Crown'd Emperour, of which formerly; and at last *Formosus* dyeth.

b An. 896. i Chron fol. 301. k Pag. 576. Upon the death of *Formosus*, (b) *Boniface* the Sixth, Son to *Adrian* the Bishop, is chosen. *Platina*, (i) *da Bergamo*, and some others, make him lawfully elected, and speak nothing against him; but (k) *Coeffeteau* will have him to come in by Faction, and one that had been formerly for his wickedness degraded by a Synod at *Rome*, of his Deaconship and Priest-hood: let them agree about it, and if they can, of the years of his Popedom.

After him we have Pope *Stephanus* the Sixth, Son of a Cardinal Priest; he was of the Faction of *Sergius*, and so grand an Enemy to

to Pope *Formosus* (though they say *Formosus* made him Bishop, and gave him the See of *Anagni*) that he did not onely abrogate and null all his Orders, rescind all that he had done; but, which was most intumane, he commanded (and that publickly in a [a] Council) his body to be dig'd out of the grave, and his rotten carcase, adorned with Priestly Garments, to be placed in the Popes Chair; and then gravely examin'd him, why he durst take upon him to be Bishop of *Rome*? and this formality of tryal being finished, and the Corps condemn'd, he had him disrobed of his Vestments, and commanded his [b] three or [c] two fingers, wherewith he used to bless the people, to be cut off, and thrown into the River *Tiber*; and the rest of his body, as [d] *Baronius* and *Platina* saith, was buried amongst the simple and vilest Lay-men. Nor was this all, but he also degraded whom *Formosus* had Ordain'd, and himself gave them new Orders: And which was most of all, he had all these actions confirm'd by a Synod at *Rome*, as their own [e] *Coquans* doth confess. And all this, because he thought *Formosus* no true Pope, [f] being elected against his former Oath. And this he confirmed by a Council or Synod.

a Habito  
Concilio  
Platin.  
Lunprand.  
l. i. c. 8.

S. gonius,  
de Regno  
Ital. l. 6.

b Coquans,  
tom. i. pag.  
477.

c Platina.  
d Il resto del  
corpo fece  
sepellire  
nella sepoltura  
de secolari  
simplici  
& villi.

e Tom. i.  
p. 477.

f Pubice in Concilio Episcoporum decernit *Formosum* nunquam fuisse legitimum Pontificem. *Bellarmino*. de Pont. Rom. l. 4. c. 12.

[g] *Onuphrius*, at the inhumanity of this action, seemeth so much troubled, that he will not take it for any thing, but to be a meer fable and lye: but in this case one Swallow makes no Summer, especially when *Platina*, *Coquans*, *Bellarmino*, *Baronius* and the whole body of their Historians, both before and after *Onuphrius* and *Platina*, tells us, that in his time *Pius* the Second being dead, by the Conclave was elected for Pope [b] *Pietro Barbo*, a *Venetian*, who being a comely and proper person, intended to take upon him the name of *Formosus*; but some Cardinals well versed in History, perswaded him from it, by setting this *Formosus*, as a bad man, before him; upon which he call'd himself *Paul* the Second. Nor need we trouble our selves any farther, for the proof of this sacrilegious story against *Onuphrius*; their *French* Champion, [i] *Nicholas Coeffeteau*, of his own accord quitting of us from this labour.

g Addit. ad  
Platin

b An. 1464.

i Il n'est  
done point  
besoin d'a-

masser les Testimoignages des Auteurs, pour exagerer l'enormite de cette action, puisque nous avoions ingenuement que c'a este un horrible *Sacrilege*, digne d'estre brulle du feu du Ciel. Et encor qu' *Onuphre* remette en doute cette Histoire, elle est neanmoins receüe par la Commune voix de tous les Escrivains. *Coeffeteau* Responce au *Mornay*, pag. 576.

As for Pope *Stephanus*, they say he was at last imprisoned by his Enemies, and there strangled; yet some onely say, in the common phrase, he dyed. To him succeeded [k] *Romanus*, being chosen by a prevailing Faction of the *Romans* (as [l] *Coquans* saith) against *Albert*, Marquis of *Tuscany*: this obliged *Romanus*, as an Enemy to *Sergius* and his party, to favour *Formosus*, whom in a Synod he vindicated, condemning all that *Stephanus* had done against him; so did his Successor [m] *Theodorus* the Second. After him there was great strivings to have the former *Sergius* settled in the Popedom; but the contrary party carryed it, who elected *John* the Tenth (or Ninth:) his interest also lay for *Formosus*, whose actions he presently began to vindicate; but in this a great number of *Romans* opposing him, the Seditions and Tumults rose to such an hight, that both parties

Baron.  
Coeffect.

k An. 897.

l Pag. 477.

m An. 898.

Platina.



*Sigonius*,  
an. 898.

of p. 577.

a Id. p. 582.  
*Stephanum*  
viz recorda-  
tionis. Ba-  
ron. an. 904.  
4.

b *Corf.* pag.  
577.

c Contra  
Legem, sine  
authoritate  
Regia.  
*Sigon.* anno  
899.  
d *Sigon.* an.  
904.

900  
e An. 906.

f *Platina* da  
*Bergamo*,  
fol. 311.  
*Genebrard*,  
pag. 811.  
*Carranza*,  
pag. 786. *Naucler*. Generat. 31. pag. 656. *Volaterran*. lib. 32. fol. 352. *Ant. Coc. Sabellic.* En-  
nead. 9 lib 1 fol. 209. *La Cronique Martiniane*, fol. 103.

g *Acta Rom. Pont.* pag. 129.

parties had like to have gone together by the Ears, and fought it out: but to carry his business more clearly, *John* leaveth *Rome*, goeth to *Ravenna*, where he gets LXXIV Bishops together, with whom he condemns the proceedings of *Stephanus* against *Formosus*, and declar'd as sacrilegious those who had taken his body out of its Grave, and cut off his Fingers; and yet at the same time call'd *Stephanus*, a Pope of (a) *holy and blessed memory*. And something he also did here in Temporals, according as his interest led him; for though he loved one, and hated the other Pope never so much, yet self-ends perswaded him to reject and approve at his own liking; for here he null'd the Coronation of *Arnulph* for Emperor as illegal, though 'twas done by his Friend *Formosus*; and on the contrary, received and declared as authentick that of *Lamberts*, though crown'd by his Foe *Stephanus*: the truth is, he loved not the German greatness to have too much countenance near him, for which cause he desired *Lambert* to be present at this Synod, for a farther confirmation of his honour. And having now a King or Emperor according to his hearts wish, the better to confirm the Popedom to his own associates or party, he establish'd by Decree, or renew'd the ancient Laws, viz. (b) *That from that time forward, the Popes should not be Consecrated, but in the presence of the Ambassadors, or Deputies of the Emperor*: Thus was *Adrian* the Third his Constitution (contrary to this) null'd. And so much for this *John*, who is branded by *Platina*, as a Renewer or Reviver of the former broyls and seditions, which were almost neglected or forgot.

After *John* succeeds *Benedict* the Fourth, elected by the *Tusculan* interest, and Consecrated according to (c) *Sigonius* against the Law, wanting the Royal or Imperial Authority. Next to him we have *Leo* the Fourth, neither humane nor divine Law being then observed; and he was one neither wise nor fit for affairs, as the same (d) Historian observeth. *Christopher* his Chaplain, taking opportunity by *Leo*'s weakness, assisted with other his Companions, seisd upon and imprisoned him, and settled himself in the Popedom: but ungrateful *Christopher* remain'd not long in this glory.

For (e) *Sergius* the Third, who had formerly twice attempted the Papal Chair, and as oft thrust by, did now play his part so well, that he obtain'd his desire, seisd upon *Christopher*, shut him up in a Monastery, and after into close imprisonment, where he miserably dyed.

This *Sergius* the Third again stirs up the dispute about *Formosus*, and was so zealous an Enemy against him, that he not onely thwarted all that had been done in vindication of *Formosus* by other Popes, by his nulling and abrogating all that *Formosus* had decreed or done, having all those re-ordained, who had formerly received Orders of *Formosus*: but not content with this, he had his body (f) dig'd out of its Grave again, and beheaded as a Malefactor, and so thrown into the River *Tiber*, as unworthy of Christian burial; and (g) *Baleus* saith, that the rest of his Fingers left on his righthand, were now also cut off.

But

But some I finde of late to be very willing to have this inhumanity of *Sergius* towards *Formosus* his Carcass, somewhat suspected or doubted, because they tell us, that Historians might mistake, though in this we finde them very positive. However, if this will not be granted them, yet if any question the innocencie or Religion of *Formosus*, they have a Miracle at hand to help bravely at a dead-litt, viz. that it chanced upon a time, that some Fisher men found this body of *Formosus*, which they carryed to St. *Peters* Church, which whilst they were burying, all the Images there, did reverence to the Carcass: and if this be not good proof of his Infallibility, I know not where I can satisfie, or better my self.

And here I finde (a) *Bellarmino*, (b) *Coeffeteau*, (c) *Coquenois*, and some others in a peck of troubles how to quit these contradictory Popes, assisted by their contradictory Councils or Synods, from Fallibility, or being erroneous. But here they onely beat about the Bush; and let them toyl never so much; they will scare quit these infallible Popes from two Fundamental Errors, not onely of Fact, but of Judgement and Doctrine, viz. the acknowledging, or not acknowledging of the true Pope; and the re-ordaining those who had formerly, rightly, and legally received Orders, as if they had been but meer (d) Laymen, for all their former Ordination; since they themselves confess, that an Episcopal Character is indelible, though he were never so wicked, otherwise they would make the vertue of the Sacrament depend upon the sanctity or wickedness of the Priest. Yet rather than grant Fallibility, their great (e) Cardinal would gladly insinuate into us, that *Stephanus* might either not know, or not believe, that *Martin* had absolved *Formosus* from his Oath of never being Bishop, and so might judge him not to be capable of the Popedom. Very pretty indeed, that *Stephanus* an intimate acquaintance of *Formosus*, who gave him the Bishoprick of *Anagni*, should not know this as well as *Bellarmino* and others after him. But I knew a merry old Gentleman, who in 1645, being ask'd by some Troupers, whether he was for King or Parliament, cunningly seem'd so far from understanding their meaning, that he said, he never heard that they were fallen out, and desired to be inform'd of their worships, who let him alone as a mad-man or fool. And I think they would perswade us to believe Pope *Stephanus* to have used the same Art or Policie.

But to proceed, passing by *Anastasius* the Third and *Lando*, we have in the next place (f) *John* the Eleventh (or Tenth) whose story taketh us in short: *Theodora*, Mother-in-law to *Albert*, Marquis of *Tuscany*, ruled all in *Rome* as she pleased; and being one who chused her own recreation, she cast her affection upon this *John*, when onely a Priest, whom she got *Lando* to make Bishop of *Bologne*, and then procured him the Archbishoprick of *Ravenna*. Here the people had no good wishes for him, yet *Theodora* had, not liking this distance (*Ravenna* being about 200 Miles from *Rome*) resolved to have her Friend in a corner neerer her; so getting of him to *Rome*, after the death of *Lando*, she had him made Pope, (g) without observation of any law or voices of the Clergy, but bribery, and the riches or power of her Son *Albert*. Thus have we seen his beginning, and now to his exit.

This *Theodora* had two Daughters, *Marozia* and *Theodora*; the first she married to *Albert*, Marquis of *Tuscany* (and so she became

900

a De Rom. Pont. lib. 4. cap. 12.  
b Pag. 579, 580. &c.  
c Tom. 1. pag. 479.

d Tanquam nihil ab illo accepissent. *Bellarmino* de Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 12.  
e *Bellarmino* ib.

f An. 916.

*Luitprandus* lib. 2. cap. 13.  
*Sigon.* lib. 6.

g Nihil ex legibus autem est neque cleri suffragiis, sed propriis opibus. *Sigon.* anno 913.

900

his Mother-in-law; ) *Albert* dying, *Marozia* was then married to *Guido* or *Gny*, Marquiss of *Tuscany* : these two resolved to rule all; but Pope *John* a little thwarting this design, they plotted against him, and taking opportunity, seisd upon the *Lategan*-Palace, slew *Peter*, Brother to *John*; and for the Pope himself, they cast him into prison, and choak'd or smother'd him with a Pillow or Cushion.

*Platina* saith, that after him another *John* succeeded, who was thrust out again; and the same is affirm'd by the ancient [a] *Cronique Martiniane* : but I finde some others in this silent. After him we have a *Leo*; then a *Stephanus*; then *John* the Twelfth, a bastard begotten by Pope *Sergius* the Third and the aforesaid *Marozia*, as all their own Authors confess, onely [b] *la Cronique Martiniane* makes the former *John* (Paramour to *Theodora*, and who succeeded *Lando*) to be bastard to *Sergius*; and it would be pretty if they should both be true. This *John* was thrust out, and with his Mother *Marozia* clapt up in [c] Prison by *Alberick*, Son to her and Marquiss *Albert*. Then comes *Leo* the Seventh, after him *Stephanus* the Eighth (or Seventh) a *German*: *Alberick*, Son to *Marozia*, liked not this Election; and the *Romans* fell upon the Pope, beat him so grievously, that he was after that ashamed to appear in publick, by reason of his wounds and sores, and so dyed with grief. After him sits *Martin*, or *Marin*; then *Agapetus*, who was followed by *John*.

This *John* the Thirteenth (or Twelfth) (a Youth of [d] eighteen years old (if so much) when he was made Pope) was Son to the former *Alberick*, Marquiss of *Tuscany*, by whose power and greatness he obtain'd that Chair: A man given over to all manner of wickedness, but especially women pleas'd him most. Thus as *Rome* was ruled by women, so was all *Italy* troubled with *Berengarius*; against these, *Otto* the First the *German* Emperour was call'd, and was nobly received at *Rome*, he swearing to defend the honor of *St. Peter*, and Pope *John* never to assist *Berengarius*, or his Son *Adelbert*. But upon *Otho's* departure, *John* forgets his Oath, leagues himself with *Berengarius*, and so plots against the Emperour. *Otho* is troubled at this, but the Pope confesseth his fault, and pleads his youth; yet again, runs into the same error, and joyns with *Adelbert*. The *Romans* inform *Otho* of this, and desire his assistance; they in the mean time rise up, and seise the Castle of *St. Paul*. The Pope and *Adelbert* perceiving themselves not able to oppose, flee for't; and *Otho* is received into the City, the people swearing Allegiance to him; and, which was more, by expresse Oath add farther, that they would never chuse or ordain any Pope without the consent and election of the Emperour *Otho* and his Son.

Then was a Synod held of many Clergy, wherein the Pope was accused of many crimes, as, *That he had celebrated Mass, and never Communicated: That he gave Orders to a Deacon in a Stable amongst Horses: That he had made Bishops for money: That he had made one of ten years old Bishop of Todi: That he was guilty of Sacrilege and Adultery: That he put out the eyes of Benedict his Confessor: That he slew Cardinal John, after he had gelt him: That he used to drink an health to the Devil: That playing at Dice, he used to call upon the name of Jupiter, and Venus, and all the Devils to help him, &c.* These crimes they sent to him, and desired him to come and purge

purge himself. This he refuseth, and expressly Excommunicates them all, if they proceed any farther against him: but they slighted his threatnings; and as one not fit to be Pope, by an unanimous consent, with the approbation of the Emperour they depose him.

This *John*, before he was Pope, was call'd *Ostavian*; and not thinking that Heathenish name fitting for St. *Peters* Succellor, was the first of the Popes (as [a] *Onuphrius* saith) that changed his name; but *Platina* saith, that it was *Sergius* the Second, by reason of his ugly name, being first call'd [b] *Swines-face*: But this the Learned [c] Dr. *Brown* placeth amongst his Vulgar errors.

a Annotat.  
in *Platin.*  
b Bocca di  
Porco.  
c Lib. 7 c. 16.

*John* being thus thrust out, they elected for Pope *Leo* the Third, who with the Emperour call'd another Synod, where amongst other things the Emperour is declared *Patricius*, and that for the future no Pope shall be chosen, but by the consent of *Otho* or his Successors; the Decree it self you may see at large in [d] *Sigonius*, and the [e] *Canon-law*.

d Lib. 7.  
e Dist. 63. c.  
In Synodo.

The Emperour departing, *John* returns to *Rome*, where the women were active for his cause; he calls another Synod, deposeth *Leo*, and degrades those whom *Leo* had Ordain'd, and was very fierce against the Imperialists, cutting off the hand of one, the tongue, fingers and nose of another: but this triumph lasted not long; for one night lying with another mans wife, he was slain, some say by the [f] Devil, others by the *Womans* [g] Husband.

f Coef. pag.  
596.

Upon this deposition of *John*, [h] *Theodorick à Niem*, who lived two hundred years ago, and was Secretary to several Popes, is very zealous in vindication of the Imperial Authority, and indeavours at large to prove that Emperours have Authority to depose Popes.

g Jo. Marius  
de schism.  
part 3. cap. 3.  
h De schism.  
mate, lib. 3.  
cap. 9, 10, 11.

*John* being dead, the *Romans* chose *Benedict* the Fifth, without the consent of *Otho*, contrary to their Oaths; which so troubled the Emperour, that he marcht against the City, besiegeth it, and takes it; deposeth *Benedict*, degradeth him of his Priestly Orders, and resettles *Leo*. And here I finde the *Romanists* in a grand bussle to preserve their Succession, not being able to agree about the lawful Pope. [i] *Baronius*, [k] *Sanderus*, and some others, will have *Benedict* to be a true Pope. But *Onuphrius* rejects him as a [l] Schismatick, and in plain terms calls him an [m] *Anti-pope*, and will acknowledge none but *Leo* the Eighth to be authentick; yet him *Baronius* will not place amongst the legal Popes: and [n] *Genebrard* confesseth, that their Historians in this cannot agree: [o] *Coqueus* for the honour of his Church would gladly reconcile all; yet I know not when they will all pitch upon the Infallible Pontif.

i An. 963.  
k De visib.  
Monarch. l.  
7. c. 687.  
l Annot. in  
Plat. vit.  
Benedict. V.  
m Epit. Pon-  
tif.

Nor is it in this case alone, that they are nonplust to make good their personal Succession, and point you out the true Vicar; for they are in this to seek in several other persons, as their own [p] *Sanderus* is forced to confes.

n Cron. pag.  
827.  
o Tom. 1.  
pag. 486.  
p De visib.  
Mon. l. 7.  
c. 692.

But to return: *Leo* the Eighth being dead, the *Romans* sent to *Otho* to know his advice about the next election; who sent to *Rome* the Bishops of *Spire* and *Cremona*, in whose presence was elected *John* the Fourteenth (or Thirteenth) Son of a Bishop; yet the tumultuous *Romans* imprisoned him also in the Castle *St. Angelo*; upon which the Emperour returns to *Rome*, and severely punish'd the Authors

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*a Onu-brius*  
in his *Ponti-*  
*fices Max-*  
*ims* set out  
by *Jo. Gual-*  
*ter* in his  
*Cron. Croni-*  
*corum*, doth  
not name a-  
ny such  
Pope.  
*b Coqueus*,  
pag. 488.

thors of these garboyls. After his death, their Authors are again at odds about the Order of the next Vicars; with which I shall not trouble my self, but follow *Platina*. After *John* comes *Benedict* the Sixth, who by the advice of Cardinal *Bonifacius*, was also imprisoned in the Castle *St. Angelo*, and there strangled or famish'd: Then followeth (*a*) *Donus*, or *Domnus* the Second; after him *Boniface* the Seventh, who occasioned the murder of *Benedict* the Sixth [some will not reckon this *Boniface* amongst the true Popes.] But *Benedict* the Seventh thrusts this *Boniface* out of the Church, who rich with the robbing of Churches, fled to *Constantinople*. *Benedict* dying, *John* the Fifteenth (or Fourteenth) succeeds; which being known to *Boniface* the Eighth, he returns, imprisons *John*, who is starved; and *Boniface* once again is Pope; after whose death, *John* the Sixteenth (or Fifteenth) is Pope: he was the Son of *Leo* a Priest, and, they say, begot in (*b*) lawful Matrimony.

*Platina*.

*c* L' Empe-  
reur au con-  
tentement de  
tout le mon-  
de ettablit  
en sa place son  
Nepveu *Bruno*, qui depuis fut nomme *Gregorie* Cinquiesme. *Coef.* pag. 601.

After him there is another *John*, who was forced to leave *Rome* for fear of *Crescentius*, a powerful Citizen there. But the people being informed, that *John* had desired the assistance of the Emperour *Otho* the Third, desired him to return to *Rome*, and all should be quiet: *John* consents, and is honourably received there; *Crescentius*, and the chief Authors of these troubles, confessing their faults, and kissing his Feet. Yet *Crescentius* grew haughty; *Otho* marcheth into *Italy*. Pope *John* dying, the Emperour at *Ravenna* appointed to be Pope his Cousin *Bruno*, a German, who call'd himself *Gregory* the Fifth: And this (*c*) *Coeffeteau* confesseth was done to the satisfaction and content of all men; and this may be one Argument of the Imperial Power.

But yet we have not peace: for *Otho* the Third being no sooner return'd, but *Crescentius*, who was made *Consul* by the *Romans*, oppose the German interest; so that *Gregory* was forced to flee into *Germany* for assistance. In the mean time, the *Romans* chose for Pope, the Bishop of *Placentia*, who calls himself *John* the Eighteenth. Upon news of this, *Otho* returns into *Italy*, takes *Rome*, and besiegeth *Crescentius* in the Castle *St. Angelo*: at last *Crescentius* yeilds, upon hope of pardon, and is slain; and as for this Pope *John*, he had his hands, nose and ears cut off, his eyes pluckt out; then set upon an Asses back with his face towards the Tail, and so led about the City. And thus was *Gregory* the Fifth restored.

*Platina* saith, that this Pope *Gregory* the Fifth granted the *German* liberty of chusing their own Emperours by the *Electors*; but *Onuphris* affirmeth it to have been done first by *Gregory* the Tenth. Another dispute ariseth about the Papal Authority in this case; and (*d*) *Bellarmino* is zealous for his Patrons: but for answer to him, I shall refer you to (*e*) *Hermannus Conringius*, who can tell you of others.

*d* De Tran-  
flat. Imp.  
*f* De Imper.  
Germanici  
Republica,  
p. 106, &c.

*Baron.* an  
912. & 5.

We need not question the misery of the *Romish* Church; which as we have here seen, hath been govern'd for so many years, onely with an high-hand. The Popes themselves being given to all manner of corruption and wickedness, not he that was the best, but he who was the strongest, sitting in the Infallible Chair; a thing that their

their own Authors do much complain of, and declare their wicked stories with grief: insomuch, that (a) *Genebrard* himself doth declare, that for almost an hundred and fifty years, there ruled in *Rome* near fifty Popes, wicked people, being rather Apostates than Apostolical. But yet he would gladly quit the *Romans* from the blame, all which he throweth upon *German* Emperours; but how deservedly, let any judge, the *Otto's* being commended in story for their affection to the *Roman* See; nor did they use to trouble *Rome* with their company, but when they were call'd thither to quell the Tumults and Seditions. But this, by the way, may be enough to see that *Rome* it self is as capable of Treason, Rebellions, Murders and Seditions, as other places, by them made incapable of Salvation. But before I end this, I must observe, that sometimes, as *John* the Eleventh (or Tenth) *John* the Thirteenth (or Twelfth) to serve their turns, they will grant one to be a true Pope, though illegally elected; and at other times, for their own ends, will deny one to be a true Pope, meerly for some fault in his Election: nor can they always agree, who was the true Pope; and yet the Succession of their Popes is infallible.

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 a Hoc vero uno infelix, quod per annos fere 150. Pontifices circiter 50 -- a virtute majorum prorsus de fecerint, Apostatici potius quam Apostolici, *Cron.* p. 807.  
*Cogne.* pag. 482, 483.



## CHAP. VII.

1. The deposing of Charles the Third le simple, King of France.
2. The Murder of Edmund, and Edward the Martyr, Kings of England.
3. The Murders of Malcolme, of Duffe, of Culene, of Kenneth the Third, Kings of Scotland.

### SECT. I.

The deposing of Charles the Third le simple, King of France.

**B**Ut now leaving off the quarrels and seditions amongst the Popes themselves at *Rome*, let us move a little *Northwards*, and see what Loyalty and Obedience we can finde towards Temporal Princes: and *France* in the first place offers it self, where passing by some troubles, we behold (b) *Charles le simple* in the Throne; a well meaning King, and Religious. b An. 892.

But against him *Robert*, brother to *Endes*, and *Major-dome*, and

E c 2

Grand-

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Grand-father to *Hugh Capet*, gets a party, and hath himself Crown'd King of *Rheims* by *Merivee*, Archbishop of that City : *Charles* informed of this, marcheth against him ; both the Armies meet neer *Soissons*, fight, in which *Robert* is slain, some say by *Charles* himself, who ran his Lance into his mouth, and through his tongue. However, though *Charles* here remain'd victorious ; yet by negligence, or too much fear or confidence, he lost all ; for instead of prosecuting

*Dr. Bussell*,  
res, tom. I.  
pag. 477.

a Or *Heribert*.

b An. 923.

*Chasteau-Thierry*, a Town in la Haute Campagne.

c *Jo. Chenu*,  
Hist. Archi-  
episc. Gall.  
pag. 270.

d An. 928.

his Victory, he desired peace and assistance of (a) *Hebert*, Earl of *Vermandois* (or *St. Quentin*) his enemy, and Cousin to *Robert*.

(b) *Heribert* glad of this, desires *Charles* to come to *St. Quentin*, that they might the better consult about his safety : *Charles* thinking all promises to be true, consents, and freely goeth thither. *Herbert* perceiving him now in his power, seisseth upon him, and tells him that *France* must now consult for a wiser King ; so he is carryed to the Castle of *Thierry*, thence to *Soissons*, where the Parliament being call'd, according to *Hebert's* humour, the innocent King is deposed, and *Rodulph* [by the French call'd *Raoul*] Duke of *Burgundy* (of whom we have formerly heard as King of *Italy*,) is declared and Crown'd King of *France* by *Seulfus*, Archbishop of *Rheims* ; which Prelate was (c) poysoned after by *Hebert*.

As for poor *Charles*, sometimes he was favour'd by a little liberty ; but at last, he was clapt up close prisoner in *Perone* Castle in *Picardy* ; where (having thus, for the space of five years, been hurried from prison to prison) he (d) dyed, being overwhelm'd with grief, and the nastiness of his Goal.

But before I end this story, it may be the Reader will not take it amiss, if we tell him what device and policie was used by *Lewes*, Son to *Charles* the simple, to make *Hebert* suffer by his own judgement, for his Treason against his Sovereign.

*Eguina* the Third, Daughter to *Edward*, surnamed the Elder, King of *England*, and Sister to *Ethelstan*, or *Adelstan*, King also of *England*, was married to this *Charles* the Third, surnamed the simple, by whom she had *Lewes* the Fourth. She perceiving the misery of her Husband and King ; to escape the same danger, with her Son *Lewes*, she takes her opportunity, and slips into *England* ; where they stay with her Brother *Athelstan*, till the people weary of Rebellion, and other opportunities, settle him in the Throne of *France* ; and from his thus living beyond Seas here in *England*, his Country-men call'd him (e) *D'oultremer*.

e *Ultramarinus*, or *Transmarinus*.

*Lewes*, surnamed *D'oultremer*, being thus restored, was resolved to be revenged on *Heribert*, Count of *St. Quentin*, for the deposing and imprisonment of his Father, *Charles le simple* : and having as he thought sufficiently secured himself with his Nobility and People, he held a Parliament at *Laon*, composed of his sure Friends ; and thither, as to advise about the good of the Nation, *Hebert* came also amongst the rest. In the mean time, King *Lewes* had provided a trusty fellow, to whom he gave a Letter written by himself, with express Orders to the fellow, to put himself into an *English* Habit ; and when the Assembly met, to come in and bring the Letter, as if from the King of *England*.

Accordingly the fellow cometh in, delivers the Letter, which was read whisperingly to the King ; and whilst the Secretary was thus reading it, the King smiled : the Nobles at this thinking it to be some jesting business, desired of his Majesty the reason : Well, quoth

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 Quoth the King, now I perceive the English are not so wise, as I took them to be; for my Cousin, the King of England, writes to me, that in his Country, a labouring man inviting his Landlord or Master to dinner at his house, caused him to be slain: and now, my lords, he desires your advice, what punishment this fellow deserves, and what he should undergo. Upon which, they with Hebert unanimously declared their Opinions, that he should be hang'd, that death being most ignominious. Whereupon, the King turning to Heribert, said, And thou, O Hebert! art this false servant, who by imprisonment murder'd: in the Castle of Perone thy Lord and Master, King Charles my father; and so receive thy reward according to thine own judgement. At this, the Kings Officers provided on purpose come in, seize upon Hebert, carry him out to a Mountain close by, where he was hang'd or strangled: from which action, they say, the Hill is to this day call'd *Mount-Hebert*.

(a) *Dupleix* will have *Heribert* to dye a natural death, and is very angry with *de Serres* for asserting this story; though I can assure him that *Serres* was neither the first nor onely Author of this Passage; for before him (b) *du Haillan* hath it, and long before him again we have it told at large by (c) *Robertus Gaguinus*: but however it be, there is no stress of any business lyeth upon it.

a Tom. I. p.  
693. & 9,  
10.  
b De l'estar,  
de France, l.  
1. fol. 56.  
c De gestis  
Franc. l. 5.  
fol. 40.

**. Sect. 2.**

*The Murder of Edmund, and Edward the Martyr, Kings of England.*

But now let us look a little neerer home, where we finde *Edmund*, Brother to *Ethelstan*, reigning in *England*, and commend-  
ed for his good Government and Laws; yet was he murder'd, but  
how, Authors will not agree: some say, that being at his Mannor of  
*Pucklekirks* in *Glocestershire*, seeing one of his Servants in danger at  
a quarrel, stepping in to save his Servant, was himself (*d*) slain. O-  
thers will have it, that at the same place keeping a Feast upon  
*St. Augustine* (Archbishop of *Canterbury*) his day, and seeing one  
*Leof* (whom for his misdemeanors he had formerly banished the  
land, and now return'd without license) sitting at Table neer him,  
was so intriged to see such an Outlaw in his presence, that he sud-  
denly rose from the Table, fell upon *Leof*, took him by the hair,  
and threw him to the ground: but the Villan having fast hold on  
the King, pull'd him down also; and then with his Knife ript up the  
Kings belly, that his bowels fell out, and there he dyed: As for the  
Outlaw, the Servants there fell upon him; but before they could  
dispatch him, he slew and wounded divers of them. *John Harding*,  
who flourished above two hundred years ago, saith it was done at  
*Canterbury*: And thus relates the story according to the Poetry of  
those times.

*Hollinshead.*  
lib. c.21.  
*Speed*, l.7. c.  
39. *Jo. Tre-*  
*visa*, l.6.  
fol.290.  
d An.946.

\* \* \* \* \*

*This King Edmond was slain by a Felon,  
Whiche of Malice and his false Treason,*

Fol. 115:

**That**





his feet being intangled in the Stirrop, by reason whereof his Horse drag'd him up and down through Woods and Lands: And thus was that good King *Edward* (a) murder'd, and was surnamed the Martyr; though (b) *Harpsfeld*, or somebody else for him, will not stand upon it, that he ought in strictness to be call'd so; being not murder'd for his Religion, but his Kingdom.

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a An. 979.  
b Hist. Eccleſ. p. 188.  
in the Margin.

After this murder, they go on, and tell a great many stories of him; as how his Step-mother *Elfritha* (for so some call her) had his body drag'd into a little house hard by, and there cover'd over with straw for the present necessity, that it might not be found; but a poor woman, who was born blind living there, by miracle had that night her sight given her: *Elfrida* troubled at this, fearing that by this discovery the body might be found, had it taken thence and thrown into the Marishes: but this would not do neither; for a year after God reveal'd to some men that the body was in those Waters; but the certain place could not be found out, till a fiery Pillar was pleas'd to point them to it, whence it was carryed and buryed at *Warham*, and having laid there some years uncorrupted, 'twas thence with great solemnity translated to *Shaftsbury*, neer the borders of *Wiltshire*.

L. Surin,  
March. 18.  
Zach. Lipell.  
Guil. Garet.

And here might I tell the strange Miracles wrought by the vertue of this holy *Edward*, of blind receiving sight, deaf hearing, the lame and sick their limbs and health; but that I cannot oblige the Readers belief. As for the murdering *Elfrida*, although, they say, that at first she was punished by Miracles, as desiring to see the Tomb of her Son-in-law, the Horse on which he rode would by no means carry her thither; and though she tryed several, yet we finde all commanded by the same stubbornness, which making her more keen, she resolved to go on foot; yet though her will was never so strong, they say, she could not possibly do it. However, at last, we need not question *Elfrida's* Religion and pardon, since to quit and expiate her from the guilt of this horrid murder, she built two Nunneries, (c) *Almesbury* in *Wiltshire*, and *Warwell* in *Hampshire*. An easie way of recompence for rich people, to ease themselves of the most crying sins: And though I am not obliged either to censure one, or vindicate the other; yet some may justly fancie, that several of those ancient buildings being thus founded upon blood and rapine, might as by a judgement call a destroying hand upon them. But far be it from me to oppose Monuments of Charity, which without question may hugely advance the glory of God upon Earth, and smoothe the Founders way to Heaven: And I could wish that those ancient Monuments of Piety (for without doubt many of them were really so) nobly spread about by our Fore-fathers liberality, had either continued as good Examples, or been better employ'd at their Dissolutions. But this by the way.

c Ambresbury.

## Sect. 3.

*The Murders of Malcolme, of Duffe, of Culene, of Kenneth the Third, Kings of Scotland.*

- A**Nd now let us cross the *Tweed*, and take notice of what obedience we finde there; and here we meet with *Constantine* the Third, King of *Scotland*, who being troubled at the great (a) Victory the *English* had over him, where most of his Nobility were slain, withdrew himself from the rule of his Kingdom, and became a *Canon* in the Abbey of *St Andrews*, where he lived some years, and then dyed. In the mean time, *Malcolme*, formerly declared Heir apparent, had the Government allotted to him, and upon the death of the other was (b) King, and commended for a good one, of whose actions we shall say nothing, but that being exact in the Execution of justice upon Offenders, procured to himself some Enemies, who conspired against him, and taking their opportunity, at *Ulrande* a Village in *Murreyland* (c) murder'd him.

- After him succeeded *Indulph*, who in battle having beaten the *Danes*, through mistake chanced amongst some of them, and was slain; and then was (d) *Duffe* King of *Scotland*, who severely punished all Thieves and Vagabonds, and made all people that had nothing to live on, to learn some Trade, that by their rapine and villanies, they might not oppress the Commons and honest labourers. This amongst the wicked got him a great many Enemies; and, which might seem more strange, several of the Nobles also hated him, because thus they were kept from their Tyranny and Oppression; many of their younger Sons having little to live upon, but these villanies; and most of them grumbled that Gentlemen, forsooth, should thus be hindred from rapine, and forced to get their livings by honest Employments. But the chief murmuring was in *Murreyland*, who at last fell from words to blows, and slew the Kings Officers.

And that which most imbolden'd them to these Rebellions, was their knowledge of the Kings grievous sickness, whereby himself was disabled from prosecuting them; nor indeed would his Physicians let him know of their insolencies, lest trouble and perplexity might hasten his end.

As for the Disease it self, I shall not determine any thing; but because the story of it is somewhat strange and unusual to be equal'd in Chronicles, take it as I finde it in *Helior Boetius*, *Holinshed*, and some other Historians, upon whose credit let the truth of the story lye.

The Nobles of *Murreyland* being, as aforesaid, incensed against the good King, imploy'd Witches to bewitch the King to death. The King falls sick, and that into such a languishing Disease, that his Physicians could not tell what to make of it, so that all their Skill and Medicines was to small purpose. At last, no man knoweth how, or by whom, a report and rumour went amongst the people that the King was bewitch'd, and that by some of the Town call'd *Forres* in *Murrey*: In which Town was a Castle, the Captain of which

which was one *Donwald*, who had been faithful to the King amongst the Rebels.

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*Duffe* informed of this flying rumour of Witches, sends some privately to *Donald* to inquire out the business: It chanced that one of the Souldiers of the Castle kept a young Wench of the Town as his Lemmon; which being Daughter to one of the Witches, knew their actions, and in part discovered it to the Souldier, who upon this inquiry told it to *Donald*; who sending for the Wench, then in the Castle, made her by threats, and other means, confess all she knew: whereupon, learning by her in what house these actions were done, he sent some Souldiers forth about midnight, who breaking into the house, found the Witches roasting by a gentle fire an Image of Wax, resembling the King, made, as they thought, by the Devil; and by it a Woman sat reciting certain words of Inchantment, basting the Image with a certain liquor.

The Souldiers upon this seisd upon them, and with the Image led them to the Castle; where, upon examination they confess, that their design was to make away the King: That the Nobles in *Murreyland* had hired them to do it: That as the Image wasted, so would the King: That their canting words kept them from sleeping, &c. Upon this, the standers by immediately broak the Image of the King, and had the Witches burnt to death; and 'tis said, that at the same time, the King was delivered from languor, and shortly restored to present health again. But however the story be, no sooner was the King well again, but he marched into *Murrey* against the Rebels, whom he forced to flee: as for them whom he took, he had them hang'd up, without respect of person or quality.

But if witchcraft fail in the Kings destruction, his own intimates under the visage of friendship will bring it about. In this Rebellion *Donwald* or *Donald* had some of his own Relations, for whom he beg'd his Majesties pardon, but 'twas denyed, and so they with the rest were executed; which moved a great discontent in *Donald*, which boild in him so much, that his Wife perceived him troubled, nor would she let him alone till she understood the cause of his displeasure: she added fuel to his malice, and so thrust him on to revenge, that he was willing to make the King away; which, at last, by her evil perswasions, he resolves on; which was easie enough for them to accomplish, the King putting so great a confidence in *Donald*, that when he was in those parts, he used to lye in the said Castle of *Forres*.

At last they laid the plot, and pitch'd upon the night; which coming, and the King being in the Castle, they made all things ready. At the same night, the King suspecting nothing, thank'd all those who had assisted him against the Rebels, and gave them honourable gifts; and amongst the rest *Donald* was one: But for all this reward, he proceeds in his wicked design. And that night two of his Chamberlains having got him to bed, left him there, and went to *Donald* and his Wife, who had provided a noble Collation for them, where they plyed their cups so well, that being drunk, they were carried to rest.

*Donald* having thus made all secure, call'd four of his Servants, whom before he had fee'd to this wickedness, who secretly enter the Kings Chamber, (a) cut his throat, convey'd the body out of

An. 966.

F f

the

900 the Castle by a Postern-gate, threw it upon an Horse provided for that purpose ; but whither they carryed it , Authors do not agree.

The common opinion is, that they carryed it two Miles from the Castle, where being a little Brook, they got certain Labourers to turn the Course of it ; then dig a deep hole in the Channel, in which they buryed the body, ramming it up so closely with stones and gravel, that turning the water again into its right course, nothing of digging was perceived : And this, they say, they did upon the Vulgar opinion, lest the body being found, the Murderer might be discovered by its bleeding at their presence. As for the Labourers whom they gat to turn the water, no sooner was the work finished, but they slew them, lest they should tell tales ; and then the four Villains fled into *Orkny*.

*a* Scotia,  
*or* Mur-  
*der*.  
*b* I. e. The  
 Kirk or  
 Church of  
 Flowers.

But *Buchanan* rejects this story as improbable, but rather that they buryed it in some obscure place under a Bridge, which might be cover'd over with Turf, to hinder the appearance of their fresh delvings. And Mr. (*a*) *Cambden* tells us the place was *Kinloss*, and that the body was found there ; at which time and place Flowers did miraculously spring up, whence at first it was call'd (*b*) *Kill flos*, but by corruption *Kinloss* or *Killofs*, where was formerly a famous Monastery belonging to the *Cistercians*, founded by St. *David* King of *Scotland*.

As for *Donald*, to prevent suspicion, about the time of the Murther, he went amongst those who kept the watch, as he had been careful of the Kings preservation, and there he continued till morning ; but when noise was raised that the King was murder'd, and his body not to be found (for they had taken special care that no blood should be seen out of the Chamber ; but his bed was all bloody) he, as if amazed, and ignorant of such a thing, ran suddenly to the Chamber, where finding the Chamberlains he slew them, as guilty of that heinous murther ; and running up and down every place, as if to discover, finding the Postern-gate open, he threw the fault upon the Chamberlains, whom before he had slain, affirming them to have had the Keys of the Gates committed to their keeping all that night : And the truth is, he made himself so strangely busie in the discovery, that several began to mistrust him, though at that time they durst not speak of it. At this horrid murther, their Authors tell us, that for six Moneths after, neither Sun nor Moon appear'd in that Kingdom ; but they had enough of strange tempests and thunders, which put the people out of their little Wits.

*c* Amongst  
 the He-  
 brides.  
*d* The Irish  
 say he was  
 their Coun-  
 tryman.

After this horrid Murther, *Culene* was King, who made it his business to finde out and punish the Murderers of King *Duffe*, which within half a year he accomplished, found and took up the body of the King ; which, they say, was no sooner done, but the Air cleared, and the Sun appeared gloriously again. The body was by order buryed in the little (*c*) Western Island of *Scotland*, call'd *Colmekill*, or *Columbkill*, from the (*d*) *Scotch* Apostle St. *Columba*, who sometimes lived there (some think it the same with the Island *Iona*.) In which Island was a famous Abbey or Monastery, built by King *Fergus* the Second, which for many years was the burying place of the Kings of *Scotland*.

As for King *Culene*, he gave himself wholly over to sensuality and negligence,

negligence, which made the Nobles resolve to depose him ; to which purpose they summoned a Parliament at *Scone* (the place where the *Scottish* Kings were Crown'd:) *Culene* informed of this, and knowing himself not strong enough to oppose, resolves to go thither also ; but being on his journey, he was (a) murder'd at *Messen-Castle*, by one *Radard* or *Cadhard*, Lord or Governour thereof, whose Daughter the King had ravished. 900

a An. 971.

Upon this Murther, *Kenneth* the Third is King at *Scone*, one hugely commended for all manner of Kingly vertues ; nor had he any thing to blemish that great Reputation he had justly deserved and got, but one wicked crime, viz. the poysoning of his Cousin *Malcolme*, Governour of *Cumberland* ; which heinous fault, though no man suspected him, yet his own Conscience accusing him, he confest it himself, and did really repent of that crime. But leaving this, let us see the manner of his end.

*Cruthnet*, Son to *Fenella* (of whom hereafter) the Chief Governour of *Merres*, having been the occasion of great troubles, feuds and murders, was at last with his Companions taken, whom with the other chief Actors were executed by the Kings command ; the poorer sort, as a people ignorant and misled, were pardoned, and let go to their respective habitations ; which Justice and Mercy was much commended in his Majesty.

It chanced that the King having been at *Fordon*, a Town in *Mernes*, to visit the Reliques of St. *Palladius* (a holy *Grecian*, who came into *Scotland* about the year 431) which, they say, lay here in a little Church, to this day corruptly call'd from him *Padie Kirk*, went for curiosity to see the Castle of *Fettercarne* ; then pleasantly seated in a Forreth, well stored with wilde Beasts, though now no such pleasantness about it. The Lady of this Castle was the forenamed *Fenella*, or *Finabella*, as some call her, who received the King with a great deal of seeming kindness and nobleness.

Yet she resolved upon his Murther, being incensed against the King, for executing her Son *Cruthnet* ; and what she intended, she brought to pass, but by what means I cannot positively conclude. Some there are that tell a pretty story of rare inventions and contrivances to intice the King to his own ruine ; as, that she knowing the King to delight much in buildings and rare curiosities, had provided a place in the Castle richly hung with Tapestry and rich Arras ; and in it a noble brasen Image, holding in one of his hands a fair golden Apple, set full of precious Stones : all which was framed with that Art and Cunning, that if any one took the Apple out of its hand, several Arrows from artificial Cross-bows placed so cunningly, would fly out and kill him. The King after dinner was led into this Chamber by *Fenella* : *Kenneth* was presently delighted with the glorious Furniture, but above all with the Image ; and asking the meaning of it, was answer'd by the Lady, that that rich Apple was placed there, as a poor gift, for himself. At length, after some looking and admiration, he went to remove the Apple, and presently the Cross-bows discharged their Darts, by which the King was (b) kill'd.

b An. 994.

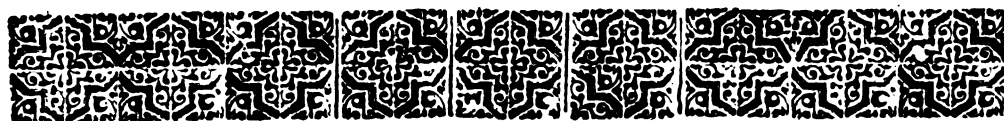
This story, though related by several old Chronicles, *George Buchanan* doth not think worthy of belief ; nor indeed is it probable that such great riches as their stories here speak of, such Art and such Workmanship, should meet together under the power of

900 such a Lady, in such a part of the World, so long ago, and in such a little while. Whereupon he rather agrees with some other Writers, that he was murther'd by four Horse-men, laid purposely for that wickedness in ambush, by the said *Finabella*; and his body was afterwards buried at *Colmkill*.

<sup>a</sup> An. 987. I shall not here question by what Right or Title (<sup>a</sup>) *Hugh Capet* came to be King of *France* (because the present powers of that Kingdom may think themselves concerned in that dispute) onely 'tis confest of all hands, that *Charles* of *Lorraine* was the true  
<sup>b</sup> Pag. 495. Heir; and (<sup>b</sup>) *Jean de Bussieres* could even the other day, and that by publick Authority, call *Capet* an Invadour. And this was the beginning of the *Capevingien* Family, which yet continues; and the end of the *Carlovingiens* in *France*, that Imperial Line having before this ended in *Germany*.

*The end of the third Book.*

A CON.



A CONTINUATION  
OF THE  
REBELLIONS  
AND  
Treasonable Practises  
Of the  
ROMANISTS,  
In Deposing and Murthering of their Emperours  
and Kings:

From the Year M, to the Year MCC.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

1. *The Murther of Edmund Ironside, King of England.*
2. *The Murther of Malcolme the Second, and of Duncan, Kings of Scotland.*
3. *The clashing of Popes, and the Emperours power over them at Elections.*

SECT. I.

*The Murther of Edmund Ironside, King of England.*

**H**AVING now past over the *Millenary* year, we shall proceed, and with grief begin at home, where we shall finde a Noble Kingdom ruined by Treachery, and betray'd to Forraigners by an abominable Murder.

And for the better understanding of which sad story, we may know, that the *Danes* for some time made it their business to possess these flourishing Nations; and what by dissensions at home, and their multitudes, joyn'd with the terrour of their Cruelty and



1000 and Heathenism, they bid fair for the carrying of the whole; but were still manfully opposed, and might for ever have lost their designs, if Treason had not been a better gamester than Valour.

Here lived in *England* one *Edrike*, Son to *Egilricus*, a man of a low Kindred; but what he wanted in birth, he supplied by knavery and a fluent tongue. [a] *Stow* calls him *Edrike* of *Straton*: [b] *Speed* saith he was surnamed *Streton*, or *Strealtane*, or [c] *Streona*, for his covetousness: This fellow by his cunning rais'd himself to such an esteem, that King [d] *Ethelred* created him Duke of *Mercia*, and gave him his second Daughter *Edgith* in Marriage; yet could not all his favours keep him from Treachery; but perceiving the *Danes* to be very powerful in *England*, to raise himself also by them, he betray'd not onely the Kings Council, but his Armies and Country to those *Danish* Invadors. But here passing by his many Treasons, and his as oftentimes receiving again into favour; I shall hasten to his murdering of his Sovereign *Edmund*.

a Pag 90.

b L. 7. c. 44.

c 17. &

d 49.

e Holinshed,

l. 7. c. 10, 11.

f Or *Egel-*

red, or *E-*

thelred.

This *Edmund* was Son to King *Ethelred*; and for his strength, valour and hardness, was surnamed *Ironside*. He had pardoned this *Edrike*, Duke of *Mercia*, many faults, and winked at several of his treacherous actions, still receiving him into favour; and this too much lenity, they say, proved his own ruine: for this *Edrike* thinking to make himself more beloved and trusted by the *Danes*, took the opportunity, and one time when King *Edmund* was [e] easing himself, he procured him to be thrust from underneath into his body, with a Spear or Spit; which being done, *Edrike* de *Streona* cut off his head, and presented it to *Canute*, King of the *Danes*, with this fawning salutation—*All hail, thou now sole Monarch of England; for here behold the head of thy Copartner, which for thy sake I have adventured to cut off.*

An 1017.

e Thus also

was slain

Godfrey,

Duke of

Lorraine.

Baron. an.

1076. &

38.

*Canute* amazed at this so disloyal an action, and thinking that he who had thus murder'd his own Sovereign, might in time betray him; dissembling his intent, replied, and vowed, That—*in reward of that service, the bringers own head should be advanced above all the Peers of his Kingdom.*—Which words hugely contented *Edrike*, who for some time thought himself in great favour; but at last, *Canute* made his words good, by commanding *Edrike's* head to be cut off, and placed upon the highest gate in *London*.

I shall not here enter into a dispute with those who question the manner of the death, both of King *Edmund*, and the Traytor *Edrike*, seeing Authors will not in this case exactly agree amongst themselves: but be it as it will, I shall look a little farther North.

## Sect. 2.

### *The Murther of Malcolme the Second, and of Duncan, Kings of Scotland.*

IN *Scotland* we shall finde ruling *Malcolme* the Second, famous for his several Victories against the *Danes*, and his other excellent Vertues and Laws for the benefit of his Dominions. And having raigned several years with great prudence and liberality; at last

last, in his old age he grew very covetous (a vice commonly incident to such doring years:) upon which, several conspired against him; and being at *Glammys* in *Angus*, several of the Plotters were convey'd into his Lodging, by his own faithless servants, where they murder'd him. Then thinking to escape on good Horses laid for them, the Snow then covering the earth, they mis'd their way, rid to the *Lough of Forfair*, then frozen over, which having rid some part, the Ice broke, and they were all drowned; and upon the thaw their bodies found.

This is the common opinion; others tell it another way; yet all agree that he was Murther'd.

The next that succeeded in *Scotland* was *Duncan*, who having reigned a few years, was [a] murder'd at *Ennerness* by one *Mackbeth*, who seised upon the Kingdom, and was Crown'd at *Scone*; and having Governed seventeen years, was also [b] slain by one *Mackduff*.

Here I might recreate the Reader with some pretty stories about these times: As how three Weirds, Witches or Fairies told *Mackbeth*, as he was going to *Forres* ([c] others say, 'twas a Vision or Dream by night) that he should be King; but be slain: And *Banquo*, or *Bancho*, that though he should not be King himself, yet that from him should proceed those who should continue Kings. And that *Mackbeth* was told that he should not be slain, till *Birname-Wood* should be brought to *Dunsinane* Castle in *Perth-shire*; nor by a man that was born of a woman. And how that King *Malcolme* the Third fulfill'd the first, by making every one of his Souldiers carry a bough of that Wood to the Castle; and how *Mackduff* accomplished the latter, by being ript out of his Mothers belly, and killing of *Mackbeth*. But I shall leave such Tales as these to the Miracle-mongers; which being as pretty as most they make use of, I marvel *Baronius* (who, upon every occasion stuffs up his Voluminous Annals with such thwacking wonders) passeth by this jest in silence. But possibly the Cardinal was not skill'd enough in the *Caledonian* Histories; for had he been as diligent in it, as he was in idle Miracles, he would never have so much enlarged himself upon *Marianus Scotus*, as to make us believe, that at this time a King of *Scotland* should go in Devotion to *Rome*, the name of the King being [d] *Machetad*; whereas 'tis well known there was never any such King, unless by mistake we may take *Mackbeth*, who ruled in *Scotland* at the same time, but never went so far for Devotion. Be it as 'twill, it served his turn to promote a greatness and reverence in *Rome*; yet [e] *Leslaus* hath a fancie that *Marianus* meant *Malcolme* the Third, though *Scotus* his words may well enough be understood, that the King had his liberality distributed by others, and not himself at *Rome*; and so the knot is untied. As for the stories of these Elves, Witches or Hobgoblins, they may consult [f] *Heſſor Boetius*, or from him our *Holinshed*.

I shall say nothing here to the killing of *Duncan* by *Makpender*, Earl of *Mercia*; nor of the imprisonment of *Donald*, the putting out of his eyes, and miserable death in prison, because their Titles may be questioned. Nor shall I travel more Northward, and enlarge upon the [g] Murder of King *Canute* of *Denmark* whilst he was at his Devotions; nor enter upon the more frozen parts

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Anno 1024.

a An. 1040.

b An. 1057.

c Buchan. p. 200.

Anno 1050. &amp; 15. d Machetad, Mar. Scot. MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

e Pag. 207.

f Hist. Scot. lib. 12.

g An. 1088.

1000 parts, to insist upon the treacherous end of *Ingo* the Fourth, King of *Scotland*, because Religion was not there in a settled condition.

## Sect. 3.

*The clashing of Popes, and the Emperours power over them at Elections.*

BUT if I would trouble my self at the very Fountain of their Religion, viz. *Rome*, we might here shew that obedience yeilds place to sedition, and how troubled their Champions are to finde out an Infalible and true Vicar.

Here might I tell at large how *Platina* and some others declare Pope *Sylvester* the Second to be a *Magician*, and to have kept correspondence with the Devil; though others at large Apologize for him; nor shall I interest my self in the dispute. Here could I amuze the honest *Roman* Catholick, by telling him that *Benedict* the Ninth was once held for the Infalible Head of their Church, and yet was but a (a) boy of ten or twelve years old: And here might we puzzle their Succession, and make them pump and invent Reasons for a true Pope, when at the same time this *Benedict* said he was Pope, *Sylvester* the Third assured the World, that he was Christ's Vicar: and also one *John* affirm'd, that he was the onely man that was *S. Peters* true Successor; and every one of these Popes had many Followers. And to make up the wonder and number, *Gregory* the Sixth with money hired these men to lay down the Cudgels, and so made himself Pope also; which Title and Honour he was over-perswaded to yeild up by a (b) Council; and yet this man must be a true Pope, and no way tainted with Simony: and to him by the consent of the Emperour succeeded *Clement* the Second, who being poysoned, *Benedict* the Ninth the third time entred into the Papal Chair: but the Emperour hearing of these troubles, sent *Poppo*, Bishop of *Brescia*, to *Rome*, who was chosen, and succeeded as Pope, though his Raigh was but short.

But be it short or long, their Authors are here in open War about the legality of his Rule. (c) *Baronius*, and some others, making him legally elected, and so a true Pope. On the other hand, *Platina*, (d) *Genebrard*, and some others, declare him to be an intruder, and so no true Pope. And what must be the foundation of his crime, but because the Emperour had an interest in his promotion? though if this Argument will hold any water, they will quite break to pieces the Line of their Succession, by throwing aside many Popes formerly elected or confirmed by Emperours, and other secular Potentates. But fight Dog, fight Bear, I shall not trouble my self to reconcile them.

Yet though they now seem so dapperly against the Temporal Authority, it is not unworth the notice, that no sooner was this *Damasus* (first call'd *Poppo*) dead, but the Cardinals, and other *Romans*, sent into *Germany* to the Emperour, to desire him to appoint

a *Baron. an.*  
1033. & 6.

b *Genebrard, Cron.*  
p. 865.

c *An. 1048.*  
p. 1.

d *Pag. 867.*

point them a new Pope, who accordingly sent them *Leo* the Ninth : and whatsoever they tell for excuse of *Leo's* changing his Opinion, at the perswasion of *Hildebrand*, is not much to the purpose, since it appears that they durst not refuse him; and *Hildebrand's* policy (if true) was but a meer trick and juggle.

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And this practice will better appear by the next Vicar; for no sooner was *Leo* dead, but the Clergy, and others of *Rome*, sent *Hildebrand* into *Germany* to the Emperour, to desire him to give them a Pope; who accordingly yeilded to grant them *Victor* the Second, who by the Imperial Order was elected at *Mentz*, and thence sent to *Rome*. And thus humbly they behaved themselves to the Emperour, that they might not offend him, nor break their Oaths and Duty, which they had made to him. And something to this purpose we finde a little after; for this *Victor* the Second, and *Stephanus* the Ninth being dead, some at *Rome* elected and declared for Pope *Benedict* the Tenth. But the Chief of the *Romans* sent presently an excuse to the Emperour; protesting that for their parts they would keep their Allegiance, and not acknowledge any for Pope, but whom he approved of; and therefore desired him to send to *Rome* for Pope whom he pleased, who accordingly sent them *Nicholas* the Second; and so *Benedict* the Tenth was thrust from the Chair, as not capable of that honour, because he had intruded himself into that Dignity (a) without the approbation of the Emperour and other Princes.

Platina.

Baron. an.

1054. 53.

Cocffeteau,  
p. 644, 645.a Qui sine  
jussu Regis  
& Princi-

pm. *L. mb. Schafnaburg. Hist. Germ. an. 1059. Edict. Francof. 1583. — Qui in jussu Regis, &c. Edict. Tubing. 1533.*

But we need not trouble our selves here with many Examples of the secular Authority in the Popes Election, having formerly in several other places, as they fell in my way, hinted at the practice: and besides all, at this very time they cannot but confess, that the very *Romans* yeilded up their interest in the Election of Popes, and gave it to the Emperour; and, which is more, both in *Gregory* the Sixth's time, and *Clement* the Second his time, ingaged themselves by Oath to the Emperour, never to chuse or consecrate any for Pope, but whom he should approve of, and consent to.

Genebrard,  
pag. 866.Cognans, p.  
505.Sigebert. an.  
1046.

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## CHAP. II.

*The troubles and deposing of the Emperour Henry the Fourth, by the pride of Pope Gregory the Seventh, and other Incendiaries.*

**S**hould I trouble my self to reconcile all the exceptions that might belong to this Chapter, I should be Voluminous to a wonder, and possibly not satisfy the Reader. But to leave such Disputes, in short, the question is betwixt the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth, and Pope *Gregory* the Seventh; which of them was in the right, and which to blame: though one may affirm without offence, that both of them had their faults; yet *Goldastus* (and from him of late Father (a) *Caron*) hath taken a great deal of pains to vindicate the Emperour, whilst *Gretserus* is as large in his several Apologies for the Pope; whither I shall refer the curious for farther satisfaction.

a Remonst.  
Hybern.  
part 2. p. 89,  
90, &c. part  
5. p. 1, 2, &c.

And it was no small misery to Christendom, that the Emperour being very young, the Popes acted what they pleas'd without controul; though at last they drive on so furiously, that instead of making the Empire happy by tranquillity, they procured its ruine by fomenting new troubles and rebellions. For, whereas formerly the Emperours had the main hand in making Popes, and the power of nominating Bishops in his own Territories, whom he left to be Consecrated by others; Now, on the contrary, the Pope would take all power into his own hands, allowing no man to be Bishop, of what Country soever, but whom he pleas'd; by which means he would wrest all favours from the Temporal jurisdiction to himself.

And whereas formerly Clergy-men were commonly married, and their (b) *Canon-law* it self grants them some favour in this case; Now the Pope proceeds severely against the married Clergy by Excommunication; and so in a manner deprived them of their Beings; which was the cause of great troubles in *Germany*. Nor was this all, but also *Gregory* the Seventh thrust himself up above all Dominions and Authorities in the world, by the assistance of a puny Synod at *Rome*, thus declaring his Prerogative, —

b Dist. 28. c.  
si quis docu-  
erit c. si quis  
discernit.  
dist. 31. c.  
Omnino con-  
fitemur.  
c. Quoniam  
Romani. c.  
Alius se o-  
rient.

Baron. an.  
1076. &  
31, 32, 33.

*That onely the Pope of Rome can depose Bishops.*

*That his Legat must take place of all other Bishops in a Council, which*

*Legat hath power to depose other Bishops.*

*That the Pope can depose those who are absent.*

*That it is lawful for the Pope onely, according to the necessity of the Time, to make new Laws, &c.*

*That the Pope onely may use the Imperial Ensigns.*

*That all Princes are to kiss the feet of the Pope onely.*

*That*

*That his name is onely to be recited or mentioned in Churches.*

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*That he hath Authority to depose Emperours.*

*That he onely can translate Bishops.*

*That no General Synod ought to be call'd without his command.*

*That no Book is Canonical without his Authority.*

*That his sentence ought not to be revoked by any body.*

*That no man ought to be Censured for Appealing to Rome.*

*That all Causes of great Importance, of what Church soever, must be referred to him.*

*That the Roman Church neither ever did or can err.*

*That there is but one onely name in the World, i. e. the Pope.*

*That the Pope of Rome, if he be Canonically Ordain'd, is undoubtedly made Holy by the merits of St. Peter. And some other such-like Priviledges as these were also then concluded upon.*

Thus by little and little did the *Roman* Bishops dwindle the Temporal Authority to nothing, by making themselves so great and powerful. *Alexander* the Second had null'd all Lay-Patronage, by making it unlawful to receive any Benefice from a secular Authority, which then they call'd *Simony* (though gave [a] nothing for it) as [b] *Genebrard* saith. And a little before this, *Leo* the Ninth seemed to ease the Papal See from the Imperial jurisdiction; but to no purpose, that Chair falling after into the Imperial Nomination, as it did also in him. But *Gregory* the Seventh, by a particular [c] *Canon*, null'd and voided all *Investitures* that should be made to Bishops, &c. by the Emperour, or the secular Prince: Though we are told that his Master, [d] *Gregory* the Sixth, mainly commended this way of nominating or designing Bishops by a *Pastoral Staff* and *Ring*, by the Temporal Prince, whereby the other Bishops might with more Authority, and less prejudice, Consecrate him; and that this had also [e] formerly been the practice, cannot be denied: and the power of Nomination is yet used by all Christian Princes within their respective Dominions.

Suchlike actions as these procured some heart-burnings betwixt the Emperour and Popes, which at last fell to open divisions and animosity; to which the troublesome *Saxons* were not the least Authors, who had for some time born a spite against the Emperour; from whose Authority and Protection they had several thoughts and consultations of withdrawing themselves. To prevent this, *Henry* had built several strong Castles and Forts amongst them, which incensed them more; insomuch, that they did not onely fortifie and defend themselves, but sent to *Rome* complaints against the Emperour of Oppression and *Simony* (which, *Urspergensis* saith, were [f] false accusations.) *Alexander* the Second, then Pope, upon this took the confidence to send to *Henry*, commanding him to appear at *Rome*, to answer before him such complaints as were laid to his charge; but the Pope [g] dying presently after, this Tryal fell to the ground for a time.

After him was Pope *Gregory* the Seventh, who was first call'd *Hildebrand*, and under that name commonly met withal in History; but the *Germans*, who above all things hated him, for jestsake used to call him *Hellebrand*, i. e. a *Firebrand* from *Hell*; they looking upon him to be the cause of all their misfortunes, whilst some others magnifie him no less than a Saint.

a *Coquens*,  
p. 513.

b *Pag.* 874,  
875.  
Id. pag. 868.

c 26. Q. 7.  
*Quoniam*  
*Investituræ*,  
*Baron.* an.  
1078. 26.

d *S. Hen.*  
*Spelman.*  
*Gloss.* v. *Investituræ*.

e *G. Carleton's* jurisdiction,  
pag. 137, 138,  
139, &c.

f Accusationes blasphemæ & inauditas.  
g An. 1072.

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Gregory had not been above a year Pope, but he sent his Legats into *Germany*, who, though they behaved themselves stoutly to the Emperour, yet could not procure the Priviledge of having a Synod held there by them, the native Bishops not being willing to submit to such Masters; the chief of the Opposers being *Liemar*, Archbishop of *Breme*, whom they undertook to suspend; and the Pope afterwards thought he had completed it; and at last, (a) excommunicated several Bishops, who adher'd to the Emperour. And not long after, sent an expresse summons to *Henry* himself to appear before him at *Rome*; and that if he were not there by such a day, he should be forthwith excommunicated.

a An. 1075.

b Amplissimi numero, Lam. Schaff. nab. anno 1076.

The strangeness and boldness of this Papal summons moved the Emperour so much, that he not onely sent away the Legats with scorn, but sent forth Orders to all Bishops and Abbots to meet him at *Worms*, there to hold a Council; who accordingly appear'd in a very great (b) number; where having drawn up many Accusations and Crimes against *Gregory*, they adjudge him not fit to be Pope; declare his Election void; whatever he shall do as Pope after that day, to be null and of no effect; and so deprive him from the Popedom: And to this having subscribed, they sent *Rowland* of *Parma* to declare the same at *Rome*.

In the meantime *Gregory* had call'd a Synod at *Rome*; which being met, *Rowland* appears amongst them, and there boldly declares to the Popes face how the Emperour, and the Bishops of *Italy*, *Germany* and *France*, in a Council had deprived the said Pope. But *Gregory* to requite this kindness, the next day, excommunicates and deprives the chief of the Bishops who were at *Worms*; and for the rest, he appoints a set time for them to repent and submit to him; which if they did not obey, then were they also partakers of the same fauce. Nor doth he forget the Emperour, but very dapperly excommunicates and deprives him of his Dominions and Authority: The chief part of which *Deposition* runs thus:

*Beate Petre Apostolorum Princeps, inclina, quæsumus, pias aures tuas, & audi me servum tuum, quem ab infantia nutristi, & usq; ad hunc diem de manu iniquorum liberaisti, qui me pro tua fidelitate oderunt & odiunt: tu mihi testes es, & Domina mea Mater Dei, & B. Paulus frater tuus*

— *Pro Ecclesiæ tuæ honore, & defensione, ex parte Omnipotentis Dei Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, per tuam Potestatem & Authoritatem, Henrico Regi filio Henrici Imperatoris, qui contra tuam Ecclesiam inaudita superbia insurrexit, totius Regni Teutonicorum & Italiæ gubernacula contradico, & omnes Christianos a vinculo Juramenti, quod sibi fecere &*

*O Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, incline, I pray, your pious ears, and hear me, your servant, whom thou hast nourished from his infancie, and till this day hast delivered from the hands of wicked men, who hate me for my trusting in thee: Thou art my Witness, and our Lady the Mother of God, and your Brother St. Paul* — that,

For the honour and defence of thy Church, on the part of Almighty God the Father, Son and holy Ghost, by thy Power and Authority, I deprive from any Government and Rule of all *Germany* and *Italy* King *Henry*, Son to the Emperour *Henry*, who with an unheard-of pride hath opposed

*facient, absolvo; & ut nullus ei  
sicut Regi serviat, interdicto.*

opposed and rise against thy Church : And I absolve all Christians from the Oaths of Obedience which they have or shall make; and do hereinterdict and forbid any to serve him as a King.

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In this I follow (a) *Baronius*, which is worded otherwise than that set down by (b) *Platina*: the reason of which difference and variations, let those look to it, who boast of Originals in the *Vatican*; though in this we may make one serve to interpret the other.

a An. 1076.  
b 2526.  
Pag. 177.

Presently after this, *Gregory* sends to the *Germans* to know whether *Henry* would subunit himself, and acknowledge his offences against *St. Peters Church*; but if he would not, that then another King might be chosen, who would be obedient to the *Roman See*, and he would confirm the Election. Upon this, the Chief met at *Tribur neer Mentz*.

The Emperour perceiving his case to be but bad, many of his chief friends forsaking him, and others for fear durst not seem for him, [so apt were the simple people then to be gull'd and terrified by those *Roman* bibble-babbles, or the seditious Nobles] was in a peck of troubles, seeing himself so neglected. And thus finding few friends, and no remedy, he sends to those who met at *Tribur*, desiring their favours and pardon for what he had formerly done amiss, and promiseth amendment, if they would onely look upon him as a Monarch: all this they refuse, pretending his Excommunication and Deposition by *Gregory*, and several other suchlike trifling excuses.

*Henry* thus seeing all hopes lost in *Germany*, resolves to submit himself to the Pope: to effect which, he designed a journey into *Italy*. The factious *Germans* informed of this, resolve to waylay him, and if they could possibly intrap him, and get him into their clutches; but by making the farthest about, the neerest way to his journies end, he escapes all their Ambushments and Malice. Yet was his journey most difficult and hazardous, by reason of the extremity of the Frost, which put him several times in great danger, in his passage over the *Alpes*. Having entred *Lumbardy*, many *Italian Bishops* and Nobles wait upon him, entertain him with all respect, complain to him of the Popes actions, and wish that he had friends and strength enough to depose *Gregory*, of whose Popedom they were really weary.

Yet did not this much better the Emperours poor condition: Anno 1077. For those who had been his friends and well-wishers in *Germany*, and other places, seeing *Henry* himself brought so low, as to drudge for pardon, thought it their securest way to do so too; and so they also gad to *Italy*, and bare-footed, without any linnen about them, humbly beg absolution of the Pope; which after some hardship and waiting they obtain, with an injunction never to acknowledge *Henry*, till he had asked pardon of, and satisfied his Holiness.

*Henry* thus seeing his condition grow worse and worse, thought it wisest to make the best he could of a bad Market; and unwilling to

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*a* Fox Acts  
and Mon.  
vol. I. pag.  
332, 333.  
*b* Blondus  
Ital. Illust.  
de Lombard.  
pag. 357.  
*c* Mornay,  
pag. 253.

*Blondus* Hist.  
Decad. 2. lib.  
3. pag. 200.

*Baron. an.*  
1077. &  
9, 10, 11.  
*Coeffeteau,*  
pag. 687.

*d* Chro. rom.  
2. pag. 880.

to loose the Empire, resolves to satisfy the Pope, if any thing can do it; and being informed that *Gregory* was at *Canossa*, a strong place in the Territory of *Reggio*, in the Dukedom of *Modena*; thither he goeth to supplicate for pardon and restoration. This Castle of *Canossa* was compass'd about with three Walls, and belonged to *Mathilda*, or *Maude*, a Lady of great Revenues, and intimately acquainted with the Pope, seldom parting from him. 'Twas now the depth of Winter, nor had the memory of man known a severer Frost; yet doth *Henry* (some say also with his *(a)* Empress and little Son) without any Princely Attire, or Linnen; and which was more, without Shooes, or Stockings, or Hat; thus bare-footed, bare-leg'd, and *(b)* bare-headed; some say, with a *(c)* pair of Sizzers and a scourge in his hands, (intimating that he was there ready to be polled and whipt) trudge it to *Canossa*, hoping to be let in to the speech and favour of his Holyness: to which purpose, he thought he had made way by some of the Popes friends; but here he found himself deceived: yet we may suppose he had some favour, being permitted to enter within the second Wall, where in this pittiful plight, he waited to be let in all day long fasting; but the Popes spirit would not yet come down. The night comes, the Frost continueth, and his stomach might well think his throat cut; yet doth he not stir, but with this cold comfort expects compassion.

Having thus with pain, cold and hunger past over the tedious night, two to one but next morning he might hope for better success; but he was served with the same sauce as the day before: And thus he past over three days and three nights, enough to get desperation, if not death, in a better man than Pope *Gregory*, who thus despised the birth, dignity, and patience of so great an Emperour. But the fourth day, some others with *Mathilda*, as if ashamed of the arrogancie of *Gregory*, and the unparallell'd humility of *Henry*, with much ado perswaded *Hildebrand* to allow the Emperour his presence: but yet before this was done, *Henry* was to deliver up his Crown, and the rest of his Royal Badges and Ensigns to the Pope, and acknowledge himself not fit or worthy to Rule. And having gone thus far on his knees, he humbly begs Absolution; which, after a great deal of clutter, was granted, though the remedy was as bad as the disease, by the hard conditions and proviso's it was clog'd withal; As, that he should submit himself to answer in the Assembly of the German Princes, to such accusations as should be laid to his charge. That he should submit to the judgement there given; insomuch, that though he should there be deprived or deposed of all sway, that he should not take it as an injury done to him. That in the mean time, he should not use any Royal Ornaments or Ensigns. That he should not concern himself with the Government, nor command, or determine any thing as a Ruler. That all people, who had sworn him Allegiance, should remain absolved and free from obedience. That those, who had been his chief Councillors and Friends, should be removed from him. And that, if at last, upon tryal and favour, he should be restored again to his Government or Empire, that he should not onely be a Defender of the Roman Church, but obedient to it. And *(d)* *Genebrard* mainly commends *Gregory* for his making the Emperour thus to dance attendance to him, in that naked posture and frozen weather.

History

History tells us, that *Alexander* the Fifth dying, the Cardinals then at *Bologna*, thought upon several as fit to succeed; but none of them would please *Balthasar Cossa*, Cardinal and Legat there; insomuch, that seeing no remedy, they desired him to nominate: upon which, quoth *Cossa*, *Give me St. Peters Cloak, and I will give it to him who is to be Pope.* The Mantle being given him, he puts it on his own shoulders, and said to them, *I am Pope.* Nor durst they oppose that Election, since it was the will of *Cossa*, who call'd himself *John XXIII.*

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No man can be but satisfied, when he hath the power or liberty of setting down his own conditions, as *Cossa* had his hearts-wish when he had the Popedom; so could *Gregory* the Seventh desire or expect no more, than thus forcing the great Emperour to submit to his will and pleasure. Now he might suppose he had the world in a string, and had shewn a fair president to make Temporal Monarchs obedient; and the truth is, he had rais'd up his Seat many degrees above any of his Predecessors; though after-stories will shew this equal'd, if not out-thrown some bar-lengths.

But having now seen the disrespect of *Gregory*, with the humility and absolution of *Henry*; let us cast a glance on the actions in *Germany*. We gave an hint before of some heart-burnings between the Emperour and *Saxons*; which upon the Popes Excommunication, and ridiculous Deposition, they advanced to more formality, thinking then they had sufficient right and authority to renounce their Sovereign; and in his absence in *Italy*, about his absolution, they struck the nail on the head, quite renouncing their obedience to *Henry*, and chusing for their King or Emperour *Rodolphus*, Earl of *Reinsfeldt*, and Duke of *Schwaben*, by some Historians corruptly call'd Duke of *Saxony*. No sooner was this done and known, but both *Henry* and *Rodolph* desire the Popes assistance. *Gregory* gave good words, commanded them both to appear before his Legats in *Germany*, where they should have justice done them: And to his Legats, he gave express command, to reject him that seem'd refractory, but to confirm him that was obedient as King.

How they behaved themselves I know not, but (a) *Sigebert*, a diligent Chronologer, who lived in *Germany* at this time, tells us that this year the Pope sent to *Rodolph* an Imperial Crown with this Inscription:

a An. 1077. and Matt. Paris, anno 1077. *Gual. Barclay*, de potest. Papæ, pag. 40. 41.

*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rodolpho.*

*The Rock did give this Crown to Peter,  
And Peter sends't to Ralfe as meeter.*

But (b) *Helmoldus* affords us another Verse, though not much differing in the sence or purpose.

b Chron. Sclavorum cap. 28. lib. 1.

*Petra dedit Romam Petro, tibi Papa Coronam.*

*The Rock gave Peter th' Roman Town,  
And th' Pope doth give to thee this Crown.*

And here methinks 'tis pretty to see what a clutter they make,  
to

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to prove the *Rock* not to be the confession of, but *Peter* himself; the better thereby to intail Infallibility upon his Vicars; and yet here a great Pope makes them different things. But waving this, I wonder who gave *Peter* a Crown or *Rome*! or by what right he came to possess any Lands or Temporal Jurisdiction in *Italy*; not denying but that people may give away their own (provided they do not thereby begger and ruine themselves, Children and Families) but putting no trust or truth in that common saying, That *Dominion is founded in Grace or Saintsship*; seeing without doubt, an Heathen hath as much right to what is his, as a Christian, were he *St. Peter* himself, to what is his.

As for the first Verse, *Baronius* will not have it to be sent to *Rodolph* this year, but three years after, viz. 1080; but for this he shews no Authority, onely his own conjecture, not enough to weigh down the Testimony of *Sigebert*, living at the same time, and of old *Matthew Paris*. But I shall not trouble my self with the timing of these Verses, nor with a Narrative of every Battle and Victory betwixt *Henry* and *Rodolph*: For now were they hard at it; *Henry* no sooner hearing of *Rodolph's* Election and Coronation by the Archbishop of *Mentz* (once his great friend,) but he raiseth what force he can, hastes for *Germany*, and doth his utmost to regain his Empire: but passing by the bloudshed, which continued sometime with eagerness of both sides, let us see what *Gregory* doth at *Rome*.

An. 1080.

Where we finde him in a Synod, cursing with Bell, Book and Candle all Emperours, Kings, Dukes, &c. who shall give any *Investitures*, i. e. nominate (as all Kings do now) any man to avoid Bishoprick, or other Ecclesiastical Livings or Benefices, within their own Dominions or Jurisdictions, because (forsooth) he could have all those Donations to belong to him and his Successors; for which you may suppose, they good men desired no Politick Benefit, either the enriching of their Pockets, and the beggering of all other Countries by making all their Angels flee to *Rome*: Or, by thus having all the Clergy of the World at their Devotion, they might with more facility raise Rebellions at pleasure, and make the Temporal Jurisdiction but a meer shadow; the Kings themselves to be deposed, when their Holynesses pleas'd to withdraw their favours.

And this Council will afford us a good instance to this purpose, and that concerning our Emperour *Henry*. For here we have him again Excommunicated; and deprived, with the salvation of all his Enemies. The form it self is long; but that which most concerns us is this.

*Beate Petre, Princeps Apostolorum, & in beate Paule doctor Gentium, dignamini queso aures vestras ad me inclinare, meq; clementer exaudire.*——

O Blessed *Peter*, Prince of the Apostles, and O thou Blessed *Paul*, Doctor of the Gentiles, vouchsafe, I pray you, to bow down your ears, and favourably hear me.——

And

And then he tells to these Apostles a long tale in vindication of himself.

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*Quapropter confidens de iudicio & misericordia Dei, ejusq; piissimæ Matris semper Virginis Mariæ, fultus vestra auctoritate; sepe nominatum Henricum, quem Regem dicunt, omnesq; fautores ejus, excommunicationi subjicio, & anathematis vinculis alligo. Et iterum Regum Teutonicorum & Italiæ, ex parte omnipotentis Dei, & vestra, interdicens ei, omnem potestatem & dignitatem illi regiam tollo; & ut nullus Christianorum ei sicut Regi obediat, interdico: omnesq; qui ei juraverunt, vel jurabunt de Regni dominatione, a juramenti promissione absolvo.*

*Ipse autem Henricus cum suis fautoribus, in omni congressione belli nulla vires, nullamque in vita sua Victoriæ obtineat. Ut autem Rudolphus regnum Teutonicorum regat & defendat, quem Teutonici elegerunt sibi in Regem. Ad vestram fidelitatem ex parte vestra, dono, largior & concedo omnibus sibi fideliter adherentibus absolutionem omnium peccatorum, vestramq; benedictionem in hac vita, & in futura, vestra fretus fiducia largior. Sicut enim Henricus pro sua superbia, inobedientia & falsitate, a Regni dignitate justè abjicitur; ita Rudolpho pro suo humilitate, obedientia & veritate, potestas & dignitas conceditur.*

*(b) Agite nunc quæso, Patres & Principes sanctissimi, ut omnis mundus intelligat, & cognoscat, quia si potestis in Cælo legare & absolvere, potestis in Terra Imperia, Regna, Principatus, Ducatus, Marchius, Comitatus & omnium hominum possessiones pro meritis tollere unicuiq; & concedere, &c.*

Cælo legare & solvere, in Terra quoq; Imperia, Regna, Principatus & quicquid habere mortales possunt aucter & dare, nos dare posse, &c. *Platina vit. Pont.*

H h

Platina

Wherefore trusting in the judgement and Mercy of God, and his holy Mother the Virgin Mary, back'd by your Authority; I do hereby excommunicate and curse the said Henry, whom they call King, and all his favourers and partakers. And I do again, in the Name of God Almighty and you, interdict the said Henry the Kingdom of Germany and Italy, and take from him all Royal Power and Dignity; and command that no Christian shall obey him as a King: and all who have or will swear obedience to him, I absolve them from the said Oaths.

As for Henry and his partakers, let them neither have strength or force in any Battle, nor ever gain Victory: But for Rudolph, chosen King, let him govern and defend his Kingdom of (a) Germany. And in your names I do give, bestow, and grant to all those who shall adhere faithfully to the said Rudolph, absolution of all their sins, and your Benediction in this life, and in that to come. For as Henry for his pride, disobedience and falsity, is justly deposed from his Royal Dignity; so is the same Royal Power and Dignity given to Rudolph for his humility, obedience and honesty.

<sup>a</sup> It seems the Pope would keep Italy to himself.

Go on therefore, and assist, most holy Fathers and Princes of the Apostles, that all the World may understand and know, that you who can binde and loose in Heaven, can also on Earth take away Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, Dukedoms, Marquessdoms, Earldoms, & all mens Possessions, and give them to any other, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Agite igitur Apostolorum sanctissimi Principes, & quod dixi vestra auctoritate interposita confirmare, ut omnes nunc demum intelligant, si potestas in

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*Platina*, here again, much differing from *Baronius* ; I have placed the latter part of *Platina* in the Margent, that one may give a light and addition to the other.

The Emperour informed of this harsh dealing against him, calls a Synod at *Brixen* in the County of *Tirol* in *Germany*, next the Territories of the *Venetians*, where several Bishops of *Germany*, *Italy*, and *France* met, who declare the Pope *Gregory* guilty of *Simony*, *Usurpation*, *Persecution*, *Perjury*, *Homicide*, *Negromancy* or *Conjuring*, and other crimes ; for which they depose him by Vote, and elect into his place as Pope (a) *Guibert*, Archbishop of *Ravenna*, who call'd himself *Clement* the Third.

a *Wibert*, or  
*Gilbert*, or  
*Wicbertus*, or  
*Gibertus*, or  
*Wigbert*.

This done, the Emperour *Henry* marcheth against *Rodolph* ; both Armies meet in *Misnia*, not far from *Geraw*, where they contend valiantly for an Empire : But at last, *Rodolph* having the misfortune to have his right-hand cut off, he was carryed to *Mersburb* for ease and cure, but there he dyed. Some (b) Authors report, that, perceiving himself neer his end, by the great effusion of blood, to some Bishops then about him, he shew'd the cut-off right-hand, confessing it to be a just judgement, because by that he had formerly sworn his Allegiance to *Henry*. Before this Battle hapned, (c) *Sigebert*, an Author then living, tells us, that the same year *Gregory* undertook to Prophesie, that *this year the false King must dye*, meaning *Henry* ; but it seems his Friend and Champion *Rodolph* proved to be the man. *Rodolph* thus dying, was buryed very nobly ; of which magnificent Funeral, when some ask'd the Emperour, Why he would permit such pomp to a Rebel ? *Henry* replyed ingeniously—— *I wish all mine Enemies were as honourably buryed.*

b *H. Mun-*  
*tius*, lib. 15.  
pag. 130.  
*Jo. Nauc-*  
*ler*,  
gen. 37. p.  
708.  
*Helmold.*  
*Hist. Slav.*  
c. 28, 29, 30.  
c An, 1080.

An. 1081.

*Rodolph* being thus slain, *Germany* began to submit ; so *Henry* perceiving not much work there to do, resolves for *Italy*, to perfect what he had begun ; and thitherward he marcheth with his *Clement* the Third : but by the hardness of the Winter he could not be there as soon as intended ; yet at last he enters *Italy*, marcheth against *Rome*, layeth siege to it, which was famous for the many skirmishes and length, it continuing three years. In the mean time, the unruly *Germans* elect against *Henry* one *Herman* ; but he wanted strength to make any great Opposition. The next year *Henry* took the (d) *Vatican*, and *Clement* the Third was Inthronized as Pope ; and the (e) year after this, he took the City it self. But *Hildebrand* with his Cardinals, and some other friends, had withdrawn themselves, for security, into the strong Castle *St. Angelo*, where all the Imperial Force could not reach them, or make them submit, knowing they should be relieved.

d *Civitas*  
*Leoniana.*  
e An, 1084.

In the mean time, *Henry* and his Wife *Bertha* are Crown'd Emperour and Empress by *Clement* in the *Lateran* : From which time *Baronius* begins to reckon this *Henry* for an Emperour, though he had Ruled twenty seven years before ; all which time he acknowledged to be no Emperour, and so makes a vacancy for so many years ; and all this nullity, because he was not Crown'd by a Pope : And this is the humour of many *Roman* Historians, though others account without any such Papal Ceremony.

*Gregory* perceiving himself at a loss, had formerly sent to *Robert Guiscard*, Chief of the *Normans*, and Lord of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, to beg his help at a dead-lift ; who, though then in Wars against the *Grecians*

*Grecian* Emperour *Alexius*, sendshim sufficient relief, who deliver him from Castle *St. Angelo*; thence they convey him to *Salerno* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, where he (*a*) dyed. *Sigebert*, and lately Father (*b*) *Caron* tells us, that being neer his death, he confess'd that he had stirr'd up all these troubles by the suggestion of the Devil, &c. But the Popes Champions would not have us to believe this; but, on the contray, that he is a Saint: for more confirmation of which, they have placed his name in their (*c*) Calendar; and if we look for Miracles to prove it, we might begin at his Infancie, where we finde him, being the Son of a Carpenter (which (*d*) *Baronius* thinks a good hint) strangely to foretell by his Fathers Chips, his own Dominion over the World from Sea to Sea. And if we take him towards his latter end, lest his actions (which so many question) should be held as illegal, or any what amiss; we are told pretty stories, how they were all approved of, and declared authentick from Heaven by the holy Ghost. And thus much for *Gregory* the Seventh, or *Hildebrand*, after whom his partakers in *Italy* chose *Victor* the Third, who followed the steps of his Predecessor *Gregory*; by which divisions *Italy* and *Germany* were pittifully harass'd, especially *Rome*, having daily wars and fightings in her very streets, between the Souldiers of the two Popes, *Clement*, and *Victor*; but the latter lived not long, dying the second year of his Popedom.

After whom the Anti-Imperialists chose *Urban* the Second, by some jeeringly call'd *Turbanus*, who also shew'd himself a fierce Enemy against the Emperour; which broyls were no small detriment to Christendom, *Clement* and *Urban* cursing one another and their adherents to the purpose; insomuch, that between them, there were few Christians in *Germany* and *Italy* left uncurst or damn'd, and blest and saved again at the same time. But that which greatly strengthned *Urban*, was the revolt of *Conrade*, Eldest Son to *Henry*, whom the Emperour leaving in *Italy* in his absence, he rebell'd against his Father, and took part with *Urban*, who acknowledged him to be King of *Italy*, and accordingly was Crown'd so at *Milban*; and to make him more sure, they had him marryed to the Daughter of *Roger*, Duke of *Sicily*; besides this, they had taught this their young King so much obedience to the See of *Rome*, as to hold the Popes (*e*) Stirrop. And this revolt or unnatural rebellion lost *Henry* all his interest in *Italy*; many of his old Friends adoring the rising Sun, not thinking but *Conrade* would be Emperour.

But death spoils many a design, for *Conrade* dyed before his Father, and so did *Urban* and *Clement*: Upon which, several pretended to the Chair of *St. Peter*; but *Paschal* the Second got the surest footing, between whom and the Emperour was no more agreement than with those gone before: This *Paschal* confirming all the thundring Excommunications and Deprivations against *Henry*, who was now fallen into a great trouble.

For his now Eldest Son *Henry* (*Conrade* being dead) was perswaded by wicked counsel, that it was best to look about him, and take the Government upon him, his Father having no right to Rule by reason of the *Roman* Decree against him. And many fine words did they tell him of *St. Peter*, of Christs Vicar, of the power of the Church, &c. And thus under the pretence of piety, was he

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*a* An. 1085.  
*Baron. anno*  
1098. *o*  
13.

*b* Remon-  
brantia Hi-  
bernorum,  
part 5. p. 2.  
*c* 25 May.  
*d* An. 1073.  
*o* 16.

*Baron. an.*  
1084. *o*  
10, 11, 12

An. 1088.

An. 1093.

*e* *Baron. an.*  
1095. *o* 8.

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1100 perfwaded to rebel againſt his Father. This being known, *Germany* was divided ; ſome ſtanding for the Father, others for the Son ; and both parties behaved themſelves ſo carefully, that both their Armies were powerful, and between them much blood was ſhed :  
 An. 1105. but at laſt, the Marqueſs of *Auſtria* and the Duke of *Bohemia* turn'd tail, and fled over to the Son, baſely leaving the old Emperour in the lurch ; which ſo leſned his Force, that he was conſtrain'd to take advice, and ſhift for himſelf, with a few truſty Friends.

Being thus down the winde, there were ſmall hopes of recruiting, every one now running over to the Conqueror. To be ſhort, a meeting is appointed at *Mentz*, where meet many Biſhops and Nobles, and truſty cards for young *Henry* ; and to carry more Authority, *Pafchal* had ſent thither his two Legats ; and to make all ſure, young *Henry* himſelf was there, who made pretty canting Speeches to the people, telling them, that he intended no harme to his Father, neither deſired his depoſition, onely took care for the Glory of God, and the honour of *St. Peter*, and Chriſt's Vicar, &c. which hony-words pleas'd the ſeditious people exceedingly ; ſo that here they conclude the old Emperour not fit to Rule, and that his Son ought to be the man and Governour.

Having gone thus far, it was not now for them to look back ; and ſo they very fairly go and have him depoſed : The ſtory it ſelf being ſomewhat lamentable, take as followeth out of their own approved Authors.

*Car. Sigonius*  
*de Regno*  
*Ital. anno*  
 1106. *Hel-*  
*modus Hiſt.*  
*Sclavorum,*  
 c. 32. *Alb.*  
*Krantzius*  
*Hiſt. Saxon.*  
 lib. 5. c. 20,  
 21, 22, 23,  
 24.

The Biſhops of *Mentz*, *Colen*, and *Worms*, were order'd to go to him, and to bring from him the Imperial Enſigns, viz. the *Croſs*, *Lance*, *Scepter*, *Globe* or *Golden-ball* and *Crown*, with the *Sword* : They went and demanded of him theſe Badges ; of which things he demanded the reaſon ; they replyed, *Becauſe he had committed Simony in nominating to Biſhopricks and Abbies*. To whom the amazed Emperour thus answered : *You, my Lords of Mentz and Colen, tell me, by the Name of God, what I have received from you*. They confeſs'd that he had received nothing. Then, ſaid the Emperour, *Glory be to God, that in this We are found faithful ; for your great Dignities might have brought great gain to me, had I gone that way : My Lord of Worms likewise knows that he received his Biſhoprick freely. My good Fathers, break not your Oaths : I am now old, and you need ſtay but a little. But if there be no remedy, I ſhall deliver the Crown to my Son with mine own hands*.

But they making offer to lay hands upon him, he retired himſelf, put on his Imperial Enſigns, and returned to them, ſaying, *The goodneſs of God, and the election of the Princes, gave theſe to me ; and God is able to preſerve them unto me, and to with-hold your hands from this action, although We want Our Forces, though I doubt not of any ſuch violence ; &c.* Hereupon the Biſhops ſtay'd a while, as if they knew not what to do ; yet at laſt, encouraging one another, they bolted up the Emperour, took the Crown from his head, and then taking him out of his ſeat, took from him all his Royal Robes. The grieved old Emperour fetching a deep ſigh, ſpake to this purpoſe, *The God of vengeance behold, and revenge this iniquity you commit againſt me : I ſuffer ignominy, the like whereof was never heard of : But it is God that juſtly puniſheth me for the ſins of my youth : Yet for all this, are not you free from this offence,*  
 having

having broken your Oaths, and so shall not avoid the revenge of a just Judge. Let God never prosper you upon earth, but let your portion be with him who betray'd Christ. 1100

I know some hint so slightly on this story, as if they were willing to pass it by in silence : And others, to mitigate the crime, would gladly persuade us, that the Emperour did willingly on his own head depose himself. But 'tis a poor excuse, to conquer a man by force, beat him soundly with an intent to make him deliver, and then to say, that he gave his purse freely, when he was not able to keep it, and you were resolved to have it. And that the Father had really no mind to part with his Authority and Dominion, his former battles against his Son for keeping them may testifie, and his after-actions may sufficiently confirm it : for getting liberty, as conveniently as he could, he withdrew himself to *Colen*, thence to *Liege*, and by his Letters declares to all Christian Princes and People, how basely he had been used : for a taste of which hard usage, you may peruse his complaining Letter to *Philip* King of *France* ; it being somewhat long, I shall refer you to the reading of it in [a] *Sigebert*. And that he endeavour'd to restore himself by Arms, by the assistance of the Duke of *Lorraine*, History will tell at large : And are all these signs of a willing and free resignation ?

But at last, young *Henry* gets his old Father again into his clutches, where we cannot but suppose that the ancient Emperour was brought into excessive misery ; for proof of which, take this one story testified by their own Historians.

This *Henry*, amongst other buildings of Devotion, had built at *Spire* a Monastery, dedicated to the Virgin *Mary* ; and seeing thus all means of a free livelyhood taken from him, applyed himself to *Gebhard*, Bishop of *Spire*, one to whom he had been a special Friend, having not onely indowed the Church well, but also advanced him to his honours : Of this Bishop, he desires one favour, and that but a poor one too, viz. that he would grant him the courtesie to live as an assistant in that Church, which he himself had built and indowed ; telling of him withal that he was somewhat qualified for such an employment, because he had been brought up at his book, and had some skill to assist in the Chair. To which small request, the ungrateful Bishop tartly replies with an [b] Oath, that he should not there be entertain'd ; though according to their [c] Canon-law, he should not have been denyed, being the Founder. Which uncharitable denial so afflicted the ancient Emperour, that he could not refrain from tears and sighing ; onely saying to the people then about him, in the phrase of the patient man, [d] *Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, at least you my friends ; for the hand of God hath touched me*. And thus overwhelmed with grief and poverty, he presently after dyed at *Liege*, having sway'd the Scepter above fifty years.

Now may we suppose that the living friends of the old Emperour went all to wrack, when the dead could not escape the tyranny of their Popish Enemies. *Clement* the Third his body, after it had laid in the Grave five years at *Ravenna*, was dig'd up again as unworthy of that holy Earth ; and so were the Bishops of his Consecrating served. Nor did the Corps of the deceased Emperour fare any better : for though at first it was buried at *Liege* by the Bishop

b Per Matrem Domini non faciam tibi quod petis. *Helmold's Hist. Slav. cap. 33.*  
c 16. q. 7. *Quincunq; fidelium. Et Lancelor. Inst. Can. f. 1. Tib. 28. & desertur autem.*  
d Job 19, 21.

of



1100

of that City ; but these men being under Church-Censures for their affection to old *Henry*, they were not permitted to be received into Absolution and Church-Communion again , till they had dug up the Imperial Corps, and without any Ceremony laid it on unconsecrated ground ; and to this their Archbishops and Bishops gave their consents. This being done, with the approbation of young *Henry*, it was convey'd to *Spire*, and there laid by the (a) Popes command without the Church and Church-yard , in a Sepulcher, without any form of buryal, where it remain'd five years : At the end of which time, it pleas'd his Holiness, *Paschal*, to consent that it might have Christian buryal ; yet to this Christianity he was forced, being then a (b) Prisoner to *Henry* the Son.

a Ant.  
Dauroult.  
Flor. Ex-  
empl. cap. 7.  
Tit. 16. &  
8. Baron. an.  
1110. &

4.  
b Baron. an.  
1111. &  
20.

As for *Henry*, he is much commended in History for his Nobleness and Valour, having fought bravely in sixty two battles, more than *Cesar* himself had done : And his good benefaction to Churches makes him no enemy to Devotion ; yet would the Popelings from him raise up a new name of Heresie, with which they severely brand him: and this they call'd in those times *Henrician* (and some *Guibertine*, or *Clementine*, from *Clement* the Third) Heresie, which they would make to be the same with *Simony* : and what great Monster this *Henrician* Heresie is, one of their great Rabbies, and enemy to all good Government, viz. (c) *Genebrard*, shall inform you ; onely this, to chalenge to himself the power of giving *Investitures* to Bishops, which now all Christian Kings do : And yet about this did the Pope then keep such a clutter, as if Religion it self were singing her *Requiem*. But this puny supposed Heresie, (d) *Prateolus* passeth by without any notice, though he affords us an *Henrician* Heresie: but from another man, and upon different Principles, which are nothing to my purpose here.

c Ex ejus  
nomine,  
quod ipse jus  
Investiture  
mordicus sibi  
vendicaret,  
simonia dicta  
est Henrici-  
ana heresis,  
Cron. p. 898.  
& Lib. 8.

A man might think that young *Henry* the Fifth having thus got the Empire, should be great friend to the Pope, and they two be hand and glove : But storietells us the quite contrarie ; insomuch, that now he thinks he is obliged to vindicate the rights of the Empire, though against the Pope himself ; which he formerly looked upon really, (or was perswaded by the flattering *Romanists* to fancy so) to be no less than abominable Heresie.

He being Emperour, Pope *Paschal* declares his intent to meet him at *Ausburg* in *Germany* ; but upon some jealousy, he turns into *France*, and at *Troyes* holds a Synod, where they fell to taking away the Emperours power of *Investitures* : but against this, *Henry* by his Ambassadors protested , alledging, that the Bishops of another Country were not to be judges of his jurisdiction. Upon this, the business is here laid aside, and put off till a Synod at *Rome* ; and so the Pope returns for *Italy*.

*Henry* the Fifth intended to be Crown'd by the Pope, marcheth for *Italy*, and at last gets to *Rome* ; where (to be short) he kisseth *Paschal's* Toe , desireth Coronation , and the right of *Investitures*. The Pope is puzzled ; the Citizens and Souldiers fall out ; and the *Italian* and *German* Writers here, are in as great contradictions as their Country-men fighters ; all which I pass by : yet the Pope and some of his Cardinals are seised upon by the Imperialists, and imprisoned , nor restored till *Henry* was satisfied in his requests : So he is Crown'd, and *Investitures* given him, part of which form is this following :

*Paschalis*

Paschalis Episcopus servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio Henrico glorioso Teutonorum Regi, & per Dei omnipotentis gratiam Rom. Imperatori Augusto, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. \* \* \* \* \* Illam ergo dignitatis prerogativam, quam Predecessores nostri vestris Predecessoribus Catholici Imperatoribus concessere & privilegiorum paginis confirmavere, nos quoque dilectioni tue concedimus & presentis privilegii pagina confirmamus ut, viz Regni tui Episcopis & Abbatibus libere prater violentiam & Simoniam electis, Investituram virga & annulo conferas; & post Investituram, canonice consecrationem accipiant ab Episcopo ad quem pertinuerint. Si quis à Clero vel à populo prater assensum tuum electus fuerit, nisi à te investitur, à nemine consecratur (a) [Exceptis illis qui vel in Archiepiscoporum vel in Romani Pontificis solent Investitura consistere] sane Archiepiscopi vel Episcopi libertatem habeant à te investitos Abbates & Episcopos canonice consecrare. \* \* \* \* \* Si quis vero inflato spiritu ad periculum anime sue contra huiusmodi auctoritatis nostre decretum agere presumpserit, sciat se vinculo Apostolica maledictionis & Anathematis in hoc seculo & in futuro nisi respiscat esse alligatum atque submersum.

Paschal the Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to my dear Son in Christ, Henry the renowned King of the Germans, and by the Grace of God Emperour of the Romans, greeting and Apostolical Benediction. \* \* \* \* \* Wherefore the same prerogative, which our Predecessors did grant and confirm, as a priviledge to your Predecessors the Catholick Emperours, We do also grant, and do hereby confirm to you, viz. that you may bestow Investiture by a Staff and Ring, to the Bishops and Abbots in your Dominions freely elected, without force and Simony; and that after such Investiture, they may according to the Canons receive Consecration from their respective Bishops. And if any, either Clergy or Laymen, be elected without your approbation or Investiture, let none dare Consecrate him; (a) [but still excepting those (as some Priviledge-places) who by custom are to receive Investitures from their Archbishops, or the Bishops of Rome] and undoubtedly Archbishops or Bishops may have liberty to Consecrate canonically those whom the Emperour hath Invested. \* \* \* \* \* But if any to the danger of his soul shall presume to act against this our Decree, let him know himself to be bound and ruined in the Chain of the Apostolical Malediction and Curse, not onely in this world, but in that to come, unless he repent.

1100  
Jo. Nuncios  
Gen. 38. p.  
738.

a Baronius  
hath not this  
Exception in  
his Copy, and  
1111.

Besides this confession of the Pope, all the Citizens in Italy swear this following Oath of Allegiance to the Emperour.

Ab hac die in antea fidelis ero Domino in Regi Henrico: non ero in Concilio vel in facto, quo ipse perdat vitam vel membrum, vel quo capiatur, vel affiliatur contra suum velle: adjutorio ero ei retinere Civitatem nostram, &

From this day forward I will be faithful to our Lord King Henry: I will do nothing by advice or action, whereby he may loose life or limb, or be taken or set upon, against his own will: I will be assistant to keep

1100

*Burgas & suburbia, Episcopatum, comitatum, omnem usum & honorem Regni & Imperii, quem Predecessores sui Reges & Imperatores habuerunt in prædictis locis, contra omnes homines qui voluerint auferre vel minuire: nulli mortalium in prædicta Civitate vel locis obediám pro Episcopo, immo pro posse eum prosequor, nisi illi soli, quem prædictus Dominus Rex eidem Civitati concesserit Episcopum dono & Investitura sua: hæc omnia observabo, ita me. Deus adjuvet.*

keep to him our City, the Towns and Suburbs, the Bishoprick and County, with the benefit and honour of the Kingdom and Empire, which his Predecessors Kings and Emperours had in the said places, against all those who would take away or lessen them. I will obey no man as Bishop in the said City or Places (but on the contrary, according to my power withstand him) but him onely, whom our Lord and King shall grant to be Bishop by his Gift and Investiture: all these things will I keep and perform, as God me help.

a 'Quod est contra Spiritum Sanctum.  
b—Divisus sit à Regno Christi & Domini: qui pactum istud rumpere aut violare tentaverit, Bezon. anno 1110. 26.

Yet for all this, no sooner was the Emperour gone out of *Italy*, but the Pope calls a Council in the *Lateran*, where he nulls the former grant of Investiture, as being (a) *against the holy Ghost*, and obtain'd by force; though he had formerly damn'd (b) those who should break it. In *Germany*, *Albert* Archbishop of *Mentz* bandies against *Henry*, and is by Order imprisoned: but the Emperour going to that City to hold a *Diet* or Parliament, is assaured by the Citizens, and in danger of his life, they threatening to kill him, if *Albert* be not set at liberty, and other favours granted him. Yet was he farther troubled, some Bishops, and others at *Colen*, seeking to deprive him, because Excommunicated by the Pope; but having blown away these, he marcheth to *Italy*, where he had himself Crown'd again by *Maurice* Archbishop of *Braga* in *Portugal*, whom afterwards (*Paschal* being dead) he nominated Pope, and was call'd *Gregory* the Eighth, in opposition to *Gelasius* the Second, whom *Henry* said could not be Pope, because elected without his consent.

But at last, *Henry* was so pester'd in *Italy* and *Germany*, that to save himself, he was forced to be reconciled to Pope *Calistus* the Second, (who succeeded *Gelasius*) and to grant to him the Investitures of Bishops; and so was absolved from his Excommunication. So much mischief had the Popes stubbornness to keep Investitures made in the World, though now all Catholick Kings keep the same Priviledge, either by *Conge d'eslires*, or suchlike nominations.

An. 1100.

c Hist. de France, tom. 2. p. 89. 5.

Some Historians tell us, that formerly the Popes used to date their Bulls, Epistles, &c. from the years of the Emperours Raig; but *Paschal* the Second first alter'd this, and dated his Letters from the year of his Popedom. And now I talk of datings, I might speak here of *Philip* the First of *France*, of his Excommunication; and how some would thence conclude, that he was thereby deprived from his Kingdom, and bring for a proof some datings not with the Raig of the King, but the year and Rule of Christ, under this form—*Regnante Christo*:— But seeing (c) *Scipion Dupleix* lights it as of no validity, and that vastly read

David

David Blondellus hath in a particular large (a) Treatise shewn its mistake, and that such *Forms* have been many times used when no Excommunication or Censure obliged it; I shall not trouble the Reader nor my self any farther with it.

1100  
a De formu-  
la Regnic  
Christofolu.



### CHAP. III.

1. *The Kings of England denied the Popes Coercive Authority over them, or their Dominions.*
2. *The troubles of England, by the arrogancie and obstinacie of Thomas à Becket, against his Sovereign, King Henry the Second.*

#### Sect. I.

*The Kings of England denied the Popes Coercive Authority over them, or their Dominions.*

**H**AVING now seen in part how the greatest Emperours have been tost about by the Popes, it will not be amiss, to hint at their indeavours to reduce *England* to the slavery of their humours; and what may we not expect from their pretended grand Spiritual jurisdiction, when we shall see an Archbishop, and a born Subject too, bandy against his Sovereign, *Henry the Second*? which story is here related.

As for *England*, the Pope would be Lord over it, as well as other Nations; nor did his Religion any way advance the Obedience and Allegiance of Subjects. For though one Pope had approved of King *William* the First his Conquest, by sending him a (b) consecrated Banner, an *Agnus Dei*, and one of *St. Peters* Hairs, in way of his good speed: Yet the next Pope, viz. *Gregory* the Seventh, demands fealty from him, as may appear by the Kings Answer, in Sir Robert Cottons Library.

b Speed, book  
9. c. 2. & 2.  
Dr. Geo.  
Hakewell's  
Answ. to Dr.  
Caviers Let-  
ter, pag. 141.

Hubertus Legatus tuus (Religiosus Pater). ad me veniens, ex tua parte me admonuit, quatenus tibi & successoribus tuis fidelitatem facerem, & de pecunia quem Antecessores mei ad Romanam Ecclesiam mittere solebant melius cogitarem; unum admisi, alterum non admisi: fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo;

Hubert your Legat (Holy Father) coming unto me, advertised me as from you, that I was to do fealty to you and your Successors; and that I should bethink my self better of the Money which my Predecessors were wont to send the Church of *Rome*; the one I admitted, the other I admitted not: The fealty

1100 *quia nec ego promisi, nec Antecessores meos Antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio.*

alty I would not perform; neither will I, because neither my self promised it, nor do I finde that my Predecessors performed it to yours.

Upon which refusal, some suppose *Gregory* returned that furious and uncivil Letter (seen amongst his other (a) Epistles) to his said Legat *Hubert*; in which he accused the King of *Impudence*, and that he had done more against the Church, than all the (b) Pagan Kings themselves had offer'd.

a Lib. 7. Ep. 1.  
b Nemo omnium Regni etiam Paganorum, contra Apostolicam sedem hoc præsumpsit tentare, quod is non erubuit facere, lb.

Nor did his Son, King *Henry* the First, acknowledge any subjection to the See of *Rome*; for though Pope *Paschal* the Second expected it, and accordingly thus wrote to him, to put him in minde of it.

*Paschalis servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Henrico illustri Anglorum Regi, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem.*

*Paschal* the servant of servants of God, to our beloved Son *Henry*, the renowned King of *England*, health and Apostolical Benediction.

*Cum de manu Domini largius honorem, divitias, pacemque suscepis, miramur vehementius, & gravamur, quod in Regno potestateque tua Beatus Petrus, & in B. Petro Dominus honorem suum justitiamque perdiderit: Sedis enim Apostolica Nuntii vel littere præter jussum Regiæ Majestatis, nullam in potestate tua susceptionem vel aditum promerentur: nullus inde clamor, nullum inde judicium ad sedem Apostolicam destinatur.*——

Since you have plentifully received Honour, Riches and Peace from the hand of the Lord; We exceedingly wonder, and take it in ill part, that in your Kingdom, and under your Government, *St. Peter*, and in *St. Peter* the Lord hath lost his Honour and Right, in as much as the *Nuntio's* and *Breves* of the See Apostolick are not thought worthy entertainment or admittance into your Dominions, without your Majesties Warrant: No Complaint now, no Appeal comes from thence to the Apostolick See.——

To which King *Henry* the First (after some terms of Complement) replies in this manner:

—*Eos Honores & eam Obedientiam quam tempore Patris mei Antecessores vestri in Regno Angliæ habuerunt, tempore meo ut habeatis volo; eo videlicet tenore, ut dignitates, usus & consuetudines, quas Pater meus tempore Antecessorum vestrorum in Regno Angliæ, Ego tempore vestro in eodem Regno meo integre obtineam. Notumque habeat Sanctitas vestra, quod me vivente, Deo*

—That Honour and Obedience which your Predecessors had in the Kingdom of *England*, during the reign of my Father, my will is, that you should have in my time, with this condition, That my self fully and wholly enjoy all the Dignities, Prerogatives and Customs, which my Father enjoy'd in the said Kingdom, in the time of your Predecessors. And I would that your

*auxiliante, Dignitates & usus  
Regni Angliæ non minuentur:  
Et si Ego (quod absit) in tanta  
me dejectione ponerem, Optimates  
mei, imo totius Angliæ populus  
id nullo modo pataretur.*

*Habita igitur, (Charissime Pa-  
ter) utiliori deliberatione, ita se  
erga nos moderetur benignitas  
vestra, ne (quod invitus faciam)  
à vestra me cogatis recedere obe-  
dientia.*——

your Holiness should understand, that during my life, the Dignities and Prerogatives of the Crown of England, (by Gods Grace) shall not be diminished. And if I should so far debase my self (which God forbid) my Lords and Commons would by no means indure it.

Wherefore (most dear Father) upon better advice, let your gentleness be so tempered towards us, that I be not enforced (which I should unwillingly do) to withdraw my self from your obedience.——

But to save my self trouble, I shall refer the Reader to Sir (a) *Edward Coke* and Mr. (b) *Prynne*, where he may abundantly satisfie himself, that the Kings of England not onely slighted the Papal Coercive Power, but all along exercised Authority in and over Ecclesiastical Causes: Though the Pope made it his business to trample upon all Temporal Jurisdiction, and make it a meer ridiculous shadow, without life or soul, but as it received a being from Rome.

<sup>a</sup> Rep. part 5.  
<sup>b</sup> Hist of the  
the Popes in-  
tolerable U-  
surpations.

But leaving these, we might tell you, how a little after, the English had got the Whim of a conditional Covenant, and which is as bad, *Perjury*. For though they had sworn Allegiance to *Mande* the Empress, yet her they reject, and swear a broken conditional subjection to *Stephen*: Yet when they saw him a little downward, then they cast him off, and play the same conditional knack to the Empress *Mande*.

*Speed,*  
1.4.30.

## SECT. 2.

*The troubles of England, by the arrogancie and obstinacie  
of Thomas à Becket, against his Sovereign, King Henry  
the Second.*

HOWEVER, waving these, (though treasonable enough) we shall come to the next, *viz.* King Henry the Second, of part of whose Reign it will not be amiss to give some hints, seeing so great a man as *Thomas Becket* is concerned in it, whom, some call *Saint* and *Martyr*, whilst others allow him no better title than a *Traytor*. But of this with all brevity.

This *Thomas Becket* was Son to one *Gilbert Becket*, a Citizen of London; and by the favour of *Theobald*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was made an Archdeacon in that See, and was placed about the person of Henry, then but Duke; who coming to be King, advanced him to be Lord High Chancellor of England; and upon the death

1100

of the former *Theobald*, made him Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Having thus seen the great rise of *Thomas* by the Kings love, grace and favour; let's now see how he lost the affection of King *Henry*.

a Per missi-  
one Regis.  
M. 11. Paris,  
an. 1164  
b Guil. Neu-  
brig. lib. 2.  
c. 16.

d An. 1163.  
e 29.

For some time he thus lived in great repute with the King, though *Henry* was a little troubled at the humour or design of *Thomas*, to throw up his Chancellorship without acquainting him with it. After this, the Pope call'd a Council at *Tours*, whither went the two Archbishops, and several Bishops of *England*; having first procured the Kings [a] leave for going thither: Where an ancient [b] Historian tells us, that *Thomas* privately surrendred up his Archbishoprick to the Pope, as if the Kings Nomination or Investiture had not been sufficient, which was restored again by the Pope, and so *Thomas* was cocksure of both Presentations and Authorities. And probably this underhand-dealing, and nulling of his jurisdiction, might somewhat alienate the affection of *Henry*, although [c] *Baronius* will not allow of any such surrender at this time, though for his dissent we must not be content onely with his word, neither producing Reason or Authority for his so doing; since 'tis probable enough, being thus back'd with the Testimony of *Neubrigensis*, that *Thomas* might yeild it up now in his Prosperity for a farther confirmation; and in his low condition do it also, to procure pity, and so make his party there the stronger against his King and Sovereign, which was then his main design.

Add to these, the strange Priviledges the Clergy boasted of, by exempting themselves from all secular jurisdiction, were the crime never so villanous; insomuch; that a Priest of the Diocess of *Sarum* having murder'd one, *Thomas* had him deprived and placed in an Abbey, that so he might not fall under greater punishment (according to his desert) by the Kings Justiciaries, lest, forsooth, he should suffer twice for one fault. And upon this last pretended Priviledge may we lay the Foundation of the following troubles.

Speed. e  
14.

d Baron. an.  
1163. e  
31.

For the King perceiving no signs of Peace and Tranquillity amongst his Subjects, if this exception of the Clergy was permitted, the people of that Coat having committed above an hundred Murthers in the short time he had yet Reigned; was resolved, that all the Clergy, who were taken in any *Robbery*, *Murder*, *Felony*, *burning of Houses*, and the like, should be tryed in Temporal Courts, and suffer, as well as Laymen. Against this wholesome Law, the Archbishop opposeth himself, and will onely grant that all Clergy-men so offending should be tryed in the Spiritual Courts, and by men in Orders; who, if they were found guilty, should for the first time onely be deprived of their Office and Benefice; yet he granted that for the second time they might lye at the Kings pleasure, as some think, though [d] others confess that he would not allow them at any time to be delivered over to the Temporal Authority.

And for these irrational Priviledges, *Thomas* was so resolute, that at *Westminster* he openly opposed the King, and got others to do so too; which mightily incensed his Majesty, but pleased Pope *Alexander* the Third to the purpose; yet fearing their hearts might fail them, he sends his encouraging lines into *England*, commanding them by vertue of their obedience, to stand firm for the Exemption of

of the Clergy, nor at all to consent to the King; and that if he, or any of the rest had in these times promised obedience to the King, not to keep such promises: but all this did not much prevail.

1100

Baron. an.  
1163.

39.40.

For the King was resolved to have the Laws and Customs of his Ancestors kept up in full force; and carryed his business so well, that at last, he had not onely the other Bishops of his opinion, but *Thomas* also consenting, who faithfully promised, and sware to observe them. And for their farther ratification and authority, the King calls an Assembly at *Clarendon* in *Wiltshire*, where the Bishops and Nobility meet him, and *John of Oxford* sat as President. But here *Thomas*, for all his former promise, at first absolutely falls off, and denyeth consent to the Constitutions; though at last he was so far worked upon, one way or another, that he there publickly sware, that in the word of a Priest, and sincerely, he would observe them to the King and his Heirs for ever. But when the King would have him to Subscribe and Seal to them (as the other Bishops had done) he absolutely refused, and retracted what he had formerly sworn.

The Constitutions in all were sixteen; but those which *Thomas* opposed, were such as these:

*That Priests guilty of Felony, Murther, &c. should be tryed before the Secular Judges.*

*That it should not be lawful for any Archbishop or Bishops to depart the Kingdom, and go to the Pope upon his summons, without the Kings License.*

*That no Bishops should Excommunicate any holding of the King in Capite, or put any other of his Officers under interdict without the Kings License, or information to the Judge.*

*That if the Archdeacon cannot decide the Controversie, they may go to the Bishop, and from him to the Archbishop, and lastly to the King; so that none shall appeal to the Pope of Rome, for any cause whatsoever, without the Kings License, &c.*

These and suchlike were approved of at *Clarendon* by all, onely *Thomas* excepted, who thought himself to have sinn'd so grievously for the former consenting to them, that by way of Penance, he suspended himself from his Priestly Function; but the Pope presently [a] restored him to that, and absolved him.

The King, we may suppose, was more and more incensed against *Thomas* for his obstinacie: and for to close up all, a Parliament was held at *Northampton*, where *Thomas* was to appear, though he had indeavoured to flee beyond Seas; but being beat back by cross windes, he conceal'd that purpose, and looked as if he had intended no such thing. All being met at *Northampton*, *Thomas* is accused of several things; and whilst they are consulting concerning him, he caused to be sung before him at the Altar, *The Princes sit and speak against me, and the ungodly persecute me, &c.* Thus would he have the Office for *St. Stephen*, though it was not then his day; and against the Custom, he wore the *Pall*. This being finished, he took up his Silver Crozier in his hands (an action not heard of before, as they say) and so enters into the Court, though several of his well-wishers perswaded him from such a defying posture, as if thereby he carryed his Protection, Exemption or Appeal.

a Matt. Paris, anno  
1164.



**1100** **peal.** The Bishops advised him to submit ; but he refusing, they adjudged him guilty of [a] Perjury, which they declared to him by *Hilarius*, Bishop of *Chichester*, and so disclaimed from that time forward all obedience to him, as a perjured man.

*a Aliquando noſter tuſſi Archiepiſcopus, & tenebatur tibi obedire ; ſed quia Domino Regi fidelitatem juraſti, hoc eſt vitam membra & terrenam dignitatem ſibi per te fore ſalvam, & conſuetudines, quas ipſe repetit conſervandas, & tu eas interis deſtruere, præcipue cum ſpectem ad terrenam ſuam dignitatem & honorem : idcirco te reum perjurii dicimus, & perjuro Archiepiſcopo de cætero non habemus obedire. Bar. 29.*

The Nobility alſo pronounce him a *Traytor* : but he, ſlighting them all as no competent Judges over him, holding up his *Croſſer*, appeal'd to the Pope of *Rome* ; and ſo withdrawing himſelf, with what ſpeed and ſecreſie he could, he waſted himſelf over into *Flanders*, and ſo to go to the Pope ; to whom he reſigned his Archbiſhoprick, but had it preſently confirmed to him again. Thus was *Thomas* careſs'd by the Pope and King of *France*, let the King perſwade what he will to the contrary ; yet the King thought it was good policie and ſecurity, to ſhew his diſdain and reſolution againſt him and his : Whereupon he Orders the Sheriffs and Judges of *England*, to ſeiſe upon all thoſe who appeal'd to the Pope or *Thomas*, with the neer Relations of all ſuch men as were with *Thomas* ; had alſo *Thomas*'s Revenues ſeiſ'd upon, and the livings of thoſe who went with him ſequeſter'd ; and *St. Peters Pence* to be gather'd, but not pay'd to the Pope till farther Order.

However, there were ſome means uſed towards a ſettlement, to which purpoſe Meſſengers were ſent to and fro, between the King and Pope ; and at laſt, a meeting agreed on between them, the better to decide the buſineſs : But this deſign was ſpoil'd by *Thomas*, who perſwaded the Pope to have a care of the Kings cunning, and not to treat with him, unleſs he were alſo preſent, intimating to the Pope, as if the King were a jugler or diſſembling. Thus did *Thomas* gain ſo much upon the Pope, that this meeting vaniſhed ; the Pope over-perſwaded not to treat, but in the preſence of *Thomas*, though againſt the former Agreement. And ſo *Henry* was reſolved not to confer any thing with the Pope, in the preſence or competition of *Thomas* his Subject.

This meeting or half-agreement thus broke off, not long after *Thomas* writes to the King, beginning, — *Expecting, we have expected, that the Lord would look upon you ; and that being converted, you would do penance, departing from your perverſe ways* — And then tells him how Bishops uſed to Excommunicate Kings ; and alſo writes to the Bishops of *England*, commanding them to iſſue out Cenfures againſt thoſe who hinder Appeals to the Pope, &c. abſolves all from the Oaths they made to keep any contrary Conſtitution. And to carry up *Thomas* againſt all oppoſition, and to make his Authority more glorious and formidable to his Enemies, the Pope creates him Legat in *England*.

Anno 1167. *Alexander ſervus ſervorum Dei, Dilecto fratri Tho. Archiepiſcopo Cant. ſalutem & Apoſtol. Benedictionem.*

*Alexander*, ſervant of the ſervants of God, to our beloved Brother, *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* greeting, and Apoſtolical Benediction.

*Sacro-Sancta Rom. Eccleſ.*

The moſt Holy Church of *Rome*

*digniores personas, & eas maxime, quæ honestate, prudentia & literatura, & eminentia virtutum præfulgere cognoscitis: ampliori consuevit charitate amplecti gloria & honore prævenire. —*  
*— inde est, quod nos tibi Legationem totius Angliæ (excepto Episcopatu Eboracensi) benigno favore concedimus, ut ibi vice nostra corrigas quæ inveniri corrigenda, & ad honorem Dei & Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, & salutem animorum, statuas, ædifices & plantes, quæ statuenda fuerint & plantanda. —*

*Dat. Anagninæ.*

Rome always used to embrace with great charity, and prefer in glory and honour persons of eminent worth, and them especially whom she knoweth to be most famous for honesty, wisdom, learning, and excellencie of virtues. — This is the cause, that with Our loving favour, We grant and bestow on you the *Legantine* Authority over all *England* (excepting onely the Archbishop of *York*) to the end, that within your jurisdiction, in Our place and authority, you correct what you finde worthy amendment; and that to the honour of God, the holy Church of *Rome*, and for the salvation of Souls, you do constitute, build and plant, whatsoever is to be setled and planted. —

1100

*Given at Anagni.*

Being thus rais'd above himself, countenanced and upheld against all opposition, he hurries into *England* to the Bishops a threatening Letter against the King, and the Constitutions confirm'd at *Clarendon*, telling the Bishops —

*That We have too long, and too much forbore the King of England; nor hath the Church of God gain'd any benefit by this Our induring. It seemeth dangerous and intollerable for us to leave any longer unpunished (as hitherto We have done) so great excesses of Him and his Officers against the Church of God, and Ecclesiastical persons; especially, since We have very often endeavoured by Messengers, Letters, and all manner of means (as became Us) to recal him from his perverse purpose: Because therefore, he will hardly afford Us the hearing, much less attentively listen unto Us; We have, with Invocation of the Grace of the holy Ghost, publicly condemned and declared as void, that Deed of Writing, with the Authority of that Indenture, wherein are contain'd not the Customs, but rather the wicked devices, whereby the Church of England is disturb'd and confounded. And have hereby also Excommunicated all the Observers, Exactors, Counsellors, Assistants, and Defenders of the same. And do also absolve by the Authority of God and Us, all you Bishops from that promise, whereby you were bound, contrary to the Constitution of the Church, for the observation of them. And then he rehearseth the said six Constitutions in controversie between the King and Him; and then nameth several persons of Quality, whom he did thereby Excommunicate.*

Of these things he also giveth the Pope notice, repeating in a manner the same reproaches against the King, with an additional commendation that he grows worse and worse, whom he was also resolved

Id. 34

1100 resolved to Excommunicate. Upon this, the *English* Bishops write to *Thomas*, how they had once some hopes of a peace, hearing how he gave himself to prayer, fasting, &c. — The way to recover the benefits of a peaceable reconciliation: hereby was conceived an hope that you might from above bring into his Majesties heart such favour, that he would out of Kingly mercy relent in his wrath towards us, and never recall to minde the injuries offer'd by reason of your departure. Your friends and well-wishers regain'd some access unto his Majesty, whilst these things were thus divulged of you; insomuch as he graciously admitted all such as were suitors for restoring you into his former favour. But now, by the relation of some, we understand, which we cannot but with grief remember, that you published against him a severer Commination; wherein you let pass all salutation; wherein you pra<sup>c</sup>tice no Counsel or Petition for Grace; wherein you neither advise, nor write any thing that savoureth favourably; but with all extremity do rigorously menace Interdiction or Excommunication against him: Which were it as sharply executed, as it is bitterly spoken, we should not then hope for peace, but should fear to be inflamed with an irrevocable and eternal hatred. — Thus, --- whilst, as it were, with a drawn sword you joyn battle, you have not left for your self any place for Petition. Wherefore (O Father) we charitably advise you, not to heape labours upon labours, and injuries upon injuries; but setting threatening aside, you would rather embrace patience and humility. Commend your cause to Divine Clemencie, and your self to the grace and mercy of your Sovereign; and in so doing, you shall heape and cast together coals of fire upon the heads of many. — It is better to be highly commended for voluntary poverty, than to be openly taxed by all men for ingratitude for a received Benefit. It is deeply rooted into the mindes of all men, how gracious our Lord the King hath been unto you; unto how great dignity he hath rais'd you from poor degree, and received you into his favour so freely and frankly, as the ample bounds of his Dominions, reaching from the Northern Sea, to the Pyrenean Mountains, were by him so absolutely subject unto your power, as through all those Principalities, they were onely accounted happy, who could finde but favour in your sight: And that no worldly mutability might overthrow your prosperity and glory, he laid your foundation most firm, in the possession belonging to God: And, notwithstanding his Mother dissuaded, the Kingdom cryed out against it, and the Church of God (so far as she could) sighed and groan'd thereat; he indeavoured by all means possibly to raise you unto the dignity of your present preferment, hoping he should hereafter Reign blessedly, and enjoy your assistance and counsel with exceeding security. If therefore, where he expected security to defend him, he shall finde a sword to offend: What rumour will be spread of you by all men? what a reward? what a remembrance will this be of a requital never heard of before? Forbear therefore (if you please) to wrong your fame: forbear to injure your Renown, and indeavour to overcome with humility your King, and your son with charity, &c. —

And at the end, tells him of his preposterous and rash Excommunication of the [a] Bishop and [b] Dean of Salisbury, before the offence was examin'd. — A new order of Judgement, and hitherto in the Laws and Canons (as we hope) unknown, first to condemn, and then to examine the offence. —

<sup>a</sup> Jocelin.  
<sup>b</sup> John of  
Oxford.

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The *English* Bishops write also to the Pope, giving great commendations of their King, and telling the Pope the occasion and story of these troubles between *Henry* and *Thomas*, viz. How that the King — finding sometimes the peace of his Kingdoms not a little molested with the outrageous excesses of some insolent Clerks, with due reverence to the Clergy, referred their offences to the Bishops, Judges of the Church, that one sword might assist another, and that the Spiritual Tower might confirm and establish in the Clergy that peace, which he maintain'd in the people. Wherein the zeal of each party appear'd more plainly; the Bishops affirming that murder, or any other like crime, should onely be punished in the Clergy by degradation: The King, on the contrary, being of opinion, that this punishment did not sufficiently answer the offence; neither was it provision enough for maintenance of peace, if a (a) Reader or Sub-Deacon killing some famous man renowned for Religion or Dignity, should escape free, with loss onely of this Order.

a Lecturer  
Acolythus.

The Clergy therefore upholding the (b) Order established from Heaven, and our Lord the King persecuting onely the offence (as we hope) with a just hatred, and intending to plant his peace more deeply; a certain holy contention arose amongst us, which (we trust) the plain and honest intention of both parties may excuse. Hereupon, not with any ambition of enlarging his Dominions, not with any conceit of oppressing the Churches Liberties, but with a desire of settling and confirming peace; it went so far, that the King would produce to light the Customs of his Kingdom, and Dignities anciently observed, and quietly and reverently yielded by persons Ecclesiastical to former Kings in the Kingdom of England: and to the end that hereafter no longer the thred of contention might be spun, he would have the same openly known. Wherefore the most ancient Bishops and great Peers of the Realm, being first sworn by their faith, and the hope which they had in Almighty God; and then making search into the state of fore-passed times, the Dignities of the Crown being sought, were laid open, and by the testimonies of men of the greatest account in the Kingdom were published. “Loe here the cruelty of our Lord the King against the Church of God, which fame hath so spread over the whole world! Behold here his persecution! And these are the works so divulged for wicked, both here and every where!

b i. e. of holy Orders, or Clergy.

And then they tell him, how willing the King is to be advised by the Church, that peace might be ———— And truly (Father) our sollicitation had long since (as we hope) obtain'd the desir'd end of this wished peace, had not our Father the Lord of Canturburies bitter provocations stir'd up afresh this discord, now laid asleep, and almost absolutely extinguished. For he from whose patience we hitherto expected peace, from whose modesty the recovery of the Kings favour, assailed him afresh, and without respect of his Majesty (at such time as he led his Armies lately against the Peace-breakers) with severe and terrible Letters, nothing favoring of fatherly Devotion, or Pastoral Patience, but most bitterly threatening him with sentence of Excommunication, and his Kingdom with an Interdict: whereas, on the other side, he rather ought with admonition to have mollified him, and with merits and meekness overcome him. If the Kings humility be so requited, what will be determin'd against the stubborn? If the ready devotion of obedience be

K k

esteem'd

1100 esteem'd so slightly, in what manner shall wilful obstinacie be revenged?

Nay father, to these so grievous threats, are added yet matters far more grievous; for he Excommunicated some of his Majesties Liegemen, most inward with our Lord the King; the Principal of his Privy Council, who managed the counsels of the King, and the affairs of his Kingdom: and all this, being neither cited, nor impleaded, neither (as they say or call it) guilty of any crime, nor convicted, nor confessing any thing.

Yea, he went farther yet, insomuch, as he suspended from his Priestly and Episcopal Office, our reverend Brother, the Bishop of Salisbury, being absent, undefended; neither confess, nor convicted; before ever the cause of his suspension was approved of by the advice of those of the same Province, or any others. If therefore this course of proceedings in judgements so preposterous (we spare to say inordinate) be followed concerning the King and Kingdom, what will be the end (considering the time is evil, and yeildeth great occasion of malice) but that the band of grace and favour, whereby the Kingdom and Priesthood have hitherto been united, will be rent asunder, &c? — And so they appeal against the Archbishop Thomas.

An. 1168. The Church being somewhat troubled with these divisions, it was the earnest desire of several to procure a peace; and this the Pope himself wish'd, having work enough to do with the Emperour Frederick. To accomplish this, upon the desire also of Henry, he sends two Legates a Latere, viz. Cardinal William and Cardinal Otto; and accordingly impowered them with instructions to manage that accommodation in France. He writes also to a Bar. anno 1168. 3.4. (a) Thomas, desiring him by all means to give himself to peace; and rather than not to have concord, to wink at some things, and yeild for a while. Yet, as if Thomas were not great enough before, he intended to raise him above all in France; to which purpose, he resolved to make him Legat also over all those Churches; but before he could bestow upon him that Legantine Authority, he was to desire the King of France his leave, which accordingly he did b 7, 8, 9. by (b) Letter.

33. As for the manner of the Treaty of Peace between the King and Thomas, take the story of it from the Legates themselves to the Pope.

To our most blessed Father and Lord, Alexander, &c. William and Oddo, by the same Grace Cardinals, &c.

c i. e. in France.

Coming to the (c) Dominions of the renowned King of England, we found the controversie between him and Canterbury aggravated in far worse sort (believe us) than willingly we could have wished. For the King with the greatest part of his followers affirmed how the Archbishop with great vehemencie (d) incensed the most worthy King of France against him; and in like sort induced his Cousin, the Earl of Flanders, (who before did bear him no malice) to fall out with him, and raise the most powerful war he could against him: and this he knew of a certainty, and it appear'd so by several evident demonstrations. For, whereas the said Earl departed from the King very friendly; the Archbishop coming into his Province, to the very seat of the War, incited, as much as in him lay, as well the King of France

d Speed, 29. This Accusation Thomas denied.

France, as the said Earl to Arms ——— The King affirm'd also, that the Informations concerning the ancient Customs of England deliver'd to you, were false and not true; which also the Bishops there present did witness. The King offer'd also, that if any Customs since his time were devised contrary to the Ecclesiastical Laws, he would submit them to your judgement. 1100

Calling therefore to us the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots of the Kings Dominions, that the King might not deprive us of all hopes of peace, but rather suffer himself to be drawn to have a Conference with the Archbishop, as well concerning the peace as the judgement: Sending therefore Letters unto (a) him by our Chaplains, we appointed a certain and safe place, where we might have conference with him, on the Feast of St. Martin: he nevertheless pretending excuses, put off this Conference until the Octaves of that Saint; which truly vexed the King more than could be imagined. But when we saw that the Archbishop (although we offer'd him safe conduct) would nevertheless give us no meetings in any part of the Kings Dominions next the French; we being willing to yeild to him, that there might be nothing wanting in us which might redound to his profit, came to a place in the Realm of France, which himself appointed. a. i. c. Tho-

Being come to the Conference, we began most earnestly to perswade him, that he would behave himself to the King, who had been his singular Benefactor, with such humility, as might afford us sufficient matter on which to ground our Petition for peace. At which retiring himself aside with his friends, after some consultation with them, he answer'd, that "He had sufficiently humbled himself to the King, without impeaching the honour of God, the liberty of the Church, the reputation of his own Person, the possessions of the Church; and farther, the justice due to him and his friends. These things so numbred up, we seriously perswaded him (as it was necessary) to descend to particulars; but when he would alledge nothing, either certain or particular, we demanded of him, if in the matters specified in your Letters, he would submit himself to our judgement, as the King and Bishops had already promised to do: to which he presently replied, that he had received no Mandat from you to this purpose: "But if he and all his might first be fully restored, he would then proceed, according as the Apostolick See should direct him. So returning from the Conference, since his words neither tended to judgement nor agreement; nor yet would he by any means enter into the matter: We manifested unto the King some things; but concealing other passages (as it was convenient) and tempering other things what we heard, &c.

Thomas [b] writes also to the Pope, and informs him of the same conference, and in a manner confesseth all here set down, expecting his instigating the French against King Henry. And another [c] Letter he writes to the Cardinals at Rome, pitifully complaining that King Henry is not punished, against whom he rants to the purpose. b Bar. 38, 39, &c. c 53, 54.

The Legats again endeavour a peace, and therefore they try Henry, to see how far he would yeild. To whom the King replied, That for his part, for the love he bore to the Pope and Cardinals, he would permit the Archbishop, Thomas, to return in peace to his See, and dispose of his Church, and all things thereunto belonging; and because there had been long contention about the Customs, he said, That he and his Children would be content with those which his Ancestors had enjoy'd. And yet if this condition

1100

of peace did not satisfie Archbishop *Thomas*, he affirmed he was ready to stand to the determination, as well of the Bishops of *England*, as those beyond Seas, as of *Roan*, *Baieux*, and *Le Mans*: And if this were not yet enough, he would submit himself to the judgement of the Pope, with this *Salvo*, that he would not impeach his Childrens right; for during his own life, he was content that the Pope should abrogate what he pleas'd: But yet could not these condescensions do any good.

~ 85, 86,

All these indeavours failing, *Lewes* the Seventh, King of *France*, undertook the business, he and *Henry* being now made friends: and in this he behaved himself so wisely, that he had wrought pretty well upon *Thomas*; and so having procured a meeting, *Thomas* humbled himself at the feet of *Henry*, saying, *I commit to your determination the whole controversie, which hath been the cause of diffention between us, still excepting the honour of God: Which last reservation greatly troubled Henry, Thomas always making use of such Salvo's that render'd all but conditional, and so void when himself fancied. Henry at this turns to the King of France, saying, See, my Lord, if it please you, let any thing not fit this mans humour, and he presently condemneth it as contrary to the honour of God, whereby he challengeth not onely his own, but also whatsoever belongeth to me. But that it may appear, that I withstand not the honour of God, nor yet of him (i. e. Canterbury) I make this offer. There have been many Kings of England, my Predecessors, of greater or less Authority than I am: and there have been many Archbishops of Canterbury before him, of great worth and holiness; what therefore the more eminent and virtuous of his Predecessors, have done to the least of my Predecessors; let him allow the same unto me, and the Controversie shall be ended. Upon which followed great Acclamations that the King had humbled himself enough.*

*a* Impurantes arrogantia Archiepiscopi impedimentum pacis, Bar. an. 1168.

~ 87.  
*b* Semper superbus, elatus, sapiens in oculis suis, propriae semper sectator voluntatis & sententiae, &c. ~ 88.

*Thomas* holding his peace, the King of *France* said, *My Lord Archbishop, will you be greater than other holy men? will you be greater or better than Peter? what do you doubt? loe, peace is even at the door.* At last *Thomas* fell a commending his Predecessors, but that they had left something for him to do; and then extol'd *Peter*, for resisting the Tyrant *Nero* with the loss of his life, &c. Thus the Peers of both Kingdoms, *England* and *France*, seeing no good to be done with him, turn'd all against him, imputing the want of peace to his [*a*] *Arrogancie*; one Earl protesting he ought to be cast out of *France*, as he had been out of *England*; nay, the very Courtiers who had been Mediators for his peace, did now in his presence deeply charge him, that he was [*b*] *always proud, high-minded, wise in his own conceipt, a follower of his private fancie and opinion. Adding moreover, that it was an exceeding mischief, and great damage and danger to the Church, that he was ever made a Governour thereof; and that the same being already partly ruined, by him, would now be quite overthrown.* Yet they tell us that the King of *France* presently alter'd his opinion, and countenanced *Thomas* as much as ever.

1169.

All these indeavours failing, the Pope once again undertook the business, and so sent two Nuntio's, *Gratian* an *Vivian*, to take up the Controversie: but when it came neer the conclusion, they could not agree about the formality of the words; and so returned as wise as they came. Yet did not the Pope give over, but sent two other

other, *Simon* and *Bernard*, who earnestly perswaded *Thomas* to humble himself to his King, and so to please him with prayers and ready service. And to work more upon him, the King of France, the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Lords there present, earnestly advised him to the same. 1100  
Baron. an.  
1169. &  
39, 40, 43.

*Thomas* seeing no remedy, and all against him, condescended to their desires, went to King *Henry*, and kneeling down, submitted himself to God and the King; but still with this reservation of *the honour of God and his holy Order*. But this *Henry* rejects as imperfect, alledging that *Thomas*, by that *Salvo*, would upon any occasion exclude the honour of his King. However, *Henry* declared that he required nothing of him, but that he, as a Priest and Bishop, should before them all *truely promise without any deceit* to observe the Customs which the holy Archbishops of *Canterbury* had observed to their Kings, and which *Thomas* himself had once promised him to do. But *Thomas* would consent to nothing, without such *Salvo's* as formerly mentioned; which conditional obedience so vexed the King, that he affirmed, *Thomas* should never enter *England*, till he had done to him as he ought to do; and had undertaken to observe what others had observed, and what himself had formerly promised. And thus broke off this business.

. And the truth is, the King might have some reason to be more and more incensed against *Thomas*, who instead of seeking the favour and friendship of his Sovereign, had excommunicated his chief Friends; and went so far against others, that there was scarce found in the Kings own Chappel and presence, such as might perform the wonted Ceremonies. And besides, did daily threaten an *Interdict* against his whole Dominions; and had done it, but that some more prudent over-perswaded him to the contrary; and the Pope himself thought it best to lay his commands on him not to do it till farther Order. Speed &  
32.

But this was not all, for they proceed yet more and more to vex his Majesty: For he being now about fifty years old, and seeing the uncertainty of obedience, and not knowing what the pretence of Church-authority might do to his Children, if he should dye excommunicated, as it was daily threatned him; or not in favour with the Pope, as he might suspect upon *Thomas* his account: Upon these and other reasons, he resolved to settle his Succession by the Coronation of his Son *Henry*, now fourteen years old.

This resolution being made known, the Pope thought that now he might compel the King to admit of *Thomas*, or neglect the Coronation, under the pretence that that Ceremony belong'd of right to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and so to hinder any other from performing it, he wrote an [a] Express to the Archbishop of *Tork*, and the other Bishops of *England*, not to anoynt him, or meddle in the business; thereby to necessitate the recalling of *Thomas*. But this design wrought otherwise than intended; for the King enraged at this Prohibition, forthwith caused all his Subjects from twelve years old to sixty, [b] to abjure the Popes Obedience, or take an Oath not to obey the Popes Constitutions: And then had his Son Crown'd at *Westminster* by *Roger* Archbishop of *Tork*, the other Bishops assisting; where the young King was [c] sworn to observe the ancient Customs of the Nation, without any mention of the Churches liberties. 1170  
a Bar. anno  
1170. & 3.  
b Stow. pag.  
151. col. 1.  
Speed &  
35.  
c Speed  
& 36.  
Bar. & 16.

This



1100

This resolution of the King, or something else, did a little cool the Pope; and having put on his considering cap, he seem'd not so violent against the Coronation, as formerly, though *Thomas* cryed out, that he and his authority was undone by it: but to pacifie him, the Pope sent him a Paper-remedy, viz. that that action should not for the future be any (a) prejudice to his rights and privileges: And to give *Thomas* more content, he (b) suspended *Roger*, Archbishop of *York*; and this terrible sentence he sent to *Thomas* himself, to make the best use of it.

a Bay. 14.

b Id. 17.

Now had the world for almost seven years been troubled with this quarrel between a King and his Subject; insomuch, that all parties grew almost weary of it. And now once more to try if any good could be done, a treaty was brought about again. For this, the Pope sends his Legats, and some threats against *Henry*, if peace not presently made; and *Thomas* also used his humour to procure an Agreement, viz. threatening to (c) *Interdict* the Kings Dominions, and ranting against his Sovereign to the Legats, declaring him to be no other than a (d) *Deceiver, Jugler and Corrupter*. And are these words favouring of an obedient and peaceful Subject?

c Id. 24.

d Id. 25.

e Pratum Proditorum.

f Ille verbum acceptans, annuit, & nos & nostros qui aderant, recepit in gratiam suam. Baron. anno 1170. 30. g Matt. Paris. an. 1170. pag. 122. h Pol. Virg. l. 12. p. 212. i Speed, 40.

But in brief, a Conference was had between the King and *Thomas*, in a place call'd by the Inhabitants, (e) *Traitors-Medow*, where, [though *Thomas* took upon him to upbraid the King for opposing him and the Church, and resolved not to yeild to him about the Customs, his Sons Coronation, or the loss of his own liberty and honour, as he call'd it; yet] the King shew'd himself so plyable, that a peace was struck up between them; *Thomas* himself confessing to the Pope — That (f) *the King accepted all in good part, yeilded us our request, and received us with all ours there present into his favour*. In this Treaty the King twice held *Thomas* his Horse (g) bridle, whilst he mounted on Horseback: was not *Thomas* proud to permit it, or not dislike it?

Now might we suppose all to be calme and quiet, but we shall finde nothing less; for Agreement thus made, *Thomas* hastes for *England*, where being come, he having desired the (h) Popes Authority, suspends or Excommunicates the Bishops for (i) Crowning the young King: And thus instead of being peaceable and patient, he reneweth the old broyl, and provokes again to displeasure, by Censuring those, who had been the Kings friends; and by so doing, reflected upon his Majesty. Upon this, the King would have *Thomas* to absolve them again; but that he refused, unless they would swear absolute Obedience to the Pope; which, they said, they would not do, without the Kings consent, whose dignity it did most touch upon.

The Father-King, then in *France*, being informed of these extravagant actions of *Thomas* against the peace and tranquillity of his Subjects, fell into such a displeasure, that in a sudden rage and passion, he wonder'd revenge was not done upon *Thomas*: which four of his Courtiers hearing, interpreting the words to a wrong sence, without any Warrant or Authority, thought they could not do the King better service, than by killing the Archbishop. For which purpose they haste into *England*, so to *Canterbury*, where they cruelly murder'd *Thomas* in the Cathedral Church, at a place yet call'd the *Martyrdom*. But the (k) certain day

k Barth. Gavant. Thesaur. Sacrorum Rituum, tom. 2. pag. 140.

day on which he suffer'd, they cannot positively tell, yet they confidently appoint a day in the Calendar, as they do many others, upon uncertainties. 1100

*The names of these four Courtiers were*

Sir Richard (or Hugh) Breton or Brito; the name of a Family yet extant in Northamptonshire. *Tho. Fuller's Church-Hist. l. 3. c. 66.*

Sir Hugh Morvill of Kirk-Oswald in Cumberland, where his Sword wherewith he slew Becket, was kept a long time, in memory of that fact: his Family at this day extinct.

Sir William Tracy, (\*) Baron of Brains and Morton, whose heirs yet flourish at Todington in Gloucestershire. *Stow, p. 152. col. 2.*

Sir Reginald, or Reynold (some say Richard) Fitz-Urse, or Bears-son: his Posterity was afterwards men of great Lands and Commands, in the County of Monaghan in Ireland, being there call'd Mac-Mahon, which in Irish signifieth the son of a Bear.

To these was assisting one Hugh, call'd the Ill-clerk, an Officer of the Church.

But though these kill'd him never so surely; yet are we told a pretty (a) story, how that the next morning, prayers being ended, he lifted up his hand, and gave the Monks his Benediction: and well he might, when (b) Angels in the Chaire appear'd, and helped to sing his Requiem. These four having slain Thomas, fled into the North, and for some time hid themselves in Knaresborough Castle in York-shire, whence they went to Rome; where (though at first the Pope had Excommunicated them) they obtain'd their (c) Absolution and Pardon from Alexander the Third, being enjoin'd by way of penance to visit the Holy-land. And we are told that the Clergy having thus exempted themselves from the temporal Laws; so the (d) punishment of a Priest-killer, was not then Death, but Excommunication: till about the year 1176, it was declared by this King Henry, that such Murderers should suffer loss of life. We are also told, that whilst these men remain'd under Excommunication, that (e) Dogs, though never so hungry, would not take bread from their hands: as true as many other old-wives tales in Barontus, befitting the credit of a learned Cardinal. However, that the memory of the men, and their bloody action, might not be forgot, their (f) Statues of Stone were set up in the Cathedral Churches Porch at Canterbury, as a premonition, that no man for the future should lay violent hands on Bishops, or their Possessions. But if the Statues of all such sacrilegious people were now to be erected, neither the Porches nor Churches themselves in all England and Scotland could contain them. *a Bar. anno 1170. c. 59. b Pet. de Natal. lib. 2. cap. 13. c Bar. anno 1172. c. 22. d Speed, c. 44. e Bar. an. 1172. c. 22. f Will. Somner's, Antiq. of Cant. p. 164.*

Old King Henry was now at Argentan in Normandy, when news came to him of the Murther, which so afflicted him, that he was overwhelmed with tears and lamentations, changing his Royalty into Hair cloths and Ashes, almost for three days together, retiring into his private Chamber, not receiving either meat or comfort; insomuch, that the people about him fear'd he would pine away with grief: though for the clearing of his innocency he protested,

As

a \*Omnipotentem Deum se testem invocare in animam suam, quod opus nefandum nec sua voluntate nec Conscientia commissum est, nec artificio perquilitum. *Baron.*

(a) As Almighty God should judge his soul, that that accursed deed was neither acted by his will or consent, nor done by any device of his.

b — Sa Penitence fut si grande, qu'on ne peut point es Histoires, que aucun Prince Chrétien ayt fait Penitence avec plus grande humilité. *Guil. Gazet, Hist. des Saints, tom. 2, pag. 980.*

Neither was this any counterfeit or dissembling grief, but real and true; and that so great, that as a [b] *Romanist* confesseth, never could any History afford such an Example of Penance and Humility in a Christian Prince.

c *Spelman, Consil. tom. 2, pag. 111.*  
d *Bar. an. 1173.*  
e *Speed, 75. Bar. an. 1174.*  
f *Speed, ib.*  
g *Fullers Ch. Hist. 1.3.*

For the King did not onely submit himself to the Papal Censures, and (as they say) reject the ancient and wholesome Constitutions (which we are told, were not long after [c] confirmed again in the presence of the Popes *Nuntios*) but also the Pope [d] having Canonized *Thomas* for a Saint in Heaven, *Henry* to compleat the rest of the Penance [e] enjoyn'd him by the Legats, went into *England*; and being come within [f] three or [g] four miles of *Canterbury*, clad onely in one woollen Coat; went all that long way bare-footed to the Church, the blood running from his tender feet, by the piercing and cutting of the sharp stones; and in the Church bestow'd a whole day and night in fasting, watching and prayer; and the next day return'd, without eating and drinking all the while, bare-footed as he came. Nor was this all, for he also received on his bare back from the Monks, above fourscore lashes with Rods. To such an height of Extravagancie had the awe of Papal Censures and Absolutions flown over the greatest Monarchs, though really no way subject, either to them, or their brutish-Thunderbolts.

Fullers Ch. Hist. 1.3. 68.

The Kings purse paid for it also, by maintaining a great number of Souldiers, by the Popes Order, in the *Holy-Land*. And what good-will he really had for *Thomas*, may appear by his charity and care for his Relations: one of his Sisters call'd *Mary*, she not intending to marry, he made Abbess of *Berking-Nunnery*: and another of his Sisters being married to one of the *Botelers*, or *Butlers*, he transplanted with her Husband and Children into *Ireland*, conferring upon them high Honours and rich Revenues; from whom the Dukes of *Ormond* are descended. Nor was this all, for he founded an Abbey, call'd *Thomas-Court* in *Dublin*, in memory of our *Thomas Becket*, indowing it with large Revenues.

Thus have we seen the story of *Thomas Becket*, which we have taken out of the Histories writ by his friends and admirers; and followed that which hath most probability of Truth. And we cannot but suppose, that where a man is declared a Martyr for the Church, and a Saint in Heaven, but that Church-History will be crouded with his commendations, by which we can expect but a partial relation, at least little or nothing against him; it being held an unpardonable crime, not to believe with the Pope, or to hint any thing against him whom his Holiness hath thrust into Heaven: Yet enough may be gathered, not onely from those who most commend, but also from some ancient Historians, whereby we may justly lay the fault rather upon him, than his Sovereign.

For

For the King looked upon his cause to be so just, having all the other Bishops of his Dominions approving of him, that he freely offer'd the Controversie to the Tryal, even of the (a) *Parisian Divines*, and the Church of *France*, though their King shew'd himself a great friend to *Becket*. But *Thomas* was so cunning, that he would stand to no mans judgement but his own and the Popes; for then he was sure to come off Conqueror. 1100  
a *Speed*,  
24.

And if *Thomas* durst not stand to the determination of those Churches, who in all probability understood the business best; and to oppose all his own Country Bishops, as if none of them were as wise or honest as himself: And farther, seeing presently after *Thomas* his death, nay, and Canonization too, it was a strong dispute amongst the Divines beyond Sea, whether *Thomas* was (b) damn'd for his Treason, or a true Martyr; I see no reason why we should be so confident of his Saintship and merits, however, as to use his blood for a means to our Salvation, as those do, who pray b *Casarius*  
Hist. Memo-  
rab. l. 8. c. 69.

(c) *Tu per Thomæ Sanguinem, quem pro te impendit,  
Fac nos Christe scandere, quo Thomas ascendit.*

For *Thomas* his blood sake, which he for thee did spend,  
Let us, O Christ! where *Thomas* is, ascend.

c *Hora B.*  
Virg. secun-  
dum usum  
Sarrum.  
Paris 1534.  
fol. 53. b.

Again, when we consider the malapert humour of *Thomas* with his betters; as, because the King would not agree to his humour, he must accuse him of (d) *perverse ways*, as (e) *criminous*; that he (f) *grows worse and worse*; that he is a (g) *jugler, a corrupt man, and a deceiver*. Again, when we consider how all the other Bishops declared him guilty of (h) *Perjury*, of (i) *injuring* the King, of ingratitude, of his rash and preposterous Excommunications; that he by (k) *his bitter provocations stir'd up the discord*; that his actions savour nothing of fatherly devotion, or pastoral patience; and that to the Pope himself they all (l) *vindicate the Kings actions*. And farther, when we see the Peers not onely of *England*, but also of *France*, impute the want of peace to his (m) *arrogancy*; and those who had been the very Mediators for his peace, yet could not but tell him that he was (n) *always proud, high-minded, wise in his own conceit; a follower of his private fancie and opinion; and that it was a mischief to the Church, that ever he was made Archbishop*. Nay more, when we see the Popes Legates, and the Archbishops and Bishops of *France*, earnestly perswade him to humble himself to his King: And again, the Legates to accuse him even to the Pope, of his (o) *provoking the King of France, and Earl of Flanders, against his own Sovereign*; of writing lyes to his Holiness against his own King; and that his words neither tended to judgement nor peace. And lastly, when he hears the Nobility, and others of his own Nation pronounce him a (p) *Traitor to his face*: And *John Harding*, a zealous *Romanist*, and one that bestow'd most of his time in search into our *English History*, above two hundred years ago, could boldly thus pronounce him a Rebel: d *Bar. an.*  
1166. 45.  
e *Id. anno*  
1167. 26.  
f *Id. anno*  
1170. 34.  
g *Id. anno*  
1170. 25.  
h *Id. anno*  
1164. 29.  
i *An. 1167.*  
45.  
k *Ib. 61.*  
l *Ibid.*  
m *An. 1168.*  
88.  
n *Ibid.*  
o *An. 1168.*  
33.  
p *Speed,*  
23.  
*Bar. anno*  
1164. 30, 31.

## I 100

Chron.  
Chap. 111.  
a Feel of his  
liaunce, so a  
Manuscript.  
b For cause  
of the

He exiled then Thomas of Canterbury  
Out of England, and (a) many of his aliaunce  
(b) For cause of his rebellious governaunce ;  
And as he came fro Rome, by Fraunce away ,  
With language fel, he prayed the Kyng that day.

Churches governaunce : So have I read it in an old Manuscript, Arch. Seld. in Bodleian. Oxon. But one may perceive that the Manuscript hath herein been abused, by some-bodies scraping out the first copy.

c Bar. anno  
1173. &  
2.  
d lb. & 7.  
e Will. Som-  
ners Antiq.  
of Cant. p.  
248.

We might suspect that he was not so good and true a Subject as some would have him ; however, not to deserve to be (c) yoak'd with St. Thomas the Apostle, or to (d) exceed all other Saints, or to be honoured with more Devotion and (e) Offerings than Christ himself.

f Ex levi &  
minus utili  
occasione.  
Bar. anno  
1164. &  
47.

g Prateol. l.  
4. & 14.

h Parsons  
three con-  
vers part 3.  
pag. 168.

i Prateol.  
l. 14. & 16  
k Id. l. 3.  
& 19.

When again we consider that 'tis the Cause that makes a Martyr, and yet all the English Bishops declared to the Pope himself, that this Controversie was meerly about (f) Trifles ; when also we know, how strangely the word *Martyrdom* hath been mistaken by hasty Zealots, as the (g) Donatists, who would seek their own deaths, when others desired it not ; and would kill others, unless they would (h) kill them, to make them, forsooth, Martyrs ; as if they were all of (i) Petilians opinion, who affirm'd him a Martyr that kill'd himself for his own sins ; or like the (k) Circumcellions, who would kill themselves, if others would not do it for them. Why should Thomas Becket be a Martyr, when he might have saved his own life, as is very probable, either by (l) withdrawing himself, as his Monks perswaded him, or, by making resistance, which he forbad ; insomuch, that he would not have the doors shut or defended against them ?

l Guil. Gazet. Hist. des Saints, pag. 999. tom. 2.

m Vid.  
Andr. Rivet.  
Jesuita va.  
pub. p. 127,  
228.

n Bellarm.  
de Purgat.  
l. 1. c. 7.

o Am. Dan-  
ronlt. cap. 8.  
Tit. 14. &

4.  
p Tiberes  
lib. 2. cap.  
28.

q Will. Somner, p. 250.

r Id. pag. 249.

But farther yet, since (m) they tell us, that the people did for a long time (n) worship one for a Martyr, who took the pains afterwards to tell them that he was damn'd ; And the (o) Parisian Doctor was held a vertuous and holy man, till being dead, he told them he was damned ; and Hyrcanus, whom Albertus Magnus put into his *Letany*, is declared by (p) Serarius to be an Heretick : Why should we be so confident that Thomas Becket is in Heaven, as to make him the (q) Titular Saint of Canterbury, or to flock in Pilgrimage to him, to have the benefit of his merits, in such numbers, as at one time there was about an (r) hundred thousand worshippers of him in Canterbury from several places ?

s Casarius,  
Hist. Mem.  
lib. 8. c. 70.  
t Jo. Poly-  
and. disput.  
p. 43, &c.  
u Stow, pag.  
576.

x Bar. anno  
1172. &  
17.

And when they tell us, that presently after his death, they began to (s) counterfeit the Reliques ; and experience tells us, that the (t) Teeth of Moles, the Bones of Mice and Cats, the Tails of Beasts, and suchlike, have been worshippt for Reliques of great Saints : Why should they be so confident of having truly his body, as to bestow so much good and precious Stones upon it, as (u) twelve or fourteen men could scarce carry ? And that the world was cheated with false ware, will thus appear : His (x) brains were sent to be kept

kept in *St. Maria Maggiore* at *Rome* : His (y) face was set in gold, and shew'd in a little Chappel behind the high-Altar at *Canterbury* ; his (z) Skull in another place of the Church ; a Foot of his in the Vestry ; and a great deal of his blood, and a piece of his Crown was convey'd to (a) *St. Augustins* Abbey in the same City ; for which the Abbey gave to the Cathedral Church several houses, and a piece of ground. And yet when in *Henry VIII's* time the Shrine was defaced, there was found in it (b) a whole intire body, head and all, as of one but lately dead. And much of the same truth was that (c) upper-leather of his old Shooe, which they offer'd to Travellers to *London* to kiss, but really to beg by.

And lastly, if that be true which they tell us, viz. (d) that those Reliques must not be worshipt, if there be any doubt that they are not really of Saints ; then hath the world been cheated by the supposed Reliques of *Thomas Becket* : And I know no reason by the same rule, why they should so venerate *Thomas*, since they cannot positively swear his being in Heaven, unless they will subscribe to that fond Rule in (e) *Bellarmino*, that the Pope is also infallible in Canonization, so that, whom he declares a Saint, must of consequence be in Heaven, though he were in Hell before.

As for my self, I am superstitious and curious enough in things of Antiquity ; but seeing of Reliques there is scarce one true amongst five thousand, I am less credulous and careful. To conclude with *Thomas*, as I have no power or authority to determine of his Saintship, so I shall suspect his Martyrdom and Allegiance, but freely grant that he was murdered. The most memorable actions fell to him upon (f) *Tuesdays*, as some observe *Thursdays* have been the worst days to the Kings of *England*.

II CO  
y *Erasr.*  
Colloq. peri-  
grinat. Relig.  
pag. 270.  
z *Ib.* p. 269.  
a *Will. Som-*  
*ners* p. 167.  
b *Will. Lam-*  
*bard's* Pe-  
ramb. of  
*Kent*, 337.  
c *Erasr.*  
*ib.* p. 273.  
d In *Barth.*  
*Fumus* Sum-  
ma Aurea.  
verb. de Ca-  
nonizat.  
2.

e *De Purgat.*  
l. 1. cap. 9.

f *Matt. Pa-*  
*ris*, an. 1169.  
pag. 116.



## CHAP. IV.

1. *The murders and misfortunes of several Kings and Princes.*
2. *The Imperial Authority despised by the Popes, and made a meer slavery.*
3. *King Lewes VII. of France Interdicted.*
4. *The troubles of the Emperour Frederick Barbarossa, and the odd Coronation of the Emperour Henry VI. by Pope Cælestine II's feet.*

## SECT. I.

*The murders and misfortunes of several Kings and Princes.*

**H**AVING wearied our selves in *England*, though I might have enlarged, how King *Henry II* was also troubled by the rebellions of his own sons; Let us take a short turn or two beyond Seas.

1150

And here I shall not tell all the circumstances how King *Suercherus II* of *Swedland* was murdered by his ignoble groom; how *St. Ericus IX*, Monarch of the same Dominions, was made away by the Treachery of his own Nobility, lying open to the corruption of the *Dane*; nor of the untimely death of *Suercherus III*, as a Prologue to which, the *Swedish* Historians will tell you an odd story of a devilish Horse, flying through the Air: possibly wanting Shoes, the hard ground might hurt his feet; and the story in part confirms this conjecture.

1160

Jo. Loccen.  
p. 44.

Nor shall I here enlarge how Pope *Callistus II* had *William* the great, Duke of *Apulia*, as his foot-boy, and Yeoman of his (a) Stirrop; nor how the inconstant *Neapolitans* imprisoned their King *William I*, and promoted his Son *Ruggieri*, or *Roger*, whom they also, altering their humours, presently besieged in his Palace; and which was more, shot to death, and then restored his Father *William*. Neither will I trouble my self to unriddle the doubt in the *Polish* Historians, concerning the death of their good King *Casimire II*, though the general Opinions that he was poisoned at a Feast, and these verses of their Chronologer testified as much.

a Baron. an.  
1120. &  
12.

1194.

*Mista dedit domino scelerati aconita ministri  
Inter solennes perfida dextra dapes.*

Alex.  
Gnagnin.,  
Rerum Po-  
lon. tom. I. p.  
90.

*A wicked Varlet, void of grace or fear  
Mixt deadly poison 'mongst his Royal cheer.*

And

And here I might also tell you how the furious *Venetian* murdered their innocent Duke *Vitalis Michele II*, because the well-meaning man was not as successful against his deceitful enemies, as they would have had him, as if ill Fortune were onely the companions of knavery.

1100

1194.

## SECT. 2.

*The Imperial Authority despised by the Popes, and made a meer slavery.*

**B**Ut waving these, let us see how the Popes lord it over the Emperours, as if they had been their Vassals or Slaves; but the others, by I know not what whim, the Infallible disposers of the world: And so I warrant you, they are not a little proud of Cardinal *Gratianus* his answer to King *Henry II* of *England*, when he seemed somewhat angry at the Popes actions against him ——— (a) *Sir, Threaten not, we fear no menaces, because we belong to that Court, which useth to command both Emperours and Kings.*

a Domine  
noli minari,  
nos enim nul-  
las minas ti-

memus, quia de talis curia sumus, quæ consuevit Imperare Imperatoribus & Regibus. *Baron. an.* 1169. 12.

And the truth is, by degrees they intended to sweep up all the Imperial Priviledges to themselves; and as formerly they had made a good progress, so they now continue; for here we finde Pope *Paschal II* to alter the date of the Papal writings: for whereas, formerly, they used to be dated with the year of the Emperours Raign, herejects that form, and subscribes the year of his own Popedom; which custom hath been since continued by his successors. But the chief of all was the pretty conceited custom of their Crowning the Emperours, which as they had hitherto several times carryed on under pretty pretences, and a specious awe of their Paper-censures; so would they not willingly leave off that design, making thereby an Argument, that none can be Emperour, but of their Coronation or Approbation; and from their making, drawing out another of their power in nulling or disposing.

*Helvic.  
Chron. an.*  
1107.

And thus had they awed or gull'd the greatest Monarchs to their Lure. Thus the Emperour *Lotharius II*, who succeeded *Henry V*, meeting Pope *Innocent II* at *Liege* in *Germany*, became the (b) Yeoman to his Stirrop, in one hand carrying a Switch, as if it were to keep off the throng; and with the other leading his Holyness his white Palfrey. And thus did the Pope permit the Emperour to wait upon him in this servile posture on foot. And two years after, he guarding the said Pope into *Italy*, was by him Crown'd in the *Lateran*; upon whose walls he caused to be painted himself sitting in his Pontifical Chair, and *Lotharius* on his knees receiving the Crown of the Empire from his hands, with these wise Verses.

a *Baron. an.*  
1131. 9.

*Sigon. de  
Reg. Ital.  
Krantz. Me-  
trop. l. 6.  
c. 35.*

Rex



1100

*Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores :  
Post homo fit Papa, sumit, quo dante, Coronam.*

*The King doth come before the Gates,  
Swears th' Customs of the Town :  
Then him the Pope his Liege-men makes,  
And after doth him Crown.*

## Sect. 3.

## King Lewes VII of France Interdicted.

*Matt. Pa-  
risian. II 46.*

**L**EAVING *Germany*, I might step into *France*, and tell you a story, how *Alberic*, the Archbishop of *Bourges*, dying, this Pope *Innocent II* taking upon him to be Lord of all Nations, consecrated one *Peter*, his dear friend, as Prelate of that City, against the Kings will; which so enraged his Majesty, viz. *Lewes VII*, that he publicly and solemnly sware, that the said *Peter* should never enter into that City: Upon which (as my Author saith) the Pope *Interdicted* the King; insomuch, that into whatsoever City, Town or place the King enter'd, there was no Divine Service said: And this *Interdiction* continued for three years time; and then the King was forced to submit, and not onely admit of the said *Peter* to be Archbishop, but for a farther Penance, was to visit the *Holy-Land*. Thus the Thief would steal Rushes to keep his hand in ure; and the Pope will take any occasion to trample upon Temporal Princes; so that the Vicar takes more upon him, than either Christ or St. *Peter* would do. And thus thanks to his Holyness for making the King infallibly forsworn, the Oath, though hasty, being lawful; he having, for ought that I know, as much power then in his Dominions, as the *French King* hath at this time, who will not let the Pope thrust Bishops into his Cities.

## Sect. 4.

*The troubles of the Emperour Frederick Barbarossa, and the odd Coronation of the Emperour Henry VI, by Pope Celestine II's feet.*

**B**UT well may the Kings of *France* indure this, when they see far greater Ignominies done to the Emperour, of whom, passing *Conrade III*, let us see what was done to *Frederick I*, surnamed (from his red beard) by the *Italians Barbarossa*. Being chosen in *Germany*, he must trudge to *Rome* too to be Crown'd, or else all the fat was in the fire. And now was Pope *Adrian*, or *Hadrian IV*, born at *Abbots-Langley* neer *Kings-Langley* in *Hartfordshire*,

shire, and was first call'd *Nicholas Break-spear*, the onely *Englishman* that ever was Pope, though (a) *Dempster* would willingly hook him in to be a *Scotchman*, and (b) *Fuller* would increase the number of *English* Popes, and both with the same Authority, that is, none at all.

1100

a Appar. ad Hist. Scot. p. 48. c Ch. Hist. 1. 3.

*Frederick* come into *Italy*, meets *Adrian* at *Viterbo*, where the Emperour held his Stirrop, whilst his Holiness alighted from his Horse. But the mischief was, *Barbarossa* not used to such slavery, though ignorance held the left Stirrop; which so incensed the Pope, that he told the Bishop of *Bamberg* (who had made a Speech in Commendation of *Frederick*) that what he had said, was but meer words; for that the Emperour instead of honouring had dishonoured *St. Peter*; for instead of holding the right, he had held the left Stirrop. The Emperour as well as he could excused himself, alledging it was meerly through ignorance, that being the first time that ever he held one in his life. But this no way satisfied the Pope, intimating, that if he pleaded ignorance for his neglect of small things, there was little hopes of his performing the greater. The Emperour a little angry at these frumpish humours, desired to know whence that custom came: for if it were onely of good will, he had done enough; and if it were upon duty, he had shew'd his humility, though he mistook the Stirrop. And thus in a pet they both parted for that time; the Pope affirming he would not Crown him, till he had done his duty.

1155.

*Aelmold. Hist. Slav. c. 18.*

This story related by that ancient Historian, *Helmodus*, who lived at this time, and so might know best, is a little varied from by (c) *Baronius*, who tells it to this purpose: The Emperour and Pope being met, *Frederick* refused to hold his Stirrop; whereupon the Cardinals were out of their little wits, and shuffled away; and the Pope was as troubled as any of them, not knowing what to do, yet he permitted the Emperour to kiss his feet; but denyed him the *kiss of peace*; and why he did so, he thus tells the Emperour

c An. 1155. 12, 13, 14.

— *Because thou hast not done to me that wonted and due (d) honour, which thy Predecessors, the Orthodox Emperours used to perform, even till this time, to my Predecessors the Popes, for the honour of the Apostles Peter and Paul; until thou dost satisfie me in this point, I shall not receive thee to the kiss of peace.* — To whom *Frederick* reilyed, that it was not his duty. Well, this Controversie held all the next day; and at last, it went cleerly against the Emperour, and proved, forsooth, that he ought to do it.

d i. e. to hold his Stirrop— Reddi Romani Pontificis Stratoris obsequium, Cog. tom. 2. p. 71.

And so he yeilded to it; and for the more honour of the Play, the Emperour must go a little out of the way, and all his Army drawn up to see the shew, then must his Holiness be mounted upon his bonny Palfry, ride along, as if nothing were; whom the Emperour seeing a pretty way off, very mannerly met him, and very dapperly performed his duty at the Stirrop: and then his Humbleness received *Frederick* into his favour, and no question but he bus'd him to the purpose.

And thus take which of the stories you please, no question but you will think that the Vicar thought *Christ* mistook himself, when he said, his Kingdom was not of this world. So now, thanks to our Country-man *Adrian*, we see it brought to that pass, that if you will not be a slave at my Stirrop, you shall not be Crown'd; and so according to them no Emperour. For now that *Frederick* had proved

1100 proved himself a white boy, and plyable to all manner of drudgery; the Pope took the pains to Crown him, but told him, that he should win *Apulia*, and suchlike petty lands to the Church, thereby to shew his respect to *St. Peter*: the Emperour in the mean time, looking very demurely at these canting documents, though shew'd his indignation at the Picture of *Conradus* his kneeling to *Innocent*, and the verses, of which there was promis'd amendment.

But here before I go any farther with the Pope, let me tell you one remarkable passage which hapned in *Germany*, which may be as an *Item* against Rebels, and disturbers of the Peace.

1155. Whilst *Frederick* was thus busie in *Italy* to obtain his Coronation, upon some account, *Arnoldus* Archbishop of *Mentz*, and *Herman* [by some through mistake call'd (a) *Henry*] Count *Palatine* fell out, between whom there was a great deal of mischief done in *Germany*: but upon the Emperours return, all was quiet; yet not so forgot, but he was resolved to have the Laws inflicted upon the guilty. Now we must understand, that it was the custom amongst the *Francks* and *Schwablanders*, that if in the Monarchs absence a Riot or Sedition began, the guilty Noblemen, by way of Ignominy, were each of them to carry lugging at their shoulders a Dog, holding of him by the hindmost-legs, into the next County; and this publicly before all people, and then to be condemn'd to dye as a Traytor: the inferiour sort were to undergo the same Ceremony; onely instead of a Dog, they carryed a [b] Seat or Bench: a Plough-man carryed a Wheel of a Plough. And accordingly *Frederick* at his return, calls a Diet at *Worms*, where *Herman*, and several others of the Nobility were adjudged to undergo this [c] *Harenscearan* punishment, as they call it; which accordingly was performed, to the terror of all evil-doers. As for the Archbishop, considering his Age and Function, they were perswaded to pardon him that ignominy, though some favourably offer'd to carry Dogs for him. The thing it self is thus related by *Guntherus Ligurinus*, an ancient Historical Poet.

a *Pezel*, part.  
3. pag. 249.

Nic. Serar.  
Hist. Mo-  
gunt. p. 818,  
819.

Ott. Frin-  
gents, de  
gestis Frid.  
1.2. cap. 28.

Mart. Cru-  
sius Annal.  
Suev. part 2.  
1.10. c. 14.

Rosse, pag.  
176.

b Sella.

c Sab.

Munster.  
Cosmogro-  
pag. 475.

Lib. 5. p. 351.

— *Vetus mos est, ubi si quis Rege remoto,  
Sanguine, vel flamma, vel seditionis aperte  
Turbine, seu crebris Regnum vexare rapinis,  
Audeat: ante gravem quam fuso sanguine penam  
Excipiat, si liber erat, de more vetusto  
Impositum scapulis ad contigui Comitatus  
Cogatur per rura Canem Confinia ferre,  
Sin alius, sellam. Cujus dispendia pene  
Ille Palatinæ custos Celeberrimus aula  
Non potuit vitare Comes, cunctisq; videndus  
Portavit scapulis passus plus mille latrantem.  
Hanc quoq; tunc alii simili pro crimine penam  
Sustinuere decem Comites; totidemq; coacti  
Fæda tulere canes generoso pondera collo.  
Cujus inaudita pene timor altus in omnes  
Irruit, ut nullus Procerum presumeret ultra  
Armata certare manu; sed pace sequestra,  
Judicis arbitrio sua quisq; reposceret aequi.*

By

By ancient Law, if when the King is gone,  
 Any presume to raise sedition  
 By Sword, Fire, Rapines, for his final doom,  
 For his deserv'd peace-breaking crimes do come:  
 If nobly born, must on his shoulders carry  
 Unto the Confines of th' next Territory  
 A Dog; but if he be of low degree,  
 An heavy Bench or Seat for Infamy.  
 Nor could the Palsgrave Herman shun the shame,  
 But publickly to satisfy his blame,  
 Upon his shoulders for above a Mile  
 Behinde him lug'd a Dog, howl'd all the while.  
 Ten more Earls for the same crimes did so too,  
 Bearing Dogs on their necks as he did do.  
 This Strange disgrace and punishment so fear'd  
 The sturdiest Nobles, that no more was heard  
 Of Rout or Violence; but all rely'd  
 To be in peace by justice rectified.

And after this manner of shame, *Ludovicus* surnamed *Ferrent*  
*Lantgrave of Düringen* (a) whipt his Rebellious Nobles at the  
 Plough.

And now let us return to the Pope, whom we finde at some  
 odds with *Frederick*: one cause of this dislike was, as they say, be-  
 cause a Bishop of *London* returning from *Rome* into (b) *England*,  
 was seized upon by some certain (but we know not what) peo-  
 ple in *Germany*, and there detain'd; although I have no rea-  
 son confidently to affirm this story to be true, though Pope *A-*  
*drian* tells it boldly enough, as we finde it in his Letter, afforded  
 us by (c) *Radevichus Frisingensis* the continuator of *Ottho*. For  
 at this time I cannot finde any Bishop of *England* whose name  
 begins with an (d) *E*. Nor can we suppose, that *London* was  
 an Archbishops See at this time, as the Pope words it in his Letter,  
 which he, an *Englishman*, might infallibly know to be no such  
 thing. 'Tis true, (e) *Matthew Paris* tells us of a Bishop of  
*Landaff*, and another of *London*, dyed in their journey to *Rome*;  
 but the first was call'd *Urban*, and the other *Gilbertus Univer-*  
*salis*; besides, these dyed twenty years before this Letter. And  
 lastly, 'tis strange that none of our *English* Historians should take  
 notice of any such thing, many of them at that time being busie  
 in lesser concerns.

But however it be, and let the design of sending on this er-  
 rand two Legates *a latere* seem never so fair; yet 'tis confest that  
 there lurk'd in it a (f) nourishment or design of farther mischief.  
 For in this Letter, the Pope several times accuseth the Emperour  
 of dissembling and negligence; and besides, tells him that it was  
 the (g) grace and favour of him the Pope to confer the Impe-  
 rial Crown upon him; which did not onely incense the Emperour,  
 but all his Nobles; insomuch, that Count Palatine (h) *Otho*  
 would have slain one of the Legates for vindicating the Popes ex-  
 pressions, if the presence and counter-commands of *Frederick*  
 had not deter'd him. But *Barbarossa* with all speed return'd  
 the Legates to *Rome*, expressely prohibiting them to turn out  
 of their way, to visit either Cathedral Churches or Abbies, lest

M m

they

a *Otho Me-*  
*landor Joco-*  
*seria*, 328.

b *Spon-*  
*dam Epit.*  
*Baron. an.*  
*1157.* 2;  
*Coeffeteau*,  
*pag. 809.*  
*Bar. anno*  
*1157.* 15

c *Lib. 2. cap.*  
*9.*

d *Venerabi-*  
*lis frater no-*  
*ster E. Lan-*  
*donensis Ar-*  
*chiepiscopus.*  
*Baron. anno*  
*1157.* 4;  
*elitt. Angl.*  
*anno 1154.*

f *Fomert-*  
*um & occa-*  
*sionem ma-*  
*lorum laci-*  
*isse. Baron.*  
*2.*

g *Benefici-*  
*um.*

h *Munich*  
*chron. Germ.*  
*pag. 163.*

1100. they should rob such places of their Treasury and Ornaments, or sow discontent and treason amongst his Subjects, according to the custom of such Creatures; for which purpose, they had many blank Schedules seal'd about them to imploy as occasion served: of which he presently gave notice to all the Empire: And gave expresse command, that Monks and suchlike should not (a) trudge to Rome upon every bibble-babble, but when they had good reason, and the consent and testimony of some Bishops.

The Pope upon this sent a complaint to the Bishops of Germany, but their answer was not altogether to him as his heart could wish, they tooth and nail vindicating their Emperour, and complaining that his Letter first gave the occasion.

At last Hadrian upon (b) better advice sends other two Legates a latere to undeceive Frederick; who being brought to the Emperours presence, very reverently and modestly began their speech, telling him that — (c) *The Bishop of the holy Roman Church — did salute him — as the Lord and Emperour of the City and the World.* — At these words Baronius is a little troubled, and without fear or wit would gladly give his Friend Radevicius the lye; all his reason being, because Gunther the Poet doth not set down the very same words in his Verse; and yet he doth as much as could be expected in Verse.

b In melius mutato consilio. Baron. anno 1158. c Præfatus S. R. Ecclesie — salutavit vos — tanquam Dominum & Imperatorem Urbis & orbis. Bar. an. 1158. 3.

*Te velut eximium Regem dominumq; salutant.*

*They do salute you as their Lord and King.*

Having ended, they deliver the Popes Letter, in which he thus interprets the offending expressions in his last Epistle to the Emperour: That by *Beneficium*, he did not mean *feudum* a fee, or meer grace on condition; but onely *bonum factum*, a good deed, and so that he had done well in Crowning him. And that by the other phrase of exception, [(d) *Contulimus tibi insigne Imperialis Coronæ*] *We have given to thee the sign or bage of the Imperial Crown*, he intended no such thing as was suggested, onely that he did Crown him; for by the word *Contulimus*, he meant nothing but *Imposuimus*, that is, set the Crown upon his head: in sum, that he onely intended the action, not any power or right. And thus a peace was struck up between them. And thus the Popes interpretation of his own Authority is worth remembering.

d Imperialis Insigne Coronæ libentissime conferens, the words of the first Letter. Bar. anno 1157. 5.

But this quietness lasted not long: for Adrian not (e) forgetting his supposed injuries (e) took any occasion to fall out with Frederick, to whom he sends, taxing him with ingratitude; and to increase the affront, sent this message to him by an unworthy and vile Fellow, who as soon as the Letter was delivered, before it was read over, sneak'd away: which strange contempt, with the denial of some other requests, somewhat troubled Barbarossa; but he requited it by commanding his Secretary for the future to set the Emperours (f) Name before the Popes, and to salute the Pope in the singular number; giving this reason, That either the Pope should write to him after the custom of his Predecessors, or he would in his letters do as other Princes had done.

e Bar. anno 1159. 1.

f Id. 5.

This

This nettles *Adrian* to the quick, writing thus to the Emperour,— (a) *We marvel not a little at your wisdom, for that you seem not to yield so much reverence to St. Peter and the holy Church of Rome as you ought to do; for in the Letters which you wrote to us, you set your name before ours; whereby you do incur the note of insolencie, not to say arrogancie.*— Nor was this all, for the (b) *Milanois* and other *Lombards* having a little before yielded themselves as Subjects to the Emperour, and given him all their *Regalia* and Priviledges as their Sovereign; *Adrian* sends several (c) Letters amongst them to incite and perswade them to Rebellion; and as another aggravation, sends presently to *Frederick* (then in *Italy*) to demand a grant of him to several Articles, which *Eberard* Bishop of *Babenberg* (once greatly (d) commended for his Piety and knowledge) doth confess were very (e) *hard and difficult* to desire; yet the Emperour offer'd to do the Pope justice in these, if he would do the like to him in other matters; but this was denyed, for *Adrian* would receive a benefit, but do none; and all this, forsooth, because the Pope is not to be judged by any. And whatsoever Overtures of Peace were propos'd, vanish'd to nothing: for the Pope, as (f) *Frederick* complains, stood upon several new grievous and unheard-of businesses.

And we may well believe that he oppos'd the Emperour as much as possible he could, seeing he was just now going to excommunicate him, being thereto (g) bribed and hired by moneys, as *Nauclerus* confesseth. But this trouble had a little stop by the death of *Hadrian* at *Anagni*; but whether he was choaked by a Fly or the Squinsey, is nothing to my purpose. Yet before his death, he had so carry'd his design, that he had brought his favourites to swear, not to chuse any after him, who wish'd well to the Emperour.

Upon this a Schism ariseth, two pretending for the Popedom; *Roland*, who was one of the Legates that carry'd the Popes offensive Letter to the Emperour in *Germany*, was one, and called himself *Alexander III*; *Othavian* was the other, who call'd himself *Victor IV*. Though 'tis confess'd that *Alexander* had above four suffrages in the Conclave for the others one, yet both of them having many followers, they made a great hubbub in the World, and Excommunicated, curs'd and damn'd one another to the Pit of Hell.

*Frederick* to end this Controversie, (h) according to the custom of other Emperours in the time of Schism, calls a Council at *Pavia*, whither he summons both the Popes; *Alexander* refuseth, *Victor* obeys; the Council (i) meets, where are from several Kingdoms fifty Archbishops and Bishops, with an infinite company of Abbots, besides the Ambassadors of many Countries: The Emperour withdraws himself from the Council, leaving the business wholly to the determination of the Clergy, who after VII days consultation, declared *Victor* to be the true Pope; for which they declared many (k) Reasons, too long here to be repeated; and so having (l) curs'd *Alexander*, ador'd *Victor*, and kiss'd his Toe, which also the Emperour did, with the addition of the holding his (m) Stirrop and (n) leading his Horse, the Council broke up. The Emperour by (o) *Edict* commanding all to acknowledge *Victor* for Pope; yet *Alexander* again (p) Excommunicated *Victor*,

1100.

a Bar. anno  
1159. 6.  
Jo. Naucler.  
Gen. 39. pag.  
761.

Mutius  
Hist. Germ.  
l. 18. p. 162.  
b Bar. an.  
1158.

11, 12, 13.

c Id. anno.  
1159. 9.

Naucler.  
Gen. 39.

pag. 764.

d 14.

e Capitula  
durissima,

16.

f 22.

g Dota pe-  
cunia im-  
mensa Do-  
mino Adri-  
ano Papa, ut  
Imperato-  
rem excom-  
municaret.

Naucler.

pag. 764.

Bar. anno  
1160.

25, 30, 31.

1159.

h Bar. anno  
1159.

64. & anno  
1160.

i Ib. 2.

k Bar. an.  
1160.

4, 5, 6. ad

18, 20, 21,

22, 23, &c.

33, 35.

l Ib. 24.

m Ib. 23.

n Naucler.  
pag. 765.

o Ib. 44.

p Ib. 44.

1100. and all his Complices, especially the Emperor, whose subjects he also absolved from their Oaths of Allegiance. But these thunder-bolts made no great noyse; a little after, another (q) Council at *Landen* in *Franconia* confirming *Viſtor*.

q An. 1164.  
21.

Yet *Alexander* had the Kings of *England* and *France* as his favourers; and so seeing no safety for him in *Italy*, he sails to *France*. And here give me leave to tell you one story of a queer come off, upon the credit of (a) *Nauclerus*, and others. *Frederick* having a mind to end the quarrel, desired *Lewes VII.* to give him a meeting, and to bring with him *Alexander*, and he would bring *Viſtor*, that the business might again be examined: the thing is agreed upon, and by oath; the place appointed was near *Dijon* in *Burgundy*, at the River *Soane*. *Alexander* refuseth to meet, though *Lewes* would, to save his promise. Yet having no mind to discredit *Alexander* for his refusal, the trick was thus ordered; *Lewes* goeth to the River at the first day appointed betimes, washeth his hands in it, and hath a Cryer to call the Emperour to the meeting; and so saying he had kept his word, away he hasts home again. The Emperor presently comes, with the Kings of *Scotland* and *Bohemia*; but finding how he had been gul'd, returns angry into *Germany*, and sends *Viſtor* to *Rome*.

a Gen. 39.  
f. 767.  
Mutins p.  
169.

And that *Alexander* thought himself no small man in *France*, we may guess by these following honours done to him, where we have our *Henry II.* going to visit him, (b) kissing his feet; and a little after, the same King of *England*, and this *Lewes* of *France*, meeting *Alexander* at *Tossack* upon the *Loyre*, very prettily plaid the (c) Yoemen of his Stirrop, the one of one side, and the other of the other, tripping along on foot, leading his Holinesses *Rosonante* by the bridle. *Baronius* at this story is quite over-joy'd, and out of his raptured zeale, cannot refrain from running to his Bible, as if he had a mind to prove it to be of divine right: but much good may doe the cockles of his heart with this one story of two Kings, since I believe he's never like to have such another: Though the very next year, we find the King of *France* acting (d) the same part of the Comedy, and bussing his feet to the purpose.

b Bar. an.  
1162.  
14.  
c Bar. an.  
1162.  
15, 16.  
Jo. Buffieres  
Hist. Gal.  
Tom. 2  
pag. 59.  
Genebrard  
Tom. 2. pag.  
931.  
a Bar. an.  
1.  
1163.  
1164.

The next year *Viſtor* dyeth, in whose place is elected in opposition to *Alexander*, one *Guido*, who call'd himself *Paschal III.* But *Alexander* now began to gain ground; whereupon he left *France*, and returned to *Italy*, and was kindly received at *Rome*. Though *Paschal* was acknowledged and confirm'd as a true Pope, by a Council or Diet at (e) *Wortzburg*, with *Frederick's* approbation. But *Alexander* is quit with the Emperour, not onely excommunicating, but (f) depriving him by sentence of all his Dominions, and absolving all men from his obedience. At last *Paschal* dyeth, and then the *Romans* chose one *John*, who calls himself (g) *Calixtus III.*

f An. 1168.  
69, 70,  
71.  
g 1170.

1177.

But to leave off these wranglings, let us come once again to a peace. Some say that *Alexander* by flight stole privately into *Venice*, where under the disguise of a Cook or Skullion he lived some time; till by chance he was known, and then by the Duke honor'd as a true Pope. Others say, that he was publickly conducted in with a great deal of joy: but be it as it will, there we find him. At last the Emperor and he came to capitulations; and an agreement being struck up, *Frederick* cometh to *Venice*, waits up-

on

on the Pope at St. *Mirks* Church. *Alexander* bids him humble himself, and ask pardon: *Frederick* prostrates himself at his feet: the Pope set his foot upon the Emperours neck, saying, *It is written, Thou shalt walk upon the Asp and the Basilisk, and shalt tread upon the Lyon and the Dragon.* The Emperor replied, that he did not humble himself so to him, but to *Peter*. Nay, quoth the Pope, *Both to me and to Peter.* This being done, the Pope received him into favor, and then peace was made.

1100. *Aphr. Ci-*  
*aconi* 12.  
vit. *Alex.* III  
Pap. *Maf-*  
*fo* 1. 5. fol.  
205. *Trist.*  
*Calchus*  
Hist. *Medi-*  
*olan.* 1. 12 p.  
247. *Hub. Goltz. & Casp. Gevart.* Icones Imp. Rom. pag. 286. *Azor Instit.* Tom. 2. lib. 5. c. 43.  
*Nauclet.* pag. 776. *Phil. da Burganno* fol. 351. *Mutius* p. 176. *Pet. Justinian.* Hist. *Venet.* lib. 2.  
p. 48. *Fran. Duarenus* de sacris Eccl. Minist. lib. 1. cap. 2. vid. *Rivet.* Jesuit. vapul. c. 28. 4  
p. 496.

*Baronius* is not a little troubled at this, it favouring of so much pride and insolency, that he cannot fancy that a Pope would be guilty of, and so throweth it by as a (a) Fable. But when I consider how many Popish Historians do confess it, and the narrative of it is carefully preserved in the Archives of the great (b) Library at *Venice*, even to this day; how the (c) Picture of this story hangs yet publickly up in the *Senate-house* of that City; and, which is more, the same story, with the Popes foot on his neck, is yet also to be seen painted by the door of the Chappel where the Pope himself and Cardinals commonly goto Prayers; all which must have some reason for their being: I say, upon these considerations I shall not yet neglect it as a Fable; however, the ostentation of those Pictures is almost as bad as the fact; though there is examples enough besides this, to testify the pride of the Popes; and so *Baronius* need not make this an argument against it, if he did but remember how *Gregory VII.* made the Emperor *Henry* dance attendance several days, almost naked, in an hard frost.

*Alexander* for the great kindness shewn to him by the *Venetians*, bestowed several priviledges or graces to the Dukes of that City; as, to go under a Canopy, to have silver Trumpets before them, to seale with lead, whereas before they did in wax, &c. and gave the *Adriatick* gulf to the City, to which once a year, viz. on *Ascension-day*, the City is marryed, by the throwing in of a gold ring; the Duke and Senate being row'd along in that large Barge, by them called *Bucentoro*, or *Buccintoro*, which is yet kept in the *Arcenal*, and, as they say, is the same that Pope *Alexander* was carried in; but with such alterations and amendments, that you may suppose not an inch of the old wood in her.

Passing by the several warrs that this magnanimous Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa* had in *Europe*, and the *Holy-land*, I shall tell you a story of his Punishment of Rebellion; which, with the former of the dog-carrying Count *Herman*, may terrifie the unruly into peace and obedience.

The Empress *Beatrix*, wife to *Frederick*, being in *Italy*, had a desire to see *Milan*; to which purpose thither she goeth: but being entred within the City, the people having no affection to the Emperour, took her, set her on a Mule, with her face backwards, making her hold the tail in her hands for a bridle; and in this posture of derision, led her through the City, out of another gate. The Emperour justly incensed at this affront, besieged the City, and at last forced them to yield upon mercy, or conditions as bad, which were these, That those who would redeem their lives, should

take



1100. take or catch with their Teeth certain Figgs hanging at the Genitals of a Mule : some prefer'd life, and did it ; others suffer'd rather than would do it. Hence they say, that saying of reproach amongst the *Italians*, putting one Finger between two, --- *Ecco il fico*, See here a figg for thee. And the truth is, that the *Milanois* had so often iraged the Emperour, that one time having taken it, he destroyed it to the very ground, and some say, made the Earth be Plough'd and Sown with Salt. At which time, amongst other things, the Bodies of the *Magi* or Wisemen, said to be at *Milan* [first carryed to *Constantinople* by *St. Helen*, thence to *Milan* by *St. Eustorgius* Archbishop of that City] were conveyed to *Colen* by *Reinoldus* Prince Elector of that See, where they yet lye, commonly call'd the three Kings of *Colen*. But for the farther knowledge (true or false) of these *Magi* (let their Bodies be where they please) I shall refer the Reader to the History of them, as it hangs up in Tables in *St. Peters Church* at *Colen*, which he may see in honest (a) *Tom Coryat*.

a *Crudities*,  
pag. 394,  
395. &c.

b *Baron. an.*  
1191. &

12.  
*Roger Hoveden* Ann.  
nal. part. 2.  
pag. 689.

c *The Pope*  
let fall the  
Crown upon  
the Emperours  
head.  
*Jo. Trevi-  
sa's Tran-  
slat. of Ran-  
Higdens*  
*Polycron.*  
lib. 7. cap. 26.

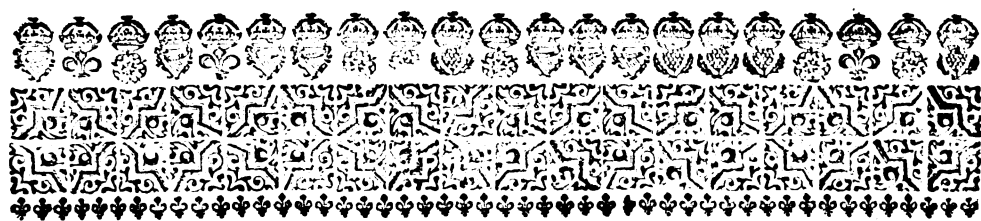
d *An. 1157.*  
13.

But at last *Frederick* dying much lamented, his Son *Henry VI* succeeded in the Empire, and was Crown'd by Pope *Celestine III* at *Rome*; the manner how, take as followeth: --- (b) *The Pope being set in his Pontifical Chair, holding the Imperial Golden Crown between his Feet; then the Emperour Henry, and the Empress Constantia, bowing down their Heads, thus (c) receive the Coronation from the Popes Feet: Then immediately the Pope striking the Emperours Crown with his foot, kick'd it from his head to the ground.*— And what was the meaning of the Papal Complement, the same Authors will tell you — signifying, that he had power to depose him from the Empire, if he deserved it. And then the Cardinal standing by, took up the Crown and put it again on the Emperours head.

But as if this Interpretation were not large enough to make the Catholick Reader understand the Popes meaning by his moping action, or lest we should not from hence gather some strange jurisdiction adherent to his Holiness; *Baronius* adds his learned Comment, viz. *That it is in the pleasure of the Pope, to give, keep, maintain, and take away the Empire:* And by this action he would have *Henry* to know as much. And if any man should be so wise as to doubt of this Author, the Cardinal, in another place, will silence him with this doughty Question: (d) *What, is it not in the power of the Pope, upon cause, to take away or give the Empire to whom he pleaseth and thinks worthy? for whosoever shall receive the Empire without his consent, is no Emperour, but a Tyrant and an invader.*

And so I leave his Holiness to make good cheer with this Infalible Doctrine; and the *German Electors* to shake their ears, having nothing to do, according to this Principle, but to gape for, expect, and obey the Dictates and Hests of the Pope, who is as cock-sure as Infallibility it self; and whose Power and Authority is far above *Pembroke's* Parliament, that would do all things, but make a man a woman, and a woman a man.

*The end of the fourth Book.*



A CONTINUATION  
OF THE  
REBELLIONS  
AND  
Treasonable practices  
Of the  
ROMANISTS,  
In Deposing and Murthering of their Emperours  
and Kings:

From the Year MCC, to the Year MD.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

1. *The Murther of the Emperour Philip.*
2. *The Emperour Otho the Fourth deposed.*
3. *The troubles and deposing of the Emperour Frederick the Second.*
4. *The Guelfs and Gibillins, with other troubles of the Empire.*

SECT. I.

*The Murther of the Emperour Philip.*

**T**He Emperour *Henry VI* dying, the *Germans* fell into divisions, some chusing *Philip* his Brother, and son to *Frederick I*, and Duke of *Schwaben*, whilst others elected *Otho* Duke of *Brunswick* for Emperour.

Both parties would willingly have the Pope, then *Innocent III*, to befriend them. But *Philip*, though the Popes Legat honoured his Coronation in *Germany* by his (a) presence, and also (b) absolved him from his former Censures; yet the Pope himself had such

a *Pet. Mexia*, fol. 416.  
b *Sporidan.* anno 1198.  
such 7.

*a* It. 8. *Bzov.* anno 1198. *c* 13. *b* Se nequaquam contra jus aut fas posse aut velle decernere. *Bzov.* anno 1199. *c* 22. *c* C. *Venerab. de Elect.* *Bzov.* anno 1199. *c* 24. Such an (*a*) hatred to him for the cause of his Father and other Relations, that he would by no means permit of his Rule; yet he would fairly tell *Philip's* Ambassadors, that he neither would, nay, nor (*b*) could decree any thing but the right: yet he as confidently affirmed, that it was his jurisdiction to (*c*) approve of, or reject an elected Emperour. And having thus voted himself an Infallible authority, he (though the *Germans* had formerly chose young *Frederick*, son to *Henry* King of the *Romans*, and sworn Allegiance to him) declares himself for *Otho*, Excommunicates *Philip* and all his partakers.

*d* Rex & Principes audita Romani Pont. petulantia, in risum permoti. *Nanc. cler. Gen.* 41. p. 802.

But passing by the several mischiefs that fell upon *Germany* by these Divisions; *Otho* at last being not able to withstand *Philip*, the Pope was consulted for a Peace, who desired on his part that the Emperours Daughter should be married to his Holinesses Nephew, so to renown his own Family in *Italy* with divers Lands: but at this (*d*) malipert request the *Germans* (*d*) laugh heartily. Well, at last it was concluded that *Philip* should Marry his said Daughter to *Otho*; to make way for which, he should be divorced from his first Wife *Mary*, Daughter to the Duke of *Brabant*, and be espoused to *Beatrice* Daughter to *Philip*, for which the Pope must grant another Dispensation to null their propinquity in blood. All this being done, *Philip* is to be Emperour, and after his death *Otho*. And the Pope is now as infallible for *Philip*, as he was formerly for the other.

*e* Besold. Synops. Hist. Univers. p. 435.

Yet here peace lasted not long: this which *Philip* hoped to have been his quiet, was his ruine; for the *Palsgrave Otho de Wiltspach* having been formerly a Suitor to *Philip's* Daughter, and seeing himself thus deprived of her, for it might be till now he might have some hopes, though *Philip* had formerly (*e*) denyed him for a murder that he committed, is resolved to revenge himself on her Father.

*f* Jo. Gault. Cron. Cronicon. pag. 1101. Tom. 1.

To this purpose he conveys himself to *Bamberg*, where the Emperour then was; and joyning to him *Eckenberg* Bishop of the same City (whom yet I finde much (*f*) commended) and some others, he goeth to the Palace, where the Emperour that day after dinner, had laid himself down on his bed, being newly let blood. *Wiltspach* calls at the door, and *Philip* being informed who it was, commands the door to be open'd, though he had then none with him, but his Chancellor the Bishop of *Spire*, and a Page without any weapons: the *Palsgrave* at his entrance draws his Sword, and wounded the Emperour in the throat; of which he presently dyed, and then he and his Complices fled; but *Wiltspach* himself was not long after slain by *Philip's* Steward. This Murder was committed in the year 1208 according to this old Distich.

1208.

*Anni millem, bis quatuor atq; ducenti  
Extant, quando pater Rex occidit ense Philippus.*

The

Sect. 2.

The Emperour Otho the Fourth deposed.

**P**hilip being thus murder'd, *Germany* was mainly troubled by the (a) Treacheries or ground-deceits of the Pope, as one of their own Historians words it. But now *Otho IV* goeth currant for Emperour, Pope *Innocent* (b) forbidding any to be elected but him, whom also he lets know how much he is beholden to his Holiness for undergoing a great deal of ill will for his sake; how zealous he had been for his promotion, and bids him have a care of the hopes or designs of young *Frederick*, and suchlike good words.

a Hoc uno  
Ph'lippo pe-  
rempto, Ger-  
man'a sum-  
mis Infidus  
Pont. Rom.  
agitata.  
Naucler.  
pag. 807.  
b Ezov. an.  
1208. & 2.  
1209.

*Otho IV* being acknowledged and elected in *Germany*, goeth to *Rome* for his Coronation, where he must also dance attendance at the Popes Stirrop. Yet peace would not continue; the *Romans* and *Germans* falling out, above a thousand of the Emperours men were slain; which did not a little trouble *Otho*, who (c) suspecting the Pope as contriver of that upre, withdrew himself from *Rome*, and demanding several Lands as belonging to the Empire, by force endeavoured to have them. *Innocent* admonisheth *Otho* of his actions, telling him, that he the Pope is appointed and set up over all Nations, to toot out, destroy and break in pieces, &c. And then Excommunicates him and all his Partakers; and at last deprives him by Censure from his Empire, and absolves all his Subjects from their Oath and Allegiance which they had sworn and owed to him. All which Censures are also hastned into *Germany*, and pronounced by *Sigefrid* Archbishop of *Mentz*, whose Commendatory riming Epitaph is as followeth.

c Naucler.  
pag. 805.

1210.

*Migrans vir fidus, quinto Septembris in Idus;  
Præsul Sigfridus, fulget Cælo quasi sydus.*

The *Germans* terrified at the Papal Fulminations, withdrew their Obedience from *Otho*; and according to the Popes desire Elected young *Frederick* for Emperor, alledging that it was his right to be Emperor, because he had been formerly chose and sworn King of the *Romans*; at which *Innocent* greatly rejoyced, though he could not but know that this reason was as valid, when he was formerly so zealous for *Otho*, and resolute against all others whatsoever.

1212.  
1213.  
Pet. Mexia,  
fol. 413.

*Frederick* comes into *Germany*, is Crowned at *Aix*. *Otho* makes what opposition he can, but is overthrown, and so forced to withdraw and neglect the Empire: And thus being deposed again, *Frederick* remain'd as Supreme, and so had himself, with the Popes consent, the second time (d) Crown'd at *Aix*. In the mean time was held a Great Council at the *Lateran*, whereby *Transubstantiation* got a good footing, and Temporal Princes were to be by the Pope deposed, and their Subjects absolved from their Allegiance, if they neglected to extirpate out of their Dominions that which the Pope call'd Heresie.

d Span. anno  
1215. & 4.

N n

Otho

1200. *Otho* having been three years turned out, dyed; but, they say, so penitently, that he made the (a) Skullions of his Kitchen tread upon his neck; and though he remained a while in Purgatory, yet at last he was help'd into Heaven. Nor need we question his sanctity, seeing, as they tell us, being sick and weak, his side opened to let the Eucharist fly in, and then closed again; and I believe it was as true in him as it was in *Bonaventure*.

## Sect. 3.

## The troubles and deposing of the Emperour Frederick the Second.

1220. **F**redrick II being thus Emperour, goeth to *Rome*, where he was Crowned by *Honorius III*: but this peace lasted not long, *Frederick* having been abused by several in *Italy*, pretended that the Pope took their parts: On the other side, *Honorius* would have the Emperour to go and reduce the *Holy-land*: *Frederick* pretended to retreave and regain the Territories that formerly had belonged to the Empire; *Honorius* affirm'd they now belong'd to the Church and *St. Peter*: And thus bandying to and fro, some say that *Honorius* threw about his Excommunications.

1227. *Honorius* dying, *Gregory IX* succeeds, and threatens *Frederick* with Excommunication, if he set not sail for the *Holy-land* by such a time. The Emperour neglecting, is Excommunicated, and so seeing no remedy, sails to *Syria*, where he makes peace with the *Sultan*, having *Hierusalem* and other places deliver'd to him: And yet is *Gregory* (b) angry that he went thither, being Excommunicated, and a Rebel against him; and so intends to dethrone him: sends into *Asia* to the (c) *Hospitallers* and *Templers*, that they should no way assist *Frederick*, but look upon him as a publick Enemy: who accordingly endeavour'd to (d) betray him to the *Saracens*; but the *Souldan* out of a Noble Spirit scorned Treachery, and discovered it to the Emperour.

b Pap. Greg. nimis molle ferens, quod Rom. Imp. Excommunicatus & Rebelis, ad terram Sanctam transierat. Mat. Paris, anno 1229. c Nauclet. pag. 818. d Mat. Paris, p. 358. e Mat. Paris, p. 361. f Pag. 368. g Justum esse & fidei Christianæ necessarium, ut tam validus Ecclesiæ persecutor a fastu Imperii depelleretur. Mat. Paris, ib.

The Pope in the mean time having as he thought cut him out work enough to do in the *Holy-land*, resolves to take opportunity in his absence: so he sends into *England*, (e) accusing of him of horrible-terrible *Piccadiglio's*, that he being (f) Excommunicated, should enter the Church at *Hierusalem*, and be Crowned, and then go to his Palace before his Souldiers with his Crown on; and then inviting several of the Noble *Saracens* to a Feast, did for recreation-sake let some Christian women dance before them. And to aggravate these, how he had taken some Church-mones probably to pay his Army, &c. but the burden of the lamentation was, that he might have some *English* moneys to help him in his Wars against the Emperour, whom he thinks it (g) just and necessary to have deposed from the Empire.

And what vast sums these canting stories obtain'd, is easily guess'd, when in *England*, *Wales* and *Ireland*, the very Church-Ornaments and Plate were sold or pawn'd to satisfy the avarice

(a) avarice of *Rome*: for if they gave not presently, the *Nuntio* threatned Excommunications and Interdictions; such a childish fear had the Papal Censures then possess'd men with, and to such an height of tyranny and impudence, to say no worse, had the Bishops of *Rome* stuffed out and swell'd themselves to, as if they had a Divine right over all the Moneys and Riches in the World: and thus is the case alter'd; Christ and *Sr. Peter*, rather then not pay their dues and tribute to their Temporal Prince, would be at the expence of a Miracle; but now the Kings and Princes must beggar and ruine themselves and Subjects, to satisfie the avarice of the Bishop of *Rome*, who pretends to be but a Vicar to the former; for if you deny this, he hath an hobgobling in his Budget, to boggle you to your ruine here, or damnation hereafter; though wise Kings should not regard such Censures upon such unjust grounds, and from those who have no Authority over them.

*Gregory* having thus got Money enough, falls upon those Lands which the Emperour pretended to in *Italy*, making the people (b) rebel, and withdraw themselves from their (b) Allegiance, whereby he took many places: *Frederick* hearing of this Papal dealing, having made peace with the *Souldan*, resolves to return. The Pope informed of this, (c) way-lays him, hoping to seize upon him when he little thought of it; but *Frederick* having notice, escaped all his snares, and landed safely in *Sicily*; and having strengthened himself, regain'd some places again. At last a (d) peace is made between him and the Pope.

Not not longer after, the Pope and the *Romans* fell out, insomuch that *Gregory* was glad to leave the City; but here the Emperour (e) helpshim at a dead lift, joyning his Forces to the Pope's, whereby the *Romans* were bang'd to the purpose. But let us see how the Pope requites this good turn. The *Milanois* a little after rebelling against the Emperour, he resolves (as it became him) to reduce those Traitors to obedience: *Gregory* persuades him from that design, and would have him again forsooth to turn his Army into the *Holy-land*. But *Frederick* wisely thought it was fitting to pacifie all at home first, and did not a little marvel that the Pope should interest himself for such perfidious people. But for all his wondering, *Gregory* assists the *Milanois*, sends them a great deal of money, and for further encouragement promiseth them more: the *Milanois* take courage; but whilst the Emperour is engaged against them, the *Austrians*, stir'd up either by the (f) Pope, or *Frederick's* Enemies, rise up against him, whereupon he was forced to forsake his design at *Milan*.

But having quieted all in *Germany*, he returns against the Rebels in *Italy*, earnestly desiring the Popes assistance against these Traytors. But *Gregory* after a (g) dissembling manner made shew as if he also fear'd the Imperial Armies, and so neglected his aid. *Frederick* marcheth on, beateth the *Milanois*, conquering all the Rebels before him. The Pope seeing thus all to go well on the Emperours side, sends to him to spare the people, and accept of a peace. But these things not sading according to the Popes humour, he Leagues himself with the *Venetians* and *Genovois* against *Frederick*, and then (h) Excommunicates him, and absolves his Subjects from their Allegiance. And this he sends all over, with many aggravations against the Emperour, all which *Frederick* undertook to (i) answer.

1200.

a. *Matt.**Paris*, anno

1229. pag.

361. 362.

anno 1234.

p. 400. 401.

402. 554.

566. 611.

622. 623.

641. 645.

655. 658.

659. 660.

657. 691.

679. 700.

716. 722.

728. 818.

875. 956.

*Nic. Hist.**field Hist.**Eccles.* pag.477. *Fox**Tom. 1.* pag.

369. 370.

b. *Namer.*

pag. 812.

c. *Matt. Pa-**ris*, anno

1229. pag.

364.

d. 1230.

e. *Matt. Pa-**ris*, anno

1234. pag.

403. 405.

*Matt. Par.*

an. 1235.

pag. 433.

f. *Id.* pag.

414. 439.

1237.

g. *Matt. Pa-**ris*, p. 444.

1238.

h. 1239.

i. *Matt. Pa-**ris*, p. 493.

494. 495.

496. 501.

520. 521.

*Pet. de Ven.*

lib. 1 Ep. 1.

50.

N n 2

At

1200. At last, the breach widening, (and who would not be angry to  
*Fr. v. anno* loose an Empire ?) disdain turn'd their Prose into Poetry : And  
 1239. & 7 thus they Libel one another ; which you may take as themselves  
 relate it, with their variations. And first, they say, the Empe-  
 rour thus shews himself.

*a Variis.  
 b Totius  
 mundi.*

*Roma diu titubans (a) longis erroribus acta  
 (b) Corruet, & mundi desinet esse caput.*

*Rome so long shook with divers errors, shall  
 Now cease to be head of the World, and fall.*

To which the Pope thus returns :

*c Mergitur  
 illa.*

*Niteris incassum navem submergere Petri,  
 Fluctuat, at nunquam (c) desinet esse Ratis.*

*In vain thou striv'st to drown St. Peters boat,  
 It ne'er shall cease to be, but always float.*

To which thus again Frederick :

*d Docent.  
 e Moment.  
 f Totius  
 malleus unus  
 erit.*

*Fata (d) volunt, stellaque (e) docent, avinmq; volatur,  
 (f) Quod Fredericus ego Malleus Orbis ero.*

*The Fates, the Stars, and Auguries decree  
 That I the Conquerour of the world shall be.*

And at last Gregory gives this return :

*g Fama re-  
 fert.*

*(g) Fata volunt, Scriptura docet, peccata loquuntur,  
 Quod tibi vita brevis, pœna perennis erit.*

*The Fates and Scripture tell, your sins report,  
 Your pains shall never end, though life but short.*

*h A&S &  
 Mon. Tom.  
 1. p. 409.*

(h) John Fox affords you other Verses to this purpose.

*Matt. Paris  
 p. 517, 518.  
 Jo. de Bus-  
 sieres, Tom.  
 2. pag. 134.*

*i Id. pag.  
 541.*

*1241.  
 k Murim,  
 pag. 209.*

Gregory having thus, by his toyish Censures, deprived *Frederick*, as he thought, [and some *Italian* writers look upon him for the future as no Emperour,] consults for a new Election, and at last pitcheth upon *Robert* Brother to the King of *France*. But this by the *French* *St. Lewis* is rejected as ridiculous, alledging the Pope to have no power over the Emperour, and that *Frederick* was a good Christian, Neighbour, Friend and Ruler ; And so this design fell to the ground. The Pope being thus frustrated by so great a Monarch, entred into a Treaty with *Frederick* ; but though agreement made, being fickle-humoured, he would (i) stand to nothing, to the amazement and grief of his own Legates. However, *Gregory* resolved to undo the Emperour, summon'd a Council to confirm his deposition ; but this was hindred by *Fredericks* seizing of some Cardinals and Bishops going thither, and the Popes death ; who had given (k) Indulgences to all those who would take up the Croisaidy against the Emperour.

The death of *Gregory* ended not the troubles of *Frederick* ; for *Innocent* IV was as furious against him as the former, though a friend

friend to him when a Cardinal ; which made the Emperour, upon notice of his Election (knowing that Authority commonly alters the man, and Popes used to be enemies to the Empire) say, That *he had lost a good Cardinal friend, but got a mortal enemy being Pope.* And this proved true. Yet the Emperour being stronger in *Italy*, *Innocent* fled into *France*, where he excommunicates *Frederick* ; of which *Mat. Paris* tells us this following story.

1200.

A certain Curate of *Paris* having received the Order to excommunicate him, and not liking such dealings against the Emperour, yet willing in some way to satisfy the command, thus bespake his Parishioners : — *Give ear all good people, I have received order to pronounce the solemn sentence of Excommunication against the Emperour Frederick, the Candles put out, and Bells ringing. But not knowing the reason, though I am not ignorant of the great quarrel and inexorable hatred between them; and I know also that one of them doth injure the other, but which is the offender I know not: Therefore, so far forth as my power doth extend, I excommunicate and pronounce excommunicated one of the two; namely, he that doth injury to the other: and I doe absolve him that doth suffer the injury, which is so hurtful to all Christendome.* — At which honest meaning humour, the Emperour was very well pleased, whilst the Pope on the other hand was as much offended. Who, to make his cause more plausible, gets a Council call'd at *Lyons*, where the Emperour is again excommunicated, though the Pope would not permit him to come there in person to answer for himself, nor remit any of his fury towards him, though the Kings of *France* and *England* would ingage for his good behaviour and due obedience.

1245.

Mat. Paris  
an. 1245. p.  
654.

*Frederick* being informed how the Pope and Council had declared him deposed, plucks up his spirits, plays the man, despiserth their trifling authority over him, affirms himself no subject to their deposition, calls for his Crown, puts it on his head, and bravely and wisely resolves to keep it there.

Mat. Paris  
p. 679.

On the other side, those on the Popes faction looking upon *Frederick* as deposed, consult another election, and at the Popes Instigation chose *Henry Lantgrave* of *Turinge*, (of whom or some other they had (a) formerly the same thoughts) and Crown him at *Aken*. Though *St Lewis* King of *France*, upon many reasons would gladly have (b) perswaded the Pope to a reconciliation with the Emperour *Frederick*, but *Innocent* would not.

1245.  
1246.a Mat. Paris  
p. 608.

b Id. p. 697.

*Henry* the *Lantgrave* enjoyed not his Title long, being wounded to death, as some say, as he was besieging *Ulme*; after whom, and a design upon some (c) others, by the same means was elected *William Earle of Holland*, who (d) some say was afterwards Crown'd by Pope *Innocent* at *Genoa*, whom we shall leave rejoicing at the departure of *Frederick*, who dyed in *Italy*, some say poysoned, others think stifled. However it be, he was an excellent Scholar and Linguist, speaking *French*, *Italian*, *German*, *Latin*, *Greek* and *Arabic*; and indued with many rare vertues; yet some do so dote upon a blind Pontificall Obedience, that they will impudently take upon them the part of an Omnipotent Dicty, and tell you that he is (e) damn'd; and all this, I suppose, because he would not let his Empire be childishly and foolishly taken and

1147.

c Mat. Paris  
p. 808.d Not in  
Hadra  
Barland.  
Hitt.  
corn. Hol-  
land, p. 67.  
1250.e Vid. Sports  
dam. an.  
1250.pluck'd  
in 19.



1200 pluck'd from him by his Holiness, who hath as much authority to depose Kings, as *Cromwell* or *Revillac* to murthet them.

Sect. 4.

*The Guelfs and Gibbillins, with other troubles of the Empire.*

AT these times those who took part with the Popes were called *Guelfs*, and those who sided with the Emperours, [*Gibbillins*]; the occasion of which denomination some Authors tell as followeth, though the beginning of the story every man may believe as he pleaseth.

*Pezel* part 3  
p. 109<sup>a</sup>

*Irmentradis*, Wife to *Isenbard* Earle of *Altorf*, not only abusing a poor woman for having several children at a birth, but also causing her to suffer as an Adulteress, as if by a judgement, was the next year after herself brought to bed of twelve Sons; and fearing to suffer by her own former judgement, ordered a woman to drown eleven of them, she reserving onely one. The woman hired to obedience, goeth towards the River, meets the Earl, who asked her what she was carrying; she replied, Whelps: he desired to see them; she denyeth, but by force he obtains, makes the Woman confess the truth, at which we may suppose him not a little troubled: he hath them conveyed to a Miller, there privately nurs'd up, and the woman to keep Counsel, but to return, and tell her Lady that she had drowned them. Six years after the Earle makes a great Feast, hath these eleven Boys clad as the twelfth was, and brought in; and inquired of his guests what punishment was fitting for those who would have killed such pretty children: at which the Lady suspecting, swooned; but coming to her self again, upon her knees confest all, pleaded simplicity, and desired pardon, which was granted her: but for memory of the story, the Earl ordered that their surnames should be *Whelps*, or *Guelfs*, i. e. little young dogs or whelps. Thus much for the original name of these after Dukes of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*. But (*f*) *Altorfensis*, or *Weingartensis* tells other stories of this name, as probable as the former, and it may be all alike.

*Hist. de*  
*Guelfis* prin-  
cipibus. vid.  
*Hen. Can. f.*  
*Antiq. Lecti-*  
*on* Tom 1.  
pag. 179.

*Naucler* p.  
750  
*g. Weiblingen*  
a Castle not  
far from *Stu-*  
*gart*, in the  
Dukedom of  
*Wrttemberg*  
in *Schwaben*.  
*h* Or *Con-*  
*rade* himself.  
*Chr. f. Be-*  
*feld. Synop-*  
*sis* hist. p. 406

As for *Gibelin*, the common opinion is, that the Emperour *Conrade III.* or his Son *Henry*, was either born or nursed at a Town so called in *Schwaben*; and that this Emperour being very powerful in arms, the *Italians* fear'd him, and so the better to keep him employed at home, *Roger* King of *Sicily* stir'd up the *Bavarians* and others against him. The two Armies joyning, the *Bavarians* cryed out, *Hie Guelff*, their General being called *Guelfo*; and the Imperialists shouted out as loud, *Hie (g) Gibelin*, in relation to their General, young (*b*) *Henry*, so called from the Town of his birth or nursery. And the Pope in this was concerned too; *Innocent II.* being supposed to have an hand in this Revolt and war against the Emperour. But these Names, some say, were almost forgot, till they were again revived in the days of *Frederick the II.*

Others

Others will not go to *Germany* for this story, but lay its original in *Italy*, & that when there were deadly feuds between the *Cancellieri* and *Panciatici* in the City *Pistoia* in *Tuscany*, at what time also there chanced to be two Potent Brothers called *Guelfo* and *Gibellino*, the one siding with one party, and the other with the other, and that with such eagerness, that from them each faction after took denomination, (as (a) *Italy* hath been several times rent by such private feuds) and afterwards *Frederick* adhering to one, and *Gregory* joyning to the other, the *Imperialists* were called *Gibbelins*, and the *Popelins* *Guelfs*; under which two names *Italy* for several years suffered infinite miseries; not only Cities and Towns, but Families and nearest Relations being divided in this quarrel, whereby they prosecuted one another with all fury imaginable; Father against Son, Brother against Brother, nay, the Wife and Husband oftentimes endeavouring one anothers destruction. Of which unnatural Hatred and Tyranny, the old Mendicant Fryer *b Anthonius a Rampengolis*, according to his old way, will tell you many Scripture-Allusions. But to conclude, some say they took beginning first at *Pisa*, there the Faction first arising.

After the death of *Frederick II.* some of the Italianized Historians are willing to have the Empire voyd for some years, some more or less; but be it as it will, I shall hastily run over some passages between the Popes and those, by others held for Emperours of the West.

*William*, we see the Pope cannot well deny, having been so great an instrument to his promotion, and (c) perswading of him again to it: and yet we find him very earnest with (d) *Haco* King of *Norway* to take the Empire upon him.

Now *Innocent* seeing *Frederick* dead, resolves for *Italy*; and it is pretty to observe with what a complement he took his farewell of *Lyon*, where he had been entertain'd all this while. For the more glory of the business, by a Cryer all the Citizens are warned to attend his Holiness; and being all met, Cardinal *Hugo*, in the Name of the Pope, made a Farewell Sermon to them, concluding thus, — *Loving friends, we have performed much good, and done great Alms since our being in this City: for when we first came hither, we found but (e) three or four common Stews or Brothel-houses; but now at our departure, we leave you but one, but such an one that extends it self all along from the East-gate even to the West-gate of the City.* —

*Innocent* being in *Italy*, bends himself against *Conrade*, Son to *Frederick*, by the *Germans* call'd Emperour, by others King of *Naples* and *Sicily*; whom he perswaded *William* to root out of the Empire, assisted with his Excommunications and Deprivations, and sollicitates *Richard* Brother to our *English Henry III.* to take upon him the Protection of *Conrades* other Territories in *Italy*. For this, *Richard* desired some assistance from the Pope, and some Frontier Towns, whither upon occasion he might retire: but the Pope denying all conditions, as if all people were obliged to fight for him, and he take his ease; *Richard* knowing that without these concessions he could not be able to conquer *Conrade*, wisely replied to *Albert* the Legat, that the Pope might as well say, *Loe, I sell or give to thee the Moon, ascend and take her.* Whereupon his treaty fell. But the Pope then falls to work with King *Henry* himself,

1200.

*Pet. Mexis*  
selva rino-  
vata, part 2.  
c. 39.

a *Th. Lans.*  
consult. orat.  
contra Ita-  
liam, p. 816.

b *Figure Bi-*  
blioth. 65,  
66.

c *Bzov. an.*  
1251. d. 2.  
Spod.

d *1.*  
d *Mat. Paris*  
an. 1251.  
p. 808.

*Mat. Paris*  
p. 819.

e *Triavel*  
quatuor Pro-  
stibula in-  
venimus, sed  
nunc recedentes unum  
solum relin-  
quimus, ve-  
rum ipsum  
durat conti-  
nuatum ab  
orientali  
portu civita-  
tis usque ad  
occidentale.  
*Mat.*  
*Paris* p. 856.  
*Mat. Paris*  
p. 892.

1200. himself, whom he knew to be (\*) credulous, and apt to run into his own ruine. Henry easily consents to this, sending the Pope a great deal of Money; and the Pope, as if to requite him, stays the Croisado-Forces designed for the *Holy-land*, that they might serve the King of *England* against *Conrade*, to the grief of the Christians in *Palestine*: which must be a crime in him, if it were any in *Frederick*.

\* Ad damna  
propria pro-  
num, & cre-  
dulum. 76.  
a Vid. Will.  
Watts Addi-  
tamenta  
Matt. Paris,  
apud finem.  
p 192, 193.  
194.

b Matt. Pa-  
ris, p. 893.

c Nic.  
Harpsfield  
Hist. Eccles.  
p. 477.

Jo. Piffreus,  
p. 326, 227.

d Matt. Pa-  
ris, p. 876,  
880, 881.

903. Har. f.  
sic d. p. 477.

e Matt. Pa-  
ris pag. 897,  
903, 904.

f Nonne  
Rex Anglo-  
rum noster  
est vassalus?  
& ut plus di-  
carn, manci-  
pium; qui  
potest eum  
nata nostro  
in carcerare,  
& ignominie  
mancipare.

Matt. Paris,  
anno 1253.  
pag. 872.

g B. Car-  
rancia. sum.  
Concil.  
pag. 814.

Bzov. anno  
1265. & 1.

Spondan. lb.  
Guil. Ri-  
shanger con-  
tinuat. Matt.

Paris, p. 999

Genebrard  
Cron p. 985.

1272.

Coeffeteau  
p. 975, 976.

And to make *Conrade* more odious, he bespatters him with multitude of Accusations; to all which *Conrade* (a) answered at large, and at last dyed, as most men say by Poyson. Not long before him, dyed at *Bugden* in *Huntingtonshire* *Robert Grossthead* (*Capito* or *Great-head*) Bishop of *Lincolne*. The Pope no sooner heard of the death of *Conrade*, but with a cheerful heart, a smiling countenance, and a triumphing voice, he cries out — (b) *Truly I rejoyce, and let all us that belong to the Roman Church be glad, because two of our greatest Enemies are taken away, Robert Bishop of Lincolne, and Conrade King of Sicily.* — And yet for *Robert* of *Lincolne* I dare boldly say, that he was the greatest Scholar and most knowing man in his days in the World. And the (c) *Romanists* themselves will magnifie him for all manner of Vertues and Holiness, and not stick to say that his many (d) Miracles were evident signs of his Saintship.

But to pass by these things, Pope *Innocent* himself dyed presently after. And if they will put now any credit in Visions, [of which they have formerly so much gloryed, as to bring Arguments from them to prove their Religion, as you may see at large in *Daurovetus*] both a Pope and a Cardinal will assure them of the (e) miserable condition of this *Innocent* in the other World, for his bad living in this. But this I leave to them onely, who delight in and vindicate themselves by such ware.

Yet before I part with this *Innocent* IV, give me leave to tell the Reader, that this is him, who once in a rant, thus vapour'd out his Authority — (f) *What, is not the King of England our Vassal? nay, and to say more, our SLAVE; whom at a beck it can cause to be imprisoned and exposed to all ignominy.* —

After *Alexander* IV, *Urban* IV, then *Clement* IV sat in *St. Peters* Chair (as they phrase it:) which *Clement* before his Popedom was (g) marryed, and had several Children. After his death the Sec of *Rome* was void three years, the Cardinals not agreeing, but wrangling amongst themselves, every one hoping to be the man. These self-ended interests and designs, and yet all pretending the Elections to be by the Infallible inspiration of the Holy Ghost, made one of the Cardinals, it seems of a more free humour than the rest, thus jeeringly advisethem, — *Let us open the top of the Conclave, for the Holy-Ghost cannot descend upon us through so many Roofs.* — At last *Theobald* Archbishop of *Liege* is chosen, who call'd himself *Gregory* X. Of this wrangling Election the former Cardinal of *Porto* made this riming Distick.

*Papatus munus, tulit Archidiaconus unus,  
Quem Patrem Patrum, fecit discordia fratrum.*

*An Archdeacon's made Pope, and at Rome sits a vicaring,  
Made Father of Fathers, by the Cardinals bickering.*

But

But returning to *Germany*, *William* of *Holland* departing out of this World by violence, some say, the Prince Electors differ about a new Emperour; Some stand for *Richard* Duke of *Cornwall*; and him, they say, the Pope favoured, the main reason being his Riches, according to the Proverb,

*Nummus ait pro me, subit Cornubia Rome.*

*For me the money speaks it self;  
Rome Marries Cornwall for his pelf.*

Other Electors chose *Don Alphonso X*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*, so famous for his love to Astronomy and other Sciences. But *Richard* made more haste, and was Crown'd at *Aken*: yet some will account neither of these for Emperours, though (a) *Bolzins* confesseth that of necessity one of them should and ought to be Emperour; yet the same *Romanist* will easily dash away the necessity with his almighty Argument, viz. because it was not the Popes pleasure to confirm either of them. And yet they confess that Pope (b) *Alexander IV* earnestly desired our *English Richard* to go to *Rome* and receive the Imperial Crown. And after *Richards* death, *Alonso* of *Spain* could not obtain it. But the Electors then went to a new Election, and chose *Rodulph* Earl of *Habsburg* (upon the Northern Coasts of *Helvetia*;) I shall not trouble my self here with the Original of this Family, whether *German* or *Italian*, but refer you to a late Tract, said to be a Post-hume of that busle-pated (c) *Scioppius*, and a later and more large Volume by (d) *Gabriel Bucelinus*, who will refer you to others. Yet this we must grant, that from this Family, the famous House of *Austria*, and almost all the *German* Emperours to this day have sprung.

This Emperour *Rodulph*, the Pope would gladly have had gone into *Italy* to receive his Crown of him; but *Rodulph* utterly refused it, (e) alledging for his reason *Aesop's* Fable, how the Fox would not go to the Lyon, because he observed no Foot-prints of any beasts returning safe out, of those who had formerly gone to visit him. And this he took to be the case of the Emperours his Predecessors, few of them but loosing by their journey, and having cause to repent of their expensive and abused travails. And this some others observing, *Italy* in time fell off from the Empire. The Pope by no means allowing of a Neighbour so neer and so potent.

*Rodulph* dying, *Adulph* Earl of *Nassau* was elected, by the cunning of *Gethard* Archbishop of *Mentz* his Kinsman. But having ruled VI years, and *Albert* son to *Rodulph* being strong in Arms, the Prince Electors meet, and depose him, and elect the said *Albert* Duke of *Austria*. *Adulph*, not willing to loose his Empire so easily, raiseth what force he could; meets his Enemy, fights him, and is slain in the field. The time of his death or murther, his Epitaph in the Monastery of *Frowenfeldt* will tell; some place it a year or two sooner.

*Anno milleno (f) trecenteno minus uno  
In Julii mense, Rex Adolphus ruit ense.*

1200.

a De jure  
status, l. 2.  
c. 4. p. 287,  
288.

b Spondan.  
anno 1259.  
8.

c Gasp. Sciop.  
de Augult.  
Dom. Au-  
stria Ori-  
gine.  
d Germani-  
Part. 3. &  
vid. M. c.  
Eyzingeri  
Genealog.  
Princ. Au-  
stria, &  
Spond. anno  
1273. 8.  
e Pet.  
Mexia, fol.  
444. Spond.  
anno 1277.  
3.

1292.

Nit. Scrat.  
Hist. Mo-  
tunt. p. 847.  
Naucler. p.  
867.  
f Trecentis  
bis minus  
annis

1200



## CHAP. II.

1. *The troubles of John King of England.*
2. *The Murther of Erick the Sixth, and Erick the Seventh, Kings of Denmark.*
3. *The deposing of Baldwin the Second, Emperour of Constantinople.*
4. *The beheading of Conrado the young King of Naples.*

## SECT. I.

*The troubles of John King of England.*

**H**AVING lately seen the troubles of the Empire, by means of Papal Tyranny, let us now take a view of some other parts of Christendom; and first at home, we may meet with King *John* in a lamentable condition, by the Popes Usurpation, and his own Subjects disobedience: of which briefly thus:

*Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* dying, a company of the <sup>a</sup> young Monks, that they might have their humour, presently, at midnight, before ever *Hubert's* Corps was buried, without ever acquainting the King with their design, meeting secretly together, made a solemn Election, and chose *Reginald* their Sub-prior, placing him upon the High Altar, then in the Archiepiscopal Chair, singing *Te Deum*. But lest the King should have knowledge of this their actings without his consent, they oblige *Reginald* by Oath not to behave himself as Elect, till their farther allowance; nor to discover it to any, till he had got to *Rome* and designed the Popes Confirmation.

<sup>a</sup> Adolescents, *Matt. Paris*, pag. 212.

*Reginald* with some of the Monks, the same night, departs in haste towards the Pope; but being got into *Flanders*, he would not keep Oath or secrecy, bravely telling what he was. The Monks hearing of this, thought it best to send to the King to have an Election; some say, the <sup>b</sup> Elder Monks sent to the King to desire his license to go to Election, as if they had known nothing what the younger had done. The desire of the Monks for an Election, the King very <sup>c</sup> favourably granted, recommending to them *John Grey* Bishop of *Norwich*, it behooving of him to have such a trusty Friend in that great Place, remembering that all went not well with him by the late *Hubert's* too much complying with the *French*. Accordingly the Monks of *Canterbury* Elect *John*; and to make him without all exception, the Pope was sent to for confirmation.

<sup>b</sup> *For*, *Acts Mon. Tom. I. pag. 324.*  
<sup>c</sup> *Benigne annuit. Mat. Paris.*

1206

In this business the suffragan Bishops of *Canterbury* bestir'd themselves

selves, sending also to *Rome* their complaint, because the Elections were made without them: but the Pope stoppt their mouths, by declaring that they neither had, nor should have to doe there.

1200.

And now the Monks act their parts before the Pope; the younger fry standing for *Reginald*, the others for *John Grey*; alleading that the election of *Reginald* could not be of any force, being stoln, cheatingly done, at midnight, without the Kings consent; and so desired the confirmation of *John*, as being done by the graver and (a) major part of the Monks, publicly at day time, the King present, and consenting. To these the other party had nothing to say, but that if *Reginald's* election had been just or unjust, they ought to have null'd it before they went to a second. And *Innocent* willing to be satisfied with this poor shift of the younger Monks, and to strengthen himself by another election, null'd both, commanding neither *John* nor *Reginald* should be held for Arch-bishops of *Canterbury*.

a Paris, p.  
222.

This being done by his potent Holiness, he commends to their choice *Stephen Langton* an *English* Cardinal; but the Monks desire excuse, honestly alleading, that they would not doe it without the Kings consent; and farther, that they had no authority for such an action committed to them by their Covent; and indeed they were but a few sent to *Italy*, to plead about the two former elected. The Pope angry at these reasons, too too strong and honest for him to answer, dishonestly told them, that they had the whole and compleat power of *Canterbury* committed to them; and farther, (b) that it was not the custome to attend the consent of *Princes touching elections made before the Pope*; a Doctrinae too ridiculous to be confuted, and therefore he did command them upon their obedience, and pain of the highest curse, to chuse him for Arch-bishop whom he had appointed. To these non-sensicall Thundrings, the poor Monks for fear of excommunication obey'd, though very unwillingly, and not without grumbling; onely one play'd the Christian and Honest man, and refused to consent to such stuff.

b Paris, p.  
222, 223.

This being done, Pope *Innocent*, hoping to work the King to his will, very gravely sent him four gold rings, and as many stones; for a bribe; for every Goose must be a Swan that comes from *Holy Rome*: and lest the King should not know the meaning of such a sanctified present, his Holiness takes a great deale of pains to tell him, after this (I will not say canting) fashion. — The roundness of the Ring signifies eternity; their number, the four chief vertues, Justice, Fortitude, Prudence and Temperance. As for the four Stones, the *Saphire* signifieth Hope, the *Pomegranate* Charity, the *Emerald* Faith, and the *Topaz* a good work. The King at first was a little new-fangled with them, but then rejected them as trifles.

After this Pageantry, *Innocent* sheweth his design; desiring the King to admit of *Langton* for Arch-bishop. But though to the King he made his request humbly, yet to the Prior and Monks of *Canterbury* he altered the case, commanding them upon their obedience to admit of *Langton*; whereby, under his humble Vizard to the King, was discovered a peremptory injunction, resolving that at least he should be as obedient as the Monks.

At this the King was angry, but most at the Monks of *Canterbury*;

1200

*b* Inimicum  
suum publi-  
cum.

bury, for bringing him into this noose, declaring them guilty of Treason, for chusing *Reginald* (the occasion of all this mischief) contrary to the Prerogative of the Crown ; and then again for electing in *Italy*, *Stephen Langton*, his (*b*) publick enemy ; for which he had them banished his Dominions : then writes to the Pope, wondring at the intrusion of such a man as *Langton*, one altogether unknown to him, and one brought up all along amongst his enemies in France, and one not rightly elected. Adding, that for his part he would stand for the liberties of his Crown till death ; Nor would he let the election of John Grey be null'd ; and if in these things he were slighted, he would permit no more of his subjects to trudge to Rome.

*c* Contumacem & Rebellem.  
*d* Pryms Hist. of Popes intol. usurpat. bo. k 3. c. 1. p. 251.

The Pope atts him again, whetting his stile, bidding him remember how *Becket* dyed for the Church ; and writes to the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Worcester*, to interdict the whole Kingdom, if they found the King (*c*) disobedient and rebellious. They acquaint the King with this Mandate, who is willing to condescend, with the *Salvo's* (*d*) that his rights, liberties, and dignities may not be violated. But the Bishops would allow none of these conditions, (and yet we must think it hard that *Becket* might not have the liberty of *Salvo's*) which provoked the King so much, thus to be trod upon by his own subjects, that he swore (*per dentes Domini*) that if they or any other of his subjects should presume to interdict his Dominions, he would send them with the rest of their fraternity to their friend the Pope, and confiscate their goods ; and so warn'd them from his presence.

*e* Prym p. 252

*Stephen Langton* had in *England* a Brother call'd *Simon*, who also came in the presence of the Bishops, to desire the admittance of his brother to *Canterbury*: to whom the King proffer'd to do so, (*e*) saving only his right and dignity. But no sooner began the King to mention this *Salvo*, but *Simon* replied in an insolent manner — He would do nought for the King therein, unless he would wholly refer himself into his hands, without any such saving. — The Bishops seeing the King would not dance after their pipe, without fear or wit interdict the whole Kingdom ; which continued almost six years ; by which means there was no use of divine service, only Christening of Children, and giving the Sacrament to the dying ; insomuch that the Church-doors were shut up, some say, wall'd up, and the bodies of the dead carried out into the fields, and thrown into ditches or high-ways like (*f*) Dogs, without any prayers or Christian offices. An excellent sign of the meekness and charity of him that glories to be Christs Vicar, to unchristen (as I may say) a whole Kingdom for one mans fault, supposing him an offender ; though the case being truly stated, the contrary will appear, or at least not meriting so grand a punishment. For, if the Pope hath power to nominate to all Bishopricks, he must have it either by divine right, and so unalterable (and therefore the now *Roman* Catholick Kings, who deny such power, are guilty, and the Popes too, for allowing or winking at it) or by the Kings concessions, which is of no validity ; no Monarch having authority to transfer his Prerogatives to a forraign power ; and if they doe so, of no force to bind their successors : besides, story tells us, that a little before this, the Bishops of *England* rejected the designs of the Bishop of *St. Davids*, meerly because he was elected at (*g*) *Rome* : whereby

*f* Corpora defunctorum decivitatibus & villis efferebantur, & mora canum in bivis & fossatis sine orationibus & sacerdotum ministerio sepeliebantur. *Paris* p 226.

*g* Pryms Hist. of Popes usurpat. l. 3. c. 1. p. 236.

we

we may judge Pope *Innocent* to have been more faulty and extravagant than King *John*.

1200.

The Bishops aforeaid perceiving to what inconveniency and danger, being Subjects, they had run themselves into, by opposing their Sovereign, in behalf of a Forreign Power, stole out of the Kingdom, Excommunicating those who obey'd the King.

The King seeing himself and Nation thus trampled upon, seized upon all the Church-mens Lands that obey'd this Interdiction, and refused to celebrate Divine-Service; yet was so favourable, as to allow the Dissenters and Rebels to sell their Corn for their better provisions. And the white Monks, in obedience to God, the King, and their Duty, continuing to say Divine-Service for the benefit of Christian people, were again suspended by the Pope, and for their compliance to their duty, they were not after allowed the same Priviledge as others, who right or wrong obeyed the Pope and his Forreign Authority.

The King weary of these troubles, was willing to comply with the admission of *Langton*, and the restauration of others, whom he had exiled for their disobedience. But give a little, take an Ell; if he condescended so far, they doubted not to make him grant more; and therefore they would have him refund the Treasures of the vacant Churches, by reason of the banishment of the turbulent spirits. This he refus'd as an impossibility, having employ'd them for the security of his Dominions in these turbulent times. Being not satisfied in this trifle, they scorn to agree with him; which made many leave their Flocks here, and go beyond-Seas to the Kings Enemies. Upon which the King wisely and bravely, by Proclamation, orders all to return to their respective Churches by such a day, or to forfeit their incomes; and that all should be seiz'd upon, who brought any Order or Bull from the Pope into his Dominions for that time; knowing such things could then bring no peace to him or his Kingdom.

1211:

The Pope seeing King *John* stand so resolutely for his Prerogative, and Freedom of his Subjects from Forreign yokes, goeth to his last refuge, pulls out his Nut-cracker and Louse-trap, by which he deprives the King of his Dominions, absolves his Subjects from their Allegiance, curseth all those who take the Kings part. And because this of itself hath no more power than a Dogs barking over the Moon, he sends to the King of *France*, desiring him to seize upon the Kingdom of *England*; for he, liberal man, had given it to him and his Heirs, (he might as well have given the Moon:) and to carry this the more clearly, he commanded all the Nobles, Knights, and other Warriors in several Countries to assist the King of *France*, and cross themselves (a Military Badge appointed for those who went against the Infidels in the *Holy-land*) for this enterprize: and they need not doubt of a reward, he having order'd that their souls in this warfare, shall have the same benefit as those who visit the sacred Sepulchre; which we may suppose to be no less than the (a) pardon of all their sins.

1212:

Paris p. 231:

a In remissionem peccatorum peccaminum. Paris p. 233.

Paris p. 232. Frym. 266. b Peter of Pontefract.

a Stow. p. 169.

And the better to withdraw *Englishmen* (observed to be apt to give credit to tatling Prophecies) from their obedience, they had thrust up one (b) *Peter Wakefield* of *Poiz*, to Prophesie the death or downfall of the King by such a day; to which



1200. a great many idle people gave too much credit; but being found a false cheating knave, according to his deserts he was hang'd.

1213. The King, to preserve himself and people from the *French*, had got to the Sea-Coasts a mighty Army and Navy; but a composition hindred their action. For *Pandolphus* (who had been in *England* once before) the Popes Legate, landed at *Dover*, tells King *John* with what a great force the *French* were coming against him, with whom joyn'd many of the *English* Clergy, and that almost all his Nobility would fall from him, having contrary to their Allegiance ingaged so to do: And therefore perswaded him to submit himself to the Pope, to hinder those inconveniences, and thereby to keep himself a King.

The King mainly troubled at these treacherous dealings of his own Subjects, not knowing where to turn himself, was I know not how terrified and overperswaded into an Ignominious condescension to the Pope, by admitting of *Stephen Langton* to be Archbishop, and the rest of his Rebellious Subjects to their former conditions; and then, unkingly, to resign up the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* to the Pope, by taking off his Crown, kneeling, giving it to *Pandolphus*, and laying the Royal Scepter, Robe, Sword and Ring at the Legates feet: which *Pandolf* kept five days, and then allow'd the King to have them again. A thousand Marks of Silver he also paid there for the Pope, which the Legate as in a triumph trad upon: for we must not think that he despoiled it and left it behind him.

*Pandolfo* having thus gotten all that heart could wish, takes off the *Interdict*, and lets *England* turn Christian once again: Though reason tells us that King *John's* submissions were of no force to binde Posterity, no King having power to give away his Kingdom, or make it tributary to a Forreigner, no way akin to the Crown: Nor could a Christian Bishop, by following our Saviours Rules, whose Foundation lay onely on Spiritualls, thus make it his business, and wicked haughty design, to make all Kings and Kingdoms Tributary or subject to his deposing and disposing of. But for a farther nullity of King *John's* grant and concession, I shall refer you to Mr. (a) *Prynne*. And as for this *Innocent III*, who thus domineer'd over Temporal Princes, though these actions were enough to tell you what he was, yet *Matthew Paris* in plain words will inform you, that he was (b) *the proudest and ambitious man in the world, most greedy and covetous of Silver; for which he was apt to do all manner of wickedness.*

When the Pope had thus, as he thought, obtain'd King *John* to be his Vassal, and so the Kingdom his, he took his part after against his Enemies, thereby the better to preserve what he had at last got in *England*. And so passing by the several Rebellions against the King by his own Subjects, their renouncing their Allegiance to him, and declaring themselves subject to *Lewes* of *France*, and suchlike; King *John* dyed, but the cause of his death is not agreed upon, some saying a surfeit, others grief; and others that he was poysoned by the Monks of *Swinsted-Abby* in *Lincolnshire*, who were of the *Cistercian* Order, who thought themselves oppress'd by King *John*.

Father (c) *Parsons* is very furious against any that shall say this King was poysoned, nor will he grant any Authority for it before

Caxton

a Hist. of Popes Usurp. p. 209, 291, 292. to pag. 320.

b Super omnes mortales ambiciosus erat, & superbus, pecuniarq; fenerator insatiabilis, & ad omnia scelera pro præmiis, datis vel promissis cerum & proclivum, *Mat. Paris*, pag. 245.

c Warnword, pag. 119, 120.

*Caxton* and *Trevisa* : though by his favour, besides those ancient Authors mentioned by *Speed* and (a) others, I my self have seen several old (b) *Manuscript* - Histories of *England* writ before *Caxton*, who expressely declare the manner of his poysoning. But be it as it will, 'tis certain that it is no Protestant invention, but first recorded by *Romanists* themselves.

1200.

a *Fox, Jryn*,  
pag. 366.b *Fol. F. 92*  
fol. K. 67.Q. arto 135.  
Arch. Cant.in Bbl.  
& Manuscript

*Bodleian. Oxon.* & *Chron. Antiq.* in English Verse Manuscript, lib. *Digb.* numb. 196. *Digb.* numb. 186. in *Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.*

## Sect. 2.

*The Murder of Erick the Sixth and Erick the Seventh, Kings of Denmark.*

HAVING entertain'd you somewhat long in *England*, we shall be the shorter abroad ; and first, looking Northward into *Denmark*, *Erick VI* [*Henry*] was murdered by the contrivance of his Brother *Abel*. The story in short thus : *Abel* longing for the Crown, took an occasion (when the King once went to visit him) to entertain him with all manner of love and respect ; but while he was playing at Chess or Tables with a Nobleman, some Souldiers appointed rush into the Chamber, take out the King, carry him on Ship-board, cut off his head, tye some weight to his body, and throw it into the Sea, not far from *Sleswick*.

1250.

1251.

*Krantz*  
Dan. lib. 7.

And not long after this, was King *Erick VII* of the same Kingdom, murdered in bed by his own Subjects, receiving upon his body about LVI wounds.

1286.

## Sect. 3.

*The deposing of Baldwin the Second, Emperour of Constantinople.*

I HAVE not troubled you a long while with the Eastern Empire, because they would object it not to be of the Fellowship with *Rome* : but now a word or two will not be amiss.

*Baldwin II* being Emperour of *Constantinople*, and a (c) lawful one too, as they confess, was by force without any pretence or right thrust out of it by *Michael Paleologus*, who to add wickedness to wickedness, contrary to his Oath, put out the eyes of *John* the young Heir ; yet because there is no villany without some sign and pretence of sanctity, (d) *Bzovius* flyeth out in commendation of his Piety and Holiness, because when he was about this Rebellion, he had the Image of the Virgin *Mary* carryed before him into *Constantinople*.

c *Tho. Re*  
zjus, de jure  
status, pag.  
287, 288.d *An. 1259*  
6.

*Baldwin* complains to other Princes, and he is like to have assistance, Pope (e) *Urban IV* being for him too against *Michael*. Upon this, *Paleologus* is in a peck of troubles, fearing to have more

e *Spond an*  
1261. 10.

1200. more Enemies upon him than he can cope with; and in this sad condition, he findes no remedy like making the Pope his friend. A strange attempt, to fancie that the Infallible holy Father would have any friendship with such a Rebel: but on he goeth, cunningly pulls out his bait, and sends to the Pope that a (b) Union might be made between the *Græcian* and *Roman* Churches; and, which must not but be brag'd of, he gave him all the finest good morrows and glorious Titles of (c) *Holiness, Father of Fathers, Prince of all Priests, Universal Doctor of the Church, &c.*

b Spond. an.  
1263. 6, 7.

c Bzov. an.  
1263. 15.

d Id. anno  
1264. 2.

e Sub urius  
palloris re-  
gimine.

Pope *Urban* at the receipt of this Letter is almost mad for joy, (d) writes back to *Paleologus*, adorning him with all the glorious Titles he can think of, not a little proud that now there was hopes for enlargement of the Popes Dominions, by his (e) sole governing the Eastern as well as the Western Churches: a Sway and Authority which for many Ages the Popes had earnestly gaped after.

f Id. anno  
1266. 9.

In the mean time *Urban* IV dying, *Clement* IV succeeds, with whom the same League was driven on: but some might have thought that all would have been spoil'd, when the Pope perceived *Michael* to play the jugler, and underhand to (f) plot with *Romes* Enemies, and that all his fair pretences were onely to get the ruine of his Lord *Baldwin*. But no such matters; for if the Pope got but his design, he would wink at the others petty contrivances. But this Pope ruled not long; and after him the See being void for above two years, by reason of the wrangling of the then few Cardinals, no great matter was done, onely *Michael* to look to himself.

g Modo Ca-  
roli expedi-  
onem aver-  
teret. Bzov.  
anno 1271.  
5.

At last *Gregory* X is set in the *Roman* Chair. In the mean time *Baldwin*, to strengthen himself, marrieth his Son to the Daughter of *Charles* King of *Sicily* or *Naples*. *Charles* seeing himself so neer related to an Empire, resolves to gain it; to which purpose he rais'd many Forces. This puts *Michael* to his wits-ends, in this distress scarce knowing whither to turn himself: at last he knew the Pope used to be good Friends to such as he at a dead lift; and therefore he sends to *Gregory* X newly made Pope, to have the Union between the two Churches settled, provided he would (g) hinder *Charles* from his attempts against him. And so the story of the Union goeth on, not belonging to my purpose.

h De jure  
status, l. 3.  
c. 4. p. 287,  
288.

In short, *Michael Paleologus* must be true Emperour of *Constantinople*, and *Baldwin* rejected; nor must we think any injury done in this, onely because it pleas'd this *Gregory* X so to order it: and of this Example and Jurisdiction (h) *Thomas Bozius* is not a little proud; and how should the Pope, who is infallible, and hath power over all Kingdoms, do injustice or wrong?

Sect.

## SECT. 4.

*The beheading of Conrado, the young King of Naples.*

**H**ERE I might inlarge in relating the Popes Usurpations over the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*. But I shall only instance in the misfortune of young *Conradino*, who without any shew of Reason or Justice was basely deprived, by the plots and contrivance of Pope *Clement IV*, who putting his Oar in another mans Boat, and meddling with that, with which he had nothing to do, very impudently gives these Kingdoms to the *French Charles* of *Anjou*, and accordingly Crowns him King; though I wonder how either he or *St. Peter* came to have any right to dispose of those Territories. But thus is Theft, Robbery and Treason sanctified and made legal by the Popes fiat.

1268.

Young *Conradinus* marcheth out of *Germany* to redeem his right Inheritance, knowing none but Fools or Knaves would value such an Antichristian Donation. *Clement* seeing *Conradino* not willing to loose his Kingdom, sends to him to desist, or else he will curse him with Bell, book and Candle, and prohibits all people to assist him. *Conradine* knowing such Censures not to have been justified to maintain wickedness, marcheth on; then the Pope falls to his *Dog-tricks*, Excommunicates and deprives him, and all those who take his part, and quits their Subjects from their Allegiance. And because *Conradine* would not desist from his lawful engagement, *Bzovius* in a tury shoots his Bolt, and calls him an (a) Insolent youth.

1268.

The young Prince thus put to it, makes his lamentable case known to the World, in which his Secretary, or the Historian doth sometimes play the quibler. He complain'd how — Pope *Innocent* had abus'd him as (b) *Innocent*; for *Conradus* his Father King of *Sicily*, by will left him a young thing in the care of the Church; and then that Pope *Innocent*, under the pretence of a Tutor, seiz'd upon the whole Kingdom; then endeavour'd to extinguish his name, distributing his Lands amongst his own Kinsfolks: That *Manfredo* pretending to be his friend, had beaten him too: That *Innocent* dying, Pope *Alexander* succeeded, who also abus'd him, inviting others to take possession of his Kingdom: That Pope *Urban* dealt very (c) *inurbanely*, perswading *Manfredo* to take the Kingdom to him; but this bargain failing, he would have *Charles* to undertake the business: That this Pope dying, then next, viz. *Clement*, had us'd all (d) *inclemencie* against him, setting up a (e) *false King*, Excommunicating him, and depriving him of his lawful Title. —

a Insolens  
juvenis, ann.  
1268. & 3.

*Nauclet.*  
gener. 43.  
p. 839.  
b Sibi innocenti nocuerit.

c Sibi fuerat inurbanus.

d Contra eum inclementer egerit.

e Antiregimus.

But see the misfortune of War! the Armies of *Conradinus* and *Charles* meet; *Conradinus* is overcome, he and *Frederick* Duke of *Austria* are taken, carryed to *Naples* and there imprisoned. Then a (f) Parliament (or bloody Rump) call'd, where King *Conradinus* and the Duke are condemn'd to dye; a Scaffold is set up publickly in the City, and for more pomp cover'd with Silk-Tapistry; the two innocent Princes are had thither: *Frederick* of *Austria* is first beheaded, whose head *Conradinus* kisseth; then the young King having declared the injustice, vindicated his own

f Convocatus ex toto Regno Syndicis Civitatum. Spond. anno 1269.

P p

innocencie,

1200. *a* Some say *Peter of Aragon*. innocencie, and pronounced (*a*) *Frederick* (some say *Henry*) of *Castile*, his Aunts Son, to be the Heir to the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*; as a token of which *Investiture*, he threw his Glove amongst the people, kneel'd down, and had his head cut off.

*b* *Rev. an. 1268.* Thus dyed *Conradinus* and *Frederick*, neither of them being eighteen years old; and to add more ignominy, their Corps were not permitted to be buried in Consecrated ground, because not absolved from the Popes Excommunication; yet they tell us that *Frederick* of *Austria's* (*b*) head call'd upon the *Virgin Mary*, after it was cut off; and that a wonderful Mark remains in the place where this execution was done.

*d* Page 841. That the Pope perswaded to this cruelty I cannot say positively, though (*c*) *Nauclerus* hints as much, and others affirm, that his advice being asked about it, he return'd this answer, that---  
*c* Page 841. (*d*) *Conradines life is Charles his death, and Conradines death is Charles his life.* — However it was, no sooner was this wicked act done, but the Heads-man was also slain, that he might not boast of his spilling such Royal Blood. A poor come off! as if those who pronounced judgement, by this act could clear themselves from the guilt. And some make it the worse, and with reason, because *Charles* himself was a Spectator all the while to this bloody Execution. Though certainly the Pope might have saved all this bloodshed, by permitting young and innocent *Conradine* to possess that which was left him by his Father: and how unjustly his life was taken away, (*d*) *Nauclerus* will inform you.



### CHAP. III.

#### *The troubles of Philip the Fourth, surnamed Le bel, King of France; with the pride of Pope Boniface the Eighth.*

1300. **T**He first thing that offers it self in this Century, is the quarrel between Pope *Boniface VIII*, and *Philip IV* surnamed *Le Bel* [*i. e.* the fair] where the Pope will appear most in the fault, being a busie-body, meddling with that with which he had nothing to do. But first it will not be amiss to see how he came to the Pontifical greatness.

*Nicholas IV* dying, the Chair was void about two years: the Cardinals not agreeing in the choice, at last one *Petrus de Morone* a pious Hermit was elected, and call'd *Celestine V*. All of their Authors acknowledging him for a true and legitimate Pope, and accordingly the several Cardinals by him created, legal.

*e* *Dist. 79.* Yet if their *Canon-Law* be Authentick, and in this case ought to be observed, as the Pope severely enjoyneth, then must this *Celestine* be no Pope, because he was never a (*e*) Cardinal, out of whom onely the Popes are to be chosen: (nay farther, I am not assured that he was in (*f*) Orders: ) and if this hold water, then I fear *Clement V* and his Cardinals will run the same hazard, and then

*c. Oportebit.*  
*c. Nullus un-*  
*quam.*  
*f. Fr. Ma-*  
*son Conle-*  
*crat. of Bi-*  
*shops, page*  
*15, 16.*

then I know not how they can make up a true Pope since that time; by which rule the Bead-roll of their Pontiffs ended above three hundred years ago.

1300.

As for this *Celestine V*, he was but a small Politician, more acquainted with his private Devotion, than State-Affairs, easily to be cheated by his crafty Courtiers; his good and easie nature prompting him to think the best of bad men, and give too much credit to flattering words.

This made some, after he had been Pope a little while, consult his deposition; to which they thought it no hard matter to get his own consent; and he who most concern'd himself to procure this degradation, was (according to the common Opinion of their own Writers) Cardinal (a) *Benedictus Cajetanus*, who, as some say, cheated him with false Miracles, as by a counterfeit (b) voice convey'd into his Chamber by a Pipe or hollow - Trunk, perswading him to resign up his Poppedom, the better to save his own soul: and this stratagem was carry'd so, as if it had been a voice from Heaven.

However it was, at the last *Celestine* was over-perswaded to resign, as one unfit for that employment; and then, as the (c) Plot was laid, the said *Benedictus Caetan* was elected for Pope (he making fair promise to the King of Naples) and call'd himself *Boniface VIII*. 'Tis true, at that time, 'twas a grand dispute whether a true Pope could resign up his Office; of which it seems the then Cardinals were somewhat aware, and therefore that no rub might stop their designs, they perswaded *Celestine* before he was degraded, to make a Decree that a Pope might resign; a pretty trick, if he could not do it without such an Order. However, the (d) French and some others strongly maintain'd the Negative, and therefore for some time held *Boniface* but for an Antipope. And 'twas somewhat strange to have him deposed for insufficiency, since as long as Cardinal *Latinus* lived, affairs were carried well enough; and had he been weaker than he was, rather than disturb the Church with such an innovation, *Benedictus* (wise and cunning enough) or some others, might by advice and assistance have prevented any inconveniencie to arise from his too much good nature, or negligence of worldly things.

But the Vizard is too open, and the design so thin, that every Childe may see through it: For it must be private ends to make them lay aside a man whose Election (as themselves confess) was as by (e) *Divine Inspiration*; that himself was not onely good and virtuous, but of such exemplary Holiness, that when alive, he did many Miracles; and when dead, a glorious Saint in Heaven, and as such have they placed him, by their Canonization, in their Martyrologies & Calendars; so that it seems he was too good to be a good Pope.

Yet against all this, the Cardinals reason'd that the Church might be in danger by such a man; and therefore they must mend themselves by the choice of one more fit for Christendom, and to be Christs Vicar. But this objection is formerly answered; but suppose not, their after-Election quite destroys the supposition: for who doth their wise judgements (and we must not doubt of the Holy Ghosts (f) assistance) pitch upon, but the foresaid Cardinal *Caetan*, now call'd *Boniface VIII*?

And if you would know what he was, their own Writers will assure you, that though he was a subtle man, well learned, and a

a Volatier.  
l. 22. fol. 58  
Ant. Sab. l.  
en. 9. fol. 258.  
Niveler  
p. 865, 866.  
M. r. 2, fol.  
441 L. 1. 1. 2.  
ding. Hist.  
Minor. Tom.  
2. an. 1. 294.  
b Gencbrard  
p. 998. Pla-  
tines Car-  
ranza sum.  
Concil. pag.  
818.  
c Fil. de Ber-  
gall. 6. fol.  
377.  
d J. Rubens  
de Boniface  
p. 144.

e Vid. Co-  
effeteau, p.  
1003. Co-  
quz. Tom.  
F. 177. C. 1.  
con.

f Jo. Rubens  
de Boniface  
VIII. p. 18.

1300. good Lawyer, yet withal that he was (a) *Proud, Dissembling, Arrogant, Scornful, Malitious, and a Wicked man, a stirrer up of Wars and Discord, a great Persecutor of the Ghebillines, a Trampler upon Kings and Kingdoms, and one very ungrateful*, for he clapt up poor *Celestine* in prison after his resignation, which they suppose shortned his life. And to these they add some of his other virtues, viz. that he was (b) *cruel, and sordidly avaritious and covetous*, and an *astonishment and wonder to all the world*. And to these we may give the more credit, seeing *Monsieur Coeffeteau* endeavouring to clear him from what blemishes possibly he could, yet doth not deny, but that he was guilty of (c) *great faults*, and it may be a *Pastor vitious* enough; and plainly confesseth that he was (d) *not moderate* in his doings, but *too much passionate*: and the Church of *Rome* hath disavow'd some of his actions.

a *Platina, Mexias, Bargamo, Nauclerus, Sabellius, Ciaconius, Binius, Massonus, Trevisa, lib. 7. cap. 40. Rob. Gaguin, Jo. Marius, de Schism. Guil. Barclay de potestat. Pa. 36.*

b *Vid. Jo. Marian. Hist. Hisp. lib. 15. c. 6. Spond. anno 1303. & 14.*

c *Response, pag. 1005.*

d *Pag. 1008, 1009.*

These are the common sentiments of him of their own Writers; but against all these, within these few years, one (e) *Johannes Rubens* hath undertaken an Apology for this *Boniface VIII*, being thereunto perswaded by the *Cajetans* (of which House this Pope was) and by them furnished with materials, to try if he could possibly make *Boniface* a good Religious Pope, and so wipe an old blot from their Family.

e It may be an Englishman under that foolish Vizard of Latinizing of Surnames, a custom too much vainly used by some men, as if they were ashamed of their Country or Relations, being scarce known under such a fond disguise.

*Rubens* falls to work, and with a resolution to do as much in this grand and daring enterprise, as his Skill and Materials would afford: and two to one his eagerness made him affirm more than he was really able to prove; for at the first step he boldly declares him one of the glories of the World, for (f) *Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, Holiness, Justice, Wisdom*, and suchlike Vertues. And if this be not enough, he will bring out Scripture too, to prove that there was not (g) *his like amongst all the people*. But these things are sooner said than made good; and with the judicious, will go amongst the Paradoxes of *Erasmus* in commendation of *Folly*, *Cardan* of *Nero*, *Dedekindus* of *Nastiness*, *Opsopaus* of *Drinking*, and suchlike pieces of Raillery; seeing he hath so many of their own Writers and Historians to oppose him. But I dare say the *Romanist* will think this Prologue too long; and so let's go to the story.

f *Proem. p. 31, 32.*

g *Pag. 265.*

The Popes had for a long time made it their common and cunning practice, when they saw any King great and powerful, to perswade (I and threaten too) them to go to the *Holy-land*, and redeem it from the *Saracens*: and so zealous or foolish, for this laudable Enterprize, was then the giddy world, that all sorts and sexes, without fear or wit, conduct or discretion, would gad and trudge thither, never doubting of Heaven, if they had but the happiness to be knockt on the head by an Infidel; such a blessing was it to belong to the *Crossado*, and so had the Popes deluded the world by their Indulgences, and suchlike wares; inso-

much

much, that at one time, we find an Army of (b) Bishops, who deserved punishment for gadding from their Flocks; at another time we meet with an Army of almost twenty thousand (i) boys, onely fit for the rod, nay (k) Women, Cripples, &c. all must be Martyrs in the Holy-land. And when the Pope had got the Princes imployed there, he knew how to make himself more formidable in Europe: for those whom he could delude neerer hand, he might easily abuse abroad.

Pope Boniface VIII, of a stirring humour, sends Bernard Bishop of (a) Pamiers in the County of Foix (then newly from an Abbacy rais'd to a Bishoprick) to King Philip le Bel, to exhort him to go to the Holy-land, and there to bestow his men and treasury. Philip excused himself, as being engaged in war against Flanders. Bernard, who must (forsooth) take no denial, coming from the Pope, from this falls to threatening, and that in no moderate way, being no less then the loss of his Kingdom, viz. a deposing, if he obey'd not, and marched to the holy war, as they call'd it.

Philip troubled at this boldness, but which was more, Bernard being his subject, and yet proved to be in actual Treason against him, by plotting with the Aragonians, and other his enemies, against him, by falsely aspersing the King as a Bastard, a cheater of the people with false coyn, &c. (b) had Bernard seisd upon, and delivered to the security of Egidius Ancellin Arch-bishop of Narbonne: nor was this done in a passion, but by the serious advice of his Parliament, both Lords Spirituall and Temporall; and Bernard himself took it for a favour to be delivered up to a Church-man.

The Pope informed of this, sends Jaques de Normandis Arch-Deacon of Narbonne to King Philip, to release the Bishop of Pamiers, to go to the Holy-land, to meddle with his Temporal businesses, and let the Clergy alone: if not, that he should know that the Kingdom of France devolved to the Apostolick See, and so he to be excommunicated and deprived, and his subjects absolved from their Oaths to him, and their Duty and Allegiance: and farther, that the Bishops and Doctors of France should come to Rome, there to hold a Council, how to dispose of their King, and the affairs of the Kingdom.

The King was highly offended that the Arch-deacon of Narbonne, his own Subject, should offer to come upon such an errand, especially to be the conveyer of such mad and insolent letters and threats, which were so scandalous even to the French Nobility, that the Earl of Artois snatch'd them from the Arch-Deacon's hands, and threw them into the fire, where they were burn'd. Yet for all these extravagancies, the King releas'd Bishop Bernard, but commanded him and Jaques de Normandis forthwith to depart the Kingdom.

Philip forthwith summons a Parliament, where the Pope is accused as a busie-body, or a troublesome fellow; his strange actions against the King and his Prerogatives are censured; the King declares that he holds his Kingdom immediately from God onely; the layety defend the King, the Bishops do so too, and consent to all; desire the Pope to use moderation, (in which (c) Letter of theirs to him, his faults are reckoned up) and intreat the King that he would be pleas'd to give them liberty to wait upon the Pope; but that is expressly deny'd them.

1300.

h. Senar. hist.

Alogent p.

743.

i. Spordan.

an. 1213.

2.

h. Fullers

Holy-war.

(a) Apamiensis. Some mistake, and would have it to be the Bishop of Rimini in Italy.

Spord. an.

1300 &amp; 9.

Spord. an.

1301 &amp; 5,

6.

b Accused of 32 Articles.

c Vid. Bzov.

an. 1302.

&amp; 6. and

John Fox

Acts and

Mon. Tom.

1. pag. 453,

For 454.



1300

For, the King doubting lest some of his Clergy, according to the then seditious custome, should upon this falling out, leave their flocks and trudge to the Pope, carrying with them vast treasuries, to the impoverishing of his other faithful subjects, and the enriching of his enemies; and also suspecting, that the Pope, according to the vanity of these times, would lend out his interdicts and curses against him, absolve his subjects of their Allegiance, which the Fools and Knaves were apt to obey: Upon these and other considerations, the King, wisely to provide for the security of himself and people, by express order forbids any gadding to *Rome*, and transportation of Gold, Silver, and suchlike riches out of his Dominions; and upon the borders appointed several to take care that no Popish *Bull* or Censure be brought into his Kingdom.

The Pope angry at this, nulls all the priviledges and favours formerly granted by the Popes to the *French* (and what were those toys, that the King and they would not enjoy without his concession?) prohibits all Clergy-men to assist the King with any aid-mony, or to part with any of their riches, to be imploy'd in Temporal affairs; and, as some Historians say, thus writes to the King:

*Boniface* Bishop, Servant of Gods Servants, to  
*Philip* the *French* King.

*Fear God and keep his Commandments. We will thee to understand, that thou art subject to us both in Spirituals and Temporals. No collation of Benefices or Prebends belongs to thee; and if you have the Vacation of any, reserve the fruits thereof to the successors: If you have made any Collation, we judge that to be of no force, and do revoke them as null. And we think all to be (2) Fools (or Hereticks) who think otherwise.*

Dated at the *Lateran*, &c.

To which was returned this following answer.

*Philip* by the Grace of God, King of the *French*, to *Boniface* bearing himself a Pope, little health or none at all.

*Let your great (a) Foolship understand, that in Temporal affairs we are subject to no man; That the Collation of Churches and Prebendaries belong to us by Royal Prerogative, and the fruits thereof during their vacancy. That the Collations already made, or hereafter to be made, are of good force and validity; and that we will defend the possessors thereof against all men; reputing all to be fools and madmen who think otherwise.*

Given at *Paris*, &c.

*b* Jo de Bus.  
fieres, Tom.  
2. p. 220,  
221. Jo Ru-  
bens p. 211.  
Spoudan. an.  
1203. 11.

The Pope seeing the King resolute for the priviledges of his Kingdom, goeth another way to work, (b) stirs the people of *Flanders* to rebell against him, desires the King of *England* to fall upon him; curses, excommunicates, interdicts, and by his fond censures deposeth the King, absolves his subjects from their Allegiance,

giance, perswades them to rise against their Sovereign, intreats *Albert* Emperour of *Germany* to invade and seise upon his Dominions, which he giveth to the said *Albert*, for winning and keeping. And because the *University* at *Paris* stood for their King, he declared them to be no *University*, nulling all their priviledges, prohibiting all exercises, &c.

The King seeing the Pope thus madly to run on against him, summons a Parliament, where the King is vindicated, and the Pope accused of *Heresie*, *Nigromancy*, *Simony*, *Sodomy*, *Murder*, *Usury*, *Uncleanness*, &c. all which Articles being too long for this place, I shall refer you to (a) *Fox*, and the two late Volumes of the (b) liberties of the *Gallican Church*, collected and set forth by the learned *Frenchman*, *Monf. de Pais* [*Puteanus*.] But for all this, the next Pope but one clears him, and makes him a good man. In this Parliament the King appeals from the Pope to the next Council.

But this trouble ended by the suddain death of the Pope, though after what manner Authors will not agree; some say by a Fever, others grief, and many affirm by despair, if not madness, yet (c) next door to it. However it was, considering with what subtlety he attain'd the Popedom, with what pride and arrogancy he domineer'd, and his talked-of strange death, he procured this Proverb to be fastned upon him — (d) *He entred like a Fox, ruled like a Lyon, and dyed like a Dog.* — *Lucretius* describes the Poetical Monster thus :

*Prima leo, postrema draco, media ipsa Chimera.*

And of this Pope, thus another alludes :

*Ingreditur vulpes, leo pontificat, canis exit,  
Et sic reuera, noua dicitur illa Chimera.*

I have formerly given you the Character of this Pope; according to the Romanists themselves; and for farther proof, you shall hear *Platina* himself speak. Pope *Boniface* (e) rather endeavour'd and studied how to terrifie Emperours, Kings, Princes, Nations and People, then to promote Religion; he strived and endeavoured to give and take away Kingdoms, to trample upon all men according to his pleasure, being covetous of wealth beyond all report.

Religionem injicere conabatur; quique dare regna & auferre, pellere homines; & reducere pro arbitrio animi conabatur, aurum undiq; conculcavit plus quam dici potest, sitiens. *Platina* vit. *Bonifacii VIII.*

This judgement of *Platina* is also confirm'd by (f) *Naucerus*: f *Gener* 44. and his own actions will testifie as much; for having appointed a p. 870. Jubilee, the first day he appears in his *Pontificalibus*, but the next day he shews himself in an (g) Imperial habit, with a Crown on, having a naked sword carried before him, crying out, (h) Behold two swords; childishly alluding to his own blockish (i) comment upon the Apostles and our Saviours words, as if the two Swords there mentioned, implied the Pope of *Rome* to have spiritual and temporal authority over all men. Another story they tell of him. *Jacobus de Voragine* Arch-bishop of *Genoa*, that great writer of pretty miracles, dying, *Porchetto Spinola* succeeded; and being at *Rome* on an *Ash-Wednesday*, he amongst others fell down at the

1300

a Acts and Mon tom 1. p. 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453.  
b Traites des droits & libertes de l'Eglise Gallicane, Tom. 2. pag. 140, 141, 142.  
c Eurenti simillis. Spond. an. 1303.  
d 13.  
e Marian hist Hispan. 15. c. 6.  
f Ingreditur vulpes, leo pontificat, regebat ut leo, moritur sicut canis.

Jo. Rubens, p. 258.

e Qui imperatoribus, regibus, principibus, nationibus, populis, terrori potius quam

f Krantz. Saxon. 1. 8. c. 36. Cnsp. ni-an vit. Alberi.  
g Luke 22 38.

i Extra Comm. mun. de major & obed. c. unam san- the Ram.

1300. the Popes Feet, to be signed on the Fore-head with a Croſs of  
*Platina,* holy Aſhes. *Boniface* thinking him to be his Enemy, alters the  
*Naucerus,* Scripture, telling him thus: — *Remember that thou art a Gibel-*  
*Cogues,* lin, and with the Gibellins thou ſhalt return to Aſhes; — and ſo  
 Tom. 2. pag. 178. *Spond.* caſt the Aſhes in his eyes, and deprived him of his Archbiſhop-  
 anno 1296. rick; but gave it him again, when he heard that he was miſtaken  
 in the man. At this action (a) *Coeffeteau* is a little troubled,  
 11. and doth confeſs that (if it be true, as there is no reaſon to doubt  
 \*Pag. 1005. of it) that it was a kinde of Sacrilege that cannot be excuſed.

Of this *Boniface*, who before his Popedom was call'd *Benedict*,  
 one made theſe Verſes.

*Eberhardi*  
*Annal. an.*  
 1303. apud  
*Hen. Canif.*  
*Antiq. lecti-*  
*on, Tom. 1.*

*Nomina bina bona tibi ſunt præclarus amiſſus,*  
*Papa Bonitacius modo, ſed quondam Benedictus,*  
*Ex re nomen habe, Benefac, Benedic, Benedicte,*  
*Aut cito perverte, Malefac, Maledic, Maledicte.*

But for diverſion ſake, you may here peruſe the Rimes of *John*  
*Lydgate*, the old Monk of *St. Edmondsbury*,

The fall of  
 Princes, lib. 9

*Among theſe wofull Princys thre*  
*Which ſhewyd theym ſo uggly of their chere:*  
*Pope Boniface by great adverſite,*  
*The VIII of that name gan to approach nere,*  
*A thouſand IIIIC accompted was the gere,*  
*Fro Cryſt's birth by computation,*  
*Whan that he made his lamentacion.*

*This ſame Pope caught occaſion,*  
*Which undre Petre kept governaunce,*  
*To Interdict all the Region,*  
*Time of King Philip regnyngetho in France,*  
*Dire& Bulls down into Conſtaunce,*  
*To (a) Nicolas made by Boniface*  
*Archdeacon of the ſame place.*

a *Nicholaus*  
*Benefractus*  
*Archdeacon*

of *Conſtance* in lower *Normandy*, being ſent by the Pope, to carry the Orders to Interdict the Kings  
 was ſeized up on at *Triers*, and iſmriſon:d.

*Of holy Church the Prelates nygheb on,*  
*Buſhoppys of Fraunce felly have declared;*  
*Prevynge by (b) poyntes many mo than one,*  
*In a great ſynne pleyndly and nat ſpared,*  
*By him the Church was kurted and not repared:*  
*Put on him crymes of great myſgovernaunce,*  
*Demonucynge enemy to all the Londe of Fraunce.*

b Of theſe  
 Articles a-  
 gainſt him  
 I ſpake be-  
 fore, telling  
 where you  
 might ſee them, viz. in *Jo. Fox. p. 448, 449.* and *Traitez des droits & libertes de l'Eglife Gall. Tom.*  
 2. p. 140, 141.

*Put on him many great outrage,*  
*Wrongly howe he had done offence*  
*To a Cardinal born of the lynage*  
*(c) De Columpnys a kinrede of reverence;*  
*For which cauſe he kept him in abſence,*  
*Out of the Court drough where he was born,*  
*By which occaſion the Pope his lſf hath lorn.*

c *Boniface*  
 was a mor-  
 tal enemy to  
 the Family  
 of the *Co-*  
*lonne*, ba-

niſhing the Cardinals, and making them and others of that houſe incapable of any preferment; and it  
 may be they might provoke him to it: they were reſtored again by *Benedict IX* and *Clement V*.

De

De Columpnys the Lynage hath so wrought,  
 (d) Toke Bonyface for his cruelte ;  
 With great force and power they have him brought  
 Unto a Castel which stode in the Cite,  
 Called Sancta Angeli, gave an *Exorite*  
 To Cardinal, and by commysion,  
 Power to do full Execution.

1300.

*d. Sciavra*  
*Colonna &*  
*others sidi-*  
*denly seized*  
*upon the*  
*Pope in A-*  
*nagni: some*  
*saw they car-*

ried him prisoner to Rome ; others say that he was rescued, and went to Rome of his own accord ; and if so, then he was not imprisoned in *Castello S. Angelo*.

Of these matters hangynge in balauunce,  
 A twene partyes, were it right or wronge ;  
 Both of Romayns, and Prelates eke of Fraunce :  
 The Pope ay kept within the Castel stronge,  
 Of aventure abydyng there nat longe ;  
 Fyll in a flixe, and afterwarde for nede,  
 For hunger (e) etc his handys as I rede.

*e So faith*  
*Forcace,*

*Trevisa, Walsingham ; but some others deny it.*

Howe af his dycinge it is made mencion,  
 Aboute the Castel was marvelous lightnyng ,  
 Where the Pope lay fettred in prison,  
 None such a form was seyn in their lyugnge, &c.

The death of Pope *Boniface* might be reckoned for a blessing to Christendom : for if this quarrel between him and the King of France came to such an height and extravagancie in the small time of two or three years, with what combustion and miseries would it in all likelyhood have fill'd Europe, had the lengthning of this Popes life prolong'd, and so more stir'd up the mischief ?

*Boniface* VIII dying, *Benedict* IX succeeded, who ruled not long, being taken away as is supposed by poyson. Then, after him was elected *Clement* V, though no Cardinal ; and besides, he basely and illegally obtain'd the Chair, by the interest of this King *Philip* ; to whose feet he humbled himself, not onely Simoniacally promising, but also (f) swearing before the Eucharist, and giving farther security too, that if he would let him be Pope (for the King then carryed a main stroke) to gratifie *Philip* in several Concessions, as to condemn or rase out the very memory of *Boniface*, &c.

*f Jo. Rubens*  
*pag. 288.*  
*Bzovius,*  
*Spondannus.*

*Clement* V having thus obtain'd the Popedom, removes the Papal Seat from Rome into France, where it continued many years. At his Coronation at *Lyons* there was a great deal of hurley-burley by the falling of an old Wall, whereby *Charles*, the Kings Brother, the Duke of *Britanny*, with several others, were hurt ; the Pope himself tumbled from his *Rosante*, by which fall he lost a rich Jewel from his *Tiara*, or Pontifical Diadem. And the King hardly escaped the scowring, having like a dapper Page on foot waited on his Holiness and his Horse, holding the (g) reins of the Bridle ; and when he was weary of that unkingly slavery, or thought he had done enough, (h) his two Brothers, others say *Charles*, and the Duke of *Britanny*, one on one side of his Horse, and the other on the other, performed the same humble service ; but the stones of the old Wall so knockt them for their pains, that

*g Spond-an-*  
*1305. & 6.*

*h Coeffet,*  
*pag. 1018.*

1300. ten to one they repented of their servility, and wished themselves farther off his Holiness.

i Spond. an.  
anno 1310.  
3.

k Coeffit. p.  
1024.

Tho. Wal-  
ingham in  
Eam. I. p. 19.  
Fox, p. 480.

After all these glories, *Clement* reconciles all between *France* and the Popedom, absolving those whom *Boniface* had Excommunicated; restored the Family of the *Colonna*, vindicating the King from any bad intentions in his actions against *Boniface*; yet he would not be as good as his Oath to dash out the very memory of *Boniface*, though *Philip* several times urged him earnestly to it. But *Boniface* he makes no Heretick; yet as unwilling that his actions in this quarrel should be remembered, he commands under pain of Excommunication, all (i) Acts, Writings, Registers, &c. of these things to be taken off the File, abolished, and razed out; nor never for the future to be re-assumed, or discovered to any. And we are told that he also granted, that the (k) *Kings and Kingdom of France* should never for the future be Excommunicated or Interdicted. The which, if true, must be thought a brave privilege in those wrath-denouncing times.

To conclude with this *Clement*, take one story: several Monks had bought great privileges of the Pope, of which they were as proud, as he glad of their Cash. The Fryar *Minorites* go to Market too, and offer *Clement* above forty thousand *Florences* of Gold, for a dispensation to possess Riches contrary to their Order. *Clement* bites at this goodly bait, asked them where their Money was; they reply, In the Merchants hands, and ready: The Pope bids them come again the third day. In the mean time the Pope absolves the Merchants of their Bond made to the Fryars, and commanded them to deliver him the Moneys. The Merchants absolved, obey; and the Pope tells the Fryars, that he would not violate the Rule of *S. Francis*. And so the poor Fryars went sneaking away gull'd of their Moneys. *Clement* being too cunning for such hoorders up of Wealth. And so much for *Clement*, who was a lover of Women as well as Riches.



CHAP.



## CHAP. IV.

1. *The Murther of the Emperour Albert.*
2. *The death of the Emperour Henry the Seventh.*
3. *The troubles of the Empire by reason of the Papal arrogancy.*
4. *The strange Tumults aëted at Rome by Nicholao di Renzo, and Francisco Barencello.*
5. *The Dog-trick used by the Venetians to take off the Popes Censures against them.*
6. *The bloody aëtions in Hungary.*

## Sect. 1.

*The Murther of the Emperour Albert.*

**Y**OU were formerly told how *Adolph* the Emperour was deposed and slain by Duke *Albert*, which *Albert* now carryed himself as Emperour, having the voice and consent of the *Germans*; and though at first Pope *Boniface VIII* refused his confirmation, yet at last, hoping to make use of him against King *Philip* the fair of *France*, he also acknowledged him for Emperour, confirm'd him in the Throne, approved of all that he had done, and commanded him to be obey'd; and so according to their Rule, he is now a lawful Emperour, and we need not question but a good and clear man, being thus absolved, and fortified with the Popes blessing.

1303.

But we shall see his end to be miserable: for *John* his own Nephew troubled that he kept some lands from him, conspired with some others his death, which thus they brought to pass: *Albert* riding once out to take the Air, accompanied onely with these Conspirators, who seem'd his great friends, at last they took their opportunity, so that the Nephew *John* stab'd him into the Throat, another cleft his head; nor did his body escape without several wounds, so that there they left him dead, and fled for it.

1307.

## Sect. 2.

*The death of the Emperour Henry the Seventh.*

**T**HE Imperial Chair being now void, after some canvassing, the Electors by the Popes Instigation, (fearing they otherwise

1300. wise they would have elected *Philip of France*) chose for Emperour *Henry VII* Earl of *Lutzenburg*; which Election is confirmed by *Clement V*, then at *Avignon* in *France*, provided *Henry* would go into *Italy*, there to do his drudgery.

The Emperour marcheth for *Italy* (which no Emperour had done for many years before, and at *Buonconvento* in *Tuscany*, not far from *Sienna*, dyeth, not without great suspicion of being poysoned, (and that too at the receiving of the Sacrament) as many of their (a) Historians do confess, though others will allow of no such thing.

a *Platina*,  
vit. *Clement*  
V. *Gene-*

*brard*, pag. 1011. *Jo. Bapt. Egnat.* lib. 3. *Raph. Volaterran.* lib. 23. fol. 279. *Mexias*, p. 459 *Nax-*  
*clerus*, p. 876. *Da. Bergamo*, fol. 283. *Anton. Sabellicus*, En. 9. fol. 261. *Compilatio Historica* a-  
pud *Scriptor.* *Germ.* anno 1113. *Paul. Langius*, *Chron. Citizen.* *Wern. Rolewinck* *falcic. Temp.*  
*Albert. Argent. chron.* *Jo. Cuspinian.* de *Cæsaribus.* *Alb. Krantz*, in *Saxon.* l. 9 c. 7. *Gabr. Ru-*  
*celin.* *German. Annal.* anno 1313. *Hubert. Goltz.* & *Casp. Gevert.* *Icones Imperatorum.* *Gon-*  
*zal de Illescas*, *Hist. Pont.* part. 2. fol. 8.

As for any to be poysoned by the Eucharist, it is not im-  
possible; and they report the like to have hapned to (b) *Henry*  
*Murdack* Archbishop of *York*, and also of Pope (c) *Victor III.*  
Of the Emperours being poysoned at the receiving the Sacrament,  
by a sacrilegious Priest, thus laments one of their old Poets:

b *Matt Pa-*  
*ris*, anno  
1154. p. 91.  
c *Alph. de*  
*Carth. gena.*  
*Anacephal.*

*Jure dolet mundus, quod sit Jacobita secundus*  
*Judas, quod restat, mors Cæsaris hoc manifestat*  
*Anno milleno tercenteno duodeno*  
*Uno non pleno, privati luce Veneno.*

Another as good a Rimer as the former, thus :

*Cæsaris Henrici mortem plangamus amici,*  
*Qualiter hic vitam finivit per Jacobitam,*  
*Per Corpus Christi venenum tradidit isti,*  
*Hinc in laude Dei moritur die Bartholomæi,*  
*Est Pisam latus, & cum fletu tumultus*  
*Anno milleno Tricenteno Terdeno.*

But methinks that famous and learned *Henry Estiene* (to whose Family the Common-wealth of Learning oweth very much,) upon this subject is most unluckie and biting.

*Apol. pour*  
*Herod.* pag.  
284

*Les Pagens nec vouloyent mettre au nombre des Dieux*  
*Ceux qui au genre humain estoyent pernicious.*  
*Si le Dieu de Paste, est un Dieu qui empoisonne*  
*(Dont l' Empereur Henri tesmoignage nous donne)*  
*Que diroyent les Pagens de ces gentils Docteurs,*  
*Qui les hommes ont fait de luy adorateurs?*  
*Car si leur Dieu ne fait de meurdres Conscience,*  
*Entre leur Diable & Dieu quelle est la difference?*

*Heathens no Gods ordain'd, but such as did*  
*Do good to man, and wickedness forbid.*  
*If your Cake be a God that takes away*  
*By poyson life, what may the Pagans say?*  
*For if he thus will murder and do evil,*  
*What difference 'twixt your God then and your Diuel?*

Sc&.

## Sect. 3.

*The troubles of the Empire, by reason of the Papal arrogancie.*

**A**fter the death of this *Henry VIII* (be as it will) some account the Empire to be void for above XXX years. Others esteem *Lewes* of *Bavaria* for the Emperour, whilst some think no less of *Frederick* of *Austria*, though several, as aforesaid, reject them both. However, by this dissention Christendom suffer'd much, and may justly be supposed, that much bloodshed and mischief had been saved, had the Popes been less stubborn, and more studious for the benefit of Religion, than their private passions and interests.

For the Electors dissenting, one part chose *Lewes* of *Bavaria*, the other *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*; the first having (a) four to the lasters third; though *Fredericks* party retorts, that the Duke of *Brandenburgs* Ambassador or Representer (for himself could not come) voted against his Masters commands, and so would have it null. Be it as 'twill, Authors differ in their Narrations, and (b) *Spondanus* scarce knows what to think of it. <sup>a Gene-brard, pag. 1016.</sup> <sup>b An. 1314.</sup> However, both parties declared himself Emperour, and was Crown'd, both sent to the Pope for Confirmation, and both denyed; nor did he trouble his pate with the mending of the business, so that it seems 'twas all one to him, fight Dog, fight Bear; the lesning of Emperours, being some cause of his greatness.

By these divisions *Germany* was pitifully rent to pieces: for now the sword must try the business; and at last *Lewes* is *Victorious*, and takes his Antagonist *Frederick* prisoner, whom some thought he would have put to death, but he was more noble, onely retaining him for his own security [though 'tis said that *Frederick* at first hired a Villain to assassinate *Lewes*, who was discover'd, and punished for his desert.] <sup>1322.</sup>

*Lewes* now thought all was done, but he found another sort of warfare; for Pope *John XXII* favouring *Frederick*, pulls out his tools against *Lewes*, accusing him of seizing upon the Empire (and why did not the Pope then long before provide for this?) assisting of Hereticks and Schismaticks, (and no wise man but will look every where for assistance) and so gave him three months time to appear before him, and clear himself of those things alledged against him. *Lewes* sends Ambassadors to him, to vindicate himself; but the Pope careth not for this, and so Excommunicates him, declares him deprived of the Empire, and curseth all those who take his part. Against these, *Lewes* vindicates himself, and the Imperial Authority, and appeals from the Pope to a General Council.

And now the Pens fall to work, every man vindicating as he was perswaded: The Pope had *Alvarus Pelagius* a Spaniard, *Petrus de Palude* a Frenchman, but above all, *Augustinus Triumphus* of *Ancona*, a Mendicant Italian Fryar, who by the commandment of this Pope *John XXII*, undertook to display the Papal Authority; who according to his Masters humour, hath made him so great, powerful, and supreme above all things, that, but



1300. but that a Cat may look upon a King, no mortal eye durst behold his Holiness.

On the other hand, *Lewes* wanted not learned Champions, such as were *Marsileus Patavinus*, *Johannes de Janduno*, *Dante* famous for his Poetry, Wit and Memory, and our famous Country-man *William Ockam*, who used to say to this *Lewes* (a) *Proteſt me with your Sword, and I will defend you with my Pen or learning*; but the Pope used his usual tool to confute their Arguments, viz. cursing and Excommunication.

a Defenſe  
me gladio, &  
ego te defen-  
dam verbo.

1325. In this hurly-burly, *Lewes* makes peace with *Frederick* his Prisoner, and sets him at liberty: some say that *Frederick* retain'd the Title of Emperour, others deny it; however it was, they were both good friends; by which means the Pope by using more moderation, might have shewn himself a good friend to Peace and Christendom. But though it seems that these two were agreed on the business, Pope *John* would not by any means permit *Lewes* to be Emperour, but damnd him again with his Censures: Which made *Lewes* reject *John* as much, proceeding also against him with his Censures, nulling all that he had done against him, and at last by advice declares him to be no Pope, and so cathears his Holiness: which made some wags call him but *Presbyter-John*, or *Prefter-John*; which being done, he creates a new Pope, who calls himself *Nicholas V*.

1328.

1329.

1335.

1336.

The quarrel having gone so far, *Frederick* of *Austria* dyeth, and so *Lewes* remains alone, and peace might have been concluded at an easie rate: to which purpose also *Lewes* himself writes to Pope *John*, but nothing is done in the business; and some time after *John* dyeth, and *Benedict XII* is elected to sit in the Papal Chair. And in it was he scarce warm, when he began to follow the footsteps of his Predecessor, renewing his Censures against him, and approving of, and confirming all that *John* had done. However, *Lewes* sends to him that an Agreement might be struck up; which *Benedict* seem'd to hearken too; but the conditions were so intolerable, that the design fell to the ground. Yet the Bishops of *Germany* pitying the distractions and miseries of Christendom by these divisions, send also to the Pope, to desire him to hearken to peace; but the Messengers after long stay, return'd home as wise as they went, nothing being granted them.

1338.

a Generat.  
49 pag. 886,  
887, 888.

*Lewes* seeing nothing would do, summons a *Diet* (or Parliament) where the state of the Question being canvas'd, he vindicateth his Imperial Authority, denies the Popes jurisdiction over him or it, and shews the Inroachments of the Pope: The Decree it self being manly (not after the Papal Bulls *Canting* and *Quaking* stile) and worth the reading, but too large for this Breviary, I shall refer you to (b) *Nauclerus*.

1343.

*Benedict* dying, *Clement VI* succeeds, who also renews the Thunderbolts against *Lewes*, who sends to his Holiness, desiring an Agreement. *Clement* shews himself willing, provided *Lewes* will declare — himself no Emperour, acknowledge all the Errors, Heresies affirm'd against him, and that he was a Schismatick; to renounce all right to the Empire, resign it up unto the Pope, nor to undertake it again, unless the Pope thought good to give it him; and farther, that *Lewes* his person and his sons should be at the Popes disposing. — *Lewes* his Ambassadors, how circumventing I know not, subscribe and swear to these intolerable Articles

Articles, at which the Pope did not a little wonder.

But when they were brought to *Lewes*, he was amazed to the purpose at such an action done without his acquaintance, and, forsooth, summons a *Diet* at *Franckford*, where by the unanimous voice of all that Assembly, these Articles were declared intolerable, destructive, and pernicious to the Empire, and by no means to be consented to; though *Lewes* offer'd himself then ready to obey the Pope, if they pleased, but they would not yield upon such harsh and severe conditions.

Pope *Clement* informed of this, runs to the Papal Dog-trick, pulls out his tool of Censure, declares *Lewes* an Heretick, Schismatick, and what not? pronounceth him deprived of the Empire, curseth all those who take his part; for which cause also he deprives *Henry III* Archbishop of *Mentz*, and commands the Electors to look upon *Lewes* as no Emperour, and so to go to the Election of another; recommending to them *Charles*, son to *John* King of *Bohemia*. Some of the Electors obey the Pope, meet, and elect accordingly the said *Charles*, which is confirmed by the Pope. And not long after, to the great comfort of *Clement* and *Charles*, *Lewes* unfortunately ended his days by an unluckie fall from his Horse, which was hastned and occasioned by poyson given him a little before. For whose death *Te Deum laudamus* was sung to the People.

Thus, after above XXX years troubles and vexations, ended *Lewes*, whom I finde grealy commended for his Devotion towards the (b) Virgin *Mary*: yet did not *Germany* injoy peace and happiness; for several of the Electors not submitting to *Charles*, elected and sent to *Edward III* King of *England* for Emperour, but he for some reasons refused it; then they chose *Frederick* Marquess of *Misnia*, who also desired to be excused; then by a Majority of the Electors was nominated *Guntber* Earl of *Swarzenburgh*, who accepted of it, and was Crowned, and had many followers; but he at last being poysoned, *Charles* obtain'd his desires. But of these things an hint is sufficient.

And Bellavine makes these Censures an Argument of the Popes Temporal Authority to depose Princes. *Beilarm. de Rom. Pont. lib. 5. cap. 8.*

1347.

b Gononius, pag. 312.

#### Señ. 4.

### *The strange Tumults acted at Rome by Nicolao di Renzo, and Francisco Barencello.*

WHilst these things were acting in *Germany*, there hapned an odd passage in *Rome*, that had it gone on, would have alter'd and non-plus'd all the Counsels and Contrivances both of Pope and Emperour; which being somewhat strange, not unlike the late bravado of *Thomas Anello* at *Naples*, take it thus in short for a diversion.

Whilst *Lewes*, *Charles*, and Pope *Clement* were bandying it for the Empire, there started up at *Rome* one *Nicolaus Gabrinus*, son to one *Laurentius* or *Rentius*, and so by some *Italians* call'd *Nicolao di Renzo*, who was by profession a publick Notary, but one well seen in History, politick, and bold to any undertaking. This man considering that the Popes for several years had lived at *Avignon*

1347. *Beovins. Spond.*

1300. *vignion*, at which he knew the *Romans* to be somewhat discontented, took this opportunity, perswades the people to redeem their ancient Priviledges and Liberties. They apt to change, joyn with him, whereby he became so strong, as to seize upon the Capitol, depose the Senators, and take all the Government to himself.

*a Nicolaus*  
candidatus  
Spiritus San-  
cti miles, se-  
verus & ele-  
mens, litera-  
tor Urbis, ze-  
lator Italiae,  
Amator or-  
bis, Tribunus,  
Augustus.

Having thus got absolute Authority, and all the people obedient to his beck, through an odd humour he would have himself again baptized; which was performed with great solemnity in the *Lateran Church*. And the more to advance his own vain-glory, in all his Letters and Deeds he appropriated to himself lofty and swelling (*a*) Titles, as the *Candidate Souldier of the Holy Ghost*, the *Tribune of Peace, Liberty and Justice*, the *Redeemer of the Roman Common-wealth*, *Augustus*, and suchlike.

He made and Ordain'd Senators, disposed of all places as he pleas'd; yet behaved himself so, that the people admired and loved him as one sent from Heaven: and for that time, never was there more Peace and Justice in *Rome*, so that all men remain'd satisfied; and by consequence he grew so strong and powerful, that his fame ran all *Europe* over; the inferiour people loved him, the greater sort, and Princes of *Italy*, feared him, sent Ambassadors to him, sought his friendship and favour.

And being thus rais'd to the top of greatness, he thought himself secure and strong enough, and so enlarged his pretended jurisdiction; he sent to Pope *Clement* to come to *Rome* by such a time, or else he would depose him, and elect another: he also sent to *Lewes* and *Charles* to appear before him, and to shew by what title and pretence they laid claim to the Empire; and also commanded the Electors to come to him too. He declares *Rome* to be the Head of the world, and the Foundation of Christianity; all the Cities of *Italy* to be free, and *Rome* and all *Italy* to belong to the Imperial Monarchy.

This vanity having continued a few months, he perceives great designs against him, and the people weary of their own Idol; wherefore he steals from *Rome*, and is found with *Charles*, who sends him to the Pope, by whom he is imprisoned.

He remain'd a prisoner about VI years, at latter end of which he grew into great favour with Pope *Innocent VI*. About which time there hapned an action somewhat like the former.

One *Franciscus Baroncellus*, a Notary too, considering the greatness and glory that *Nicolaus di Renzo* once had, fancied, had he been in his Authority, he should have kept it better: full of these thoughts, he resolves to play the same game, contrives his Confederates, raiseth a Tumult in the City, cryeth up Liberty, seizeth upon the Capitol, thrusts out the Senators; by his fair speeches charms the people to applaud him, who finds fault with several Tyrannies and Vices, and rails dapperly against the Pope at *Avignon*. Thus having brought all to his lure, he becomes their Governour under the specious (*b*) title of *Tribune* and *Consul* of *Rome*. This being done, he writes to the Princes of *Italy* to joyn with him, and to *Charles* to come and receive the Empire. And he did not forget to do Justice, that is, to have any one kill'd and rob'd whom he pleas'd.

*a Fran. Ba-*  
*roncell'u. Dei*  
*gratia, secun-*  
*dus Tribunus*  
*Almæ urbis*  
*ac Romanus*  
*Consul.*

Pope *Innocent* informed of these mad-pranks, by advice, thinks it best to drive out one Peg with another; and so having made

made *Nicolas Renzo* his friend, sends him for *Rome* with Cardinal *Ægidius* to quiet these Tumults.

The people hearing of *Renzo's* coming, turn with the Tide, and joyn with him, and kill their late favourite *Barencellus*, after he had scarce triumphed four months. *Renzo* and the Cardinal are received with all joy that can be imagin'd; Olive-branches carryed before them, Triumphal Arches erected, the Streets straw'd with Flowers, and all sorts of Musick and Hymns. *Renzo* is made *Tribune* again, and the people think themselves now the most happy in the world under such a Governour.

But this joy lasted not long: for *Nicolas* turns Tyrant, oppresseth them to the purpose, whereupon they rise up against him, seize upon him, and kill him, and happy was he that could get a stroke at his body, which for more reproach they hang up by the feet for two days and a night, then burn it to ashes, and threw them into the River. And thus much by the by for the giddy-headed *Romans*.

## Sect. 5.

*The Dog-trick used by the Venetians to take off the Popes Censures against them.*

AND here cometh into my memory a pretty Dog-trick of the *Venetians* to redeem themselves from the Censures of a stubborn Pope. *Azzo da Este* II Marquess of *Ferrara*, having by his first Wife one *Frisco*, upon her death Marries again. *Frisco* upon some account fearing by this means to be out of favour, and at last to loose his right of Government, by the advice of some of the *Ferrarians*, seizeth upon his Father, imprisons him, where he dyes, and then takes the Government upon himself.

*Ant. Sabell.*  
En. 9. l. 8.  
fol. 261.  
*Perr. Marcel Hist. Venet.*

The people upon this is divided, some for *Frisco*, whilst other oppose him: in this condition, *Frisco* not being sufficient of himself to conquer all, desires the assistance of his Friends the *Venetians*; they yeild to his request, by which means *Ferrara* is reduced. Pope *Clement* the V (of whom we spake formerly) informed of this, Excommunicates the *Venetians*, and perswades all people to be their enemies, as opposing a City which the Pope declared to belong to the Protection of *St. Peter*. By this means the *Venetians* either in Travail or Traffick are abused every where; and, as some say, people thought they could do no better service than kill them where ever they met them.

However it was, the *Venetians* still went home by weeping cross; they sue, send and intreat for pardon, but it will not be granted. At last they sent *Francisco Dandolo*, one of great repute amongst them, to use all his endeavour to get off this Interdict: *Dandolo* goeth to *France*, where the Pope then kept his Court, and after much intreaty, was admitted in, but denyed. *Dandolo* resolved, if any thing could do it, not to return without it; gets a great Iron chain, one end of which he puts about his neck, with which like a Dog, under the Popes Table, he lyeth on the ground so long, that

R r

the

1300. the Pope being thus overcome, recalls his Censures, and nulls the Interdict. A great sign of the Ambassadors patience; but 'tis need makes the Old Wife trot: and the *Venetians* were forced to this Slavery, by the great misery they were brought into by the Popes *Interdiction*, whereby every one looked upon them to have no benefit of Christian Law or favour. And if every one ought thus to truckle, that either seized upon other mens Dominions, or assists others so to do, how many Popes before this time had had their necks honour'd with an Iron-collar, and drag'd a Chain after them to the Table of Kings and Emperours? And a worse punishment and ignominy doth he deserve, that dispossesseth another wrongfully. But the Pope after so many intreaties and confessions of fault, might have indulged this renowned Common-wealth, without this Dog-like disgrace: And some accordingly are apt to think, that the *Venetians* were not onely freed from these Censures, but also favour'd with a Privilege, never to be Excommunicated, Censured, or Interdicted again: Which if true, Pope *Paul V.*, of late days, looked upon it but a piece of nonsense, and of no validity, by his contrary actions against that Republick.

*Fulgaf. Hist.  
of Venice.*

### Sect. 6.

### The bloody actions in Hungary.

*Bzov. 1327.  
Spond. 1330*

AND here might I speak of the miseries of *Hungary*, what dissensions and broyls that Kingdom was troubled withal, by the Popes intermeddling with their affairs, betwixt whom and the Natives there was no small strife, whether they or he should nominate the King. What great danger their King *Charles I.* was in by the treason of one *Felicianus*, who entred the Presence-Chamber, draweth his Sword, wounds the King, cuts off four of the Queens fingers; and if he had not been slain by *Johannes Palochus*, had designed to have murdered the King, Queen, and their Children? And from him might I go to *Charles II*; who *Lewes I.* dying, and leaving his Eldest Daughter *Mary* for Queen, by the instigation of some Nobles, cometh from *Naples*, and thrust her from the Throne.

Nor did his enjoy this honour long: for *Elizabeth* the Widow of *Lewes*, and Mother to *Mary*, takes her opportunity, and invites him to a private meeting, where he was slain or poysoned; in revenge of which, *Johannes Banus de Horuath* hath the Heads of the Assassins cut off, and *Elizabeth* drowned in the next River; and had proceeded against *Mary* too, but that he was terrified by the approach of *Sigismund* Marquess of *Brandenberg* her Husband, with a great Army to her relief. Which *Sigismund* was then made King of *Hungary*, and was after that Emperour of *Germany*.

CHAP.



## CHAP. V.

1. *The deposing and Murther of Edward the Second, King of England.*
2. *The deposing and death of King Richard the Second.*
3. *The grand dispute and troubles amongst the Cordeliers, concerning the trifling and childish Questions of the largeness of their Capuchin or Hood, and the usage and right of the Bread and meat which they eat.*

## SECT. 1.

*The Deposing and Murther of Edward the Second, King of England.*

**B**Ut leaving these mischiefs abroad, if we look at home, we shall not finde *England* better or more Christian, yet as much *Roman* Catholick as their Neighbours.

Here now ruleth *Edward II*, surnamed of *Carnarvan* in *Wales* the place of his birth, and son to *Edward I*. A Prince too apt to be abused by his self-ended Courtiers, and, as the Nation thought, too much complying to the Dictates of the *Spencers*; by which means he obtain'd the displeasure of some of the people; and which was more, several of the Bishops turn'd his Enemies; but which was most of all, his own Queen *Isabel*, Daughter to *Philip le Bel* King of *France*, was his greatest Enemy, and made it her whole business to procure his deposition and ruine.

And to make the way more easie for this their wicked design, they had spread abroad that Pope *John XXII* had (a) absolved all the *English* of their Allegiance to their King *Edward*. A brave World and Faith, that people should be so Antichristian, as to think the Pope had really any such power: but when the Bishops of *Rome* had the Impudence to affirm as much, well might the simple people be gull'd and cheated by such Popes, and such a faith, to any Villany or Rebellion.

The Nation thus abused, the King was not able to defend himself; whereupon the Queen and the rest march boldly to *Oxford*, where *Adam de Orleton* Bishop of *Hereford* preacheth to them a Comfortable but wicked Sermon, taking this for his Text — *My head grieveth me* — : From which words he declared to them, that a bad King ought to be removed, though by the same rule his head ought to be cut off for aking.

From thence they marched to *London*, where they were joyfully received; and a Parliament being held, King *Edward II*

1300. is judged unfit for the rule, and so declared deposed, and his Eldest Son *Edward III*, (the Father being at last forced to consent) made King; the Archbishop of *Canterbury* making a Sermon as bad as the former, from these words: — *Vox Populi, vox Dei*. — When the King had thus been forced to resign, being a close Prisoner, (some Lords and others being sent down to him at *Kenilworth* Castle to procure his resignation) *S. William Trussel* Knight and Speaker to the Parliament, thus bespake the King, —

*Treviſa,*  
17. cap. 43.

a Deprived

*I William Trussel, in name of all men of the Lond of Eng-  
lond, and of alle the Parlement Procuratour, I resigne to the Ed-  
warde the homage that was made to the soumye. And from this  
time forthward I dyffye the, and (a) pryve the of all Royal Power,  
and I shall never be tendaunt to the as for Kynge after this  
time.*

And then Sir *Thomas Blunt*, Steward of the Kings Houshold, brake his white Rod, resigned his Office, and thereby signified that the Kings Houshold had free liberty to depart, and serve *Edward* no more.

*Tho. de la*  
*Moore, Hist.*  
*de vita &*  
*Morte Edm.*  
*II.*  
*Jo. Stow's*  
*Chron. Gal-*  
*frid. le Ba-*  
*ker de*  
*Swynabroke*  
*cler. de vita*  
*& morte Re-*  
*gum Ed-*  
*wardum I.*  
*& II. fol.*  
*107. Manu-*  
*script. Cod.*  
*XL super A.*  
*B. Art. in*  
*Bibl. Bodl.*  
*Oxon.*

King *Edward II* being thus deprived of his Dominions, *Isabel* his Queen, who is thought to hate him mortally, thinks he is too well used at *Kenilworth* Castle, by *Henry* Earl of *Leicester* his Kinsman; and therefore with the advice of the Bishop of *Hereford*, he is thence removed, and delivered to the custody of Sir *Thomas Gurney*, and Sir *John Maltravers* his mortal Enemies, who convey him to *Corf*-Castle, thence to *Bristol*, and so to *Barkly*-Castle. In which private journeys, the King indured all manner of ignominy and scorn by these two villanous Knights; as they made him ride bare-headed, would scarce allow him any sleep or victuals, and contradicted and cross'd him in every thing. One time *Gurney* made him a Crown of Hay, and put it on his Head, and crying with the rest — *Tprut avant Syr King, and Fare forth Syr King; (i e. go on.)* Another time they would shave as well the hair of his head as his Beard: for which purpose they made him light from his jaded Horse, set him on a Mole-hill, took water out of a Ditch close by, saying, that should serve for that time: which so overwhelmed the King with grief; that he told them, That *would they would they, he would have warm water for his head*; and so at their inhumanity began to weep and shed tears plentifully.

And when he was a Prisoner in *Barkly* Castle, they used him much after the same way, (though *Thomas Barkley* then Lord of the place, greatly pittied his sad condition, wishing it in his power to redress it). At last Queen *Isabel* and her sure friend in mischief *Adam de Orleton*, upon advice thought it best to have him taken out of the world; whereupon they chid his keepers for keeping him so delicately, and gave hints enough to discover their meaning; but the most cunning of all was, the direction which the crafty Bishop of *Hereford* sent down to them, in these words:

*Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.*

To kill *Edward* will not to fear it is good.

Or thus rendred into verse by *Stow*,

*To seek to shed King Edwards blond  
Refuse to fear I think it good:*

All

1300.

All which being written without any *Point* or *Comma*, carries a double sence like the Pagan Oracles, either to kill or save *Edward*; by which means the knavish Bishop could interpret it for his own vindication, if he were questioned for it.

*Gurney* and *Maltravers* receive the direction, and interpret it according as it was desired; and so they bend their studies to procure his Murther. Once they indeavoured to stifle him by the stench of Carkasses and suchlike Carrion smell; but that failing, they went a sure way to work; for one night, they, assisted with some fifteen other villains, rush'd into his chamber, he being in bed, and with many Feather-beds and Tables laid upon him they smothered him; and for more sure work and torment, they thrust an hot piece of Iron into his bowels, through a certain instrument like a Glyster-pipe in at his fundament; and that instrument they used, that no wound might be found upon him.

As for the Murtherers, they found (contrary to their expectations) *Isabel* and the Bishop of *Hereford* their mortall enemies, construing their directions for the preservation of the King, by which means they indeavoured to vindicate themselves to the people; but *Gurney* and *Maltravers* being thus overpower'd by their own Patrons, fled for it.

Such another like double-meaning sentence as this, are we told of concerning *Gertrude* Queen of *Hungary* and Mother to *S. Elizabeth*, so famous amongst the *Germans*.

*Jo. Fox*  
Mon. Tom. i  
pag. 348.

*Reginam interficere nolite timere bonum est, & si omnes consenserint non ego contradico.* To kill the Queen will ye not to fear it is good, and if all men consent thereunto (yet) not I (I) my self doe stand against it.

And these devillish knaveries and double dealings, possibly took their first thoughts from suchlike delusions as these of the Pagan Oracles, let Satan or Man be the inventor and speaker,

*Ibis, redibis nunquam per bella peribis.*

Thus *Cræsus* that wealthy King of the *Lydians* was ruined by trusting to this Oracle,

*Cræsus Halyn penetrans magnam pervertit opum vim.*

as *Tyrrhus* King of *Epire* was by this of *Apollo*,

*Aio te Æacide Romanos vincere posse.*

But to leave Heathen Fables, let us return to *Romanish* Rebelions.

Scd.



1300.

Sect. 2.

## The deposing and death of King Richard the Second.

And here passing by King *Edward III*, so famous in Wars, and that impudent Rebellion of *Wat Tylor*, *Jack Straw*, and suchlike beggerly Villains in King *Richard II*'s time; a Prince unfortunate to be left to rule very young, and under bad counsel, which brought him into some inconveniencies in his after-Reign; which procured him the ill will of many, whereby he was made more capable of loosing not onely his Kingdom, but his life.

For having Reigned some twenty two years, and whilst he was in *Ireland*, in quelling the Rebellion there, *Henry Bullenbrook* Duke of *Hereford* and *Lancaster* landed in *Tork-shire*, whither most of the Nobility and Bishops flockt to him, raiterously owning him as their Lord: and to make his way more easie, *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury* preached to the people against King *Richard*; and (which Rebellion never can want,) shew'd a Bull procured from *Rome*, promising remission of sins to all those who should aid the said *Henry* against King *Richard*; for which treason they should be placed in Paradise. Brave Papal Doctrine from the Infallible Tripos of the *Romish* Bishop, who is privileged with an unerring spirit.

Stow, p. 320.

1339.

J. Haywardes Hist.  
Hen. IV.  
pag. 96.

1 Sam. 9. 17.

By suchlike irreligious tricks as these, the Duke increased to an hundred thousand strong, seizeth upon the King, who upon this news was return'd out of *Ireland*; hath him up to *London*, where a Parliament being call'd, he is overperswaded to resign his Crown, which the Duke claimeth, and hath it: The Archbishop of *Canterbury* making a Sermon upon this Text:

Behold the man whom I spake to thee of, this same shall reign over my people.

b Spand. an.  
1399. 8.  
W. H. Caxton  
continuat.  
of Polycron.  
lib. ult. cap. 9.

*Henry* being Crown'd, King *Richard* was removed to *Pontfract* in *Tork-shire*, where he dyed: some hint as if for grief he pined away; others, that every day he had good cheer set before him, but not permitted taste of it; but the common Opinion is, that (and by the desire and hints too of *Henry*) he was murdered violently by (b) Weapons; the wicked Author of which, they say to be Sir *Piers of Exton*, a Knight and favourite of *Henries*.

However it was, for diversion sake, take it thus from the Poems of *Samuel Daniel*, one held to be very knowing in our *English* Histories and Antiquities.

\* \* \* \* \*

(c) Book II. 99.

And now the whilst (d) these Princes sorrowed,  
Forward ambition came so near her end,  
Sleeps not, nor slips th' occasion offered  
T' accomplish what he did before intend:  
A Parliament is forthwith summoned  
In Richards name, whereby they might pretend

A

c The Wars  
of *Tork* and  
*Lancaster*.  
d King *Richard II* and  
his Queen  
*Isabel* meet-  
ing together  
and lament-  
ing their con-  
dit on.

*A form to grace disorders, and to show  
Of holy right, the right to overthrow.*

1300.

100.

*And could not Majesty be ruined  
But with the fearful power of her own name?  
And must abus'd obedience thus be led  
With powerful Titles to consent to shame?  
Could not Confusion be established,  
But Form and Order must confirm the same?  
Must they who his Authority did hate,  
Yet use his stile to take away his State?*

101.

*Order, how much predominant art thou,  
That if but onely thou pretended art,  
How soon deceiv'd mortality doth bow  
To follow thine, as still the better part?  
'Tis thought that reverent Form will not allow  
Iniquity, or Sacred Right pervert :  
Within our souls, since then thou dwel'st so strong ;  
How ill do they that use thee, to do wrong ?*

102.

*So ill did they, that in this formal course  
Sought to establish a deformed right :  
Who might as well effected it by force ;  
But that men hold it wrong, what's wrought by might :  
Offences urg'd in publick are made worse ;  
The shew of Justice aggravates despight :  
The Multitude that look not to the Cause,  
Rest satisfi'd, so it be done by Laws.*

103.

*And now doth Envy Articles object  
Of Rigor, Malice, private favourings,  
Exaction, Riot, Falshood and neglect ;  
Crimes done, but not to b' answered by Kings :  
Which Subjects may complain, but not correct ;  
And all these faults which Lancaster now brings  
Against a King, must be his own, when he  
By urging others sins a King shall be.*

104.

*For all that was most odious was devis'd  
And publish'd in these (a) Articles abroad ;  
All th' errors of his youth were here compriz'd,  
Calamity with Obloquie to load :  
And more to make him publicly despiz'd,  
Libels, Invectives, Rayling Rimes were sow'd  
Among the Vulgar, to prepare his fall  
With more applause, and good consent of all.*

a 32. or 38.

~ ~ ~ 107.

*Upon these Articles in Parliament  
So heinous made, inforc'd and urg'd so hard,  
He was adjudg'd unfit for Government,  
And of all Regal Power and Rule debar'd :  
For who durst contradict the (b) Dukes intent ?  
Or if they durst, should patiently be heard ?*

b Henry IV.

De.

1300.

Desire of change, old wrongs, new hopes, fresh fear,  
Being far the major part the cause must bear.

The King being thus deposed, the Poet goeth on to declare how *Henry*, the better to keep himself secure, wish'd the death of *Richard*, and how his meaning being understood, the murder was barbarously accomplished.

## Book III. ~ 56.

a Sir Piers  
Exton.

He knew his time, and yet he would not seem  
Too quick to wrath, as if affecting blood ;  
But yet complains so far, that men might deem  
He would 'twere done, and that he thought it good,  
And wish'd that some would so his life esteem,  
As rid him of these fears wherein he stood :  
And therewith eyes a (a) Knight, that then was by,  
Who soon could learn his lesson by his eye.

57.

The man he knew was one that willingly  
For one good look would hazard soul and all ;  
An Instrument for any villany,  
That needed no Commission more at all :  
A great ease to a King that should hereby  
Not need in this a Court of Justice call,  
Nor seem to will the Act ; for tho' what's wrought  
Were his own deed, he grieves should so be thought.

58.

So foul a thing O thou Injustice art,  
That torrest both the doer and distressed :  
For when a man hath done a wicked part,  
How doth he strive t'excuse to make the best,  
To shift the fault, t'unburthen his charg'd heart,  
And glad to finde the least surmise of rest ;  
And if he could make his seem others sin,  
What great repose, what ease he findes therein ?

59.

This Knight, but yet why should I call him Knight,  
To give Impiety this reverend stile ?  
Title of honour, worth, and vertues right  
Should not be given to a wretch so vile :  
But pardon me if I do not aright,  
It is because I will not here defile  
My unstain'd Verse with his opprobrious name,  
And grace him so to place him in the same.

60.

This Caitif goes, and with him takes eight more  
As desperate as himself, impiously bold,  
Such Villains as he knew would not abhor  
To execute what wicked act he would ;  
And hastes him down to Pomfret where before  
The restless King conuaid, was laid in hold :  
There would he do the deed he thought should bring  
To him great grace and favour with his King.

61. Whether

61.

1300.

*Whether the soul receives intelligence  
By her neer Genius of the bodies end,  
And so imparts a sadness to his sence  
Foregoing ruine whereto it doth tend :  
Or whether Nature else bath conference  
With profound sleep, and so doth warning send  
By prophetizing dreams what hurt is near,  
And gives the heavy careful heart to fear.*

62.

*However so it is, the now sad King  
Tost here and there, his quiet to confound,  
Feels a strange weight of sorrows gathering  
Upon his trembling heart, and sees no ground ;  
Feels sudden terror bring cold shivering :  
Lifts not to eat, still muses, sleeps unsound ;  
His senses droop, his steady eyes unquick,  
And much he ails, and yet he is not sick.*

63.

*The morning of that day which was his last,  
After a weary rest rising to pain ;  
Out of a little gate his eyes he cast  
Upon those bordering Hills and open Plain ;  
And views the Town, and sees how people pass,  
Where others liberty makes him complain  
The more his own, and grieves his soul the more,  
Conferring Captive Crowns with Freedom poor.*

64.

*O happy man, said he, that loe I see  
Grazing his Cattle on those pleasant Fields !  
If he but knew his good, how blessed he  
That feels not what affliction Greatness yeilds ,  
Other than what he is he would not be,  
Nor change his state with him that Scepters weilds :  
Thine, thine is that true life that is to live,  
To rest secure, and not rise up to grieve.*

King Ri-  
chards com-  
plaint in  
Temper.

65.

*Thou sit'st at home safe by thy quiet fire,  
And hear'st of others harms, but feelest none ;  
And then thou tell'st of Kings, and who aspire,  
Who fall, who rise, who triumphs, who do mone :  
Perhaps thou talk'st of me, and dost inquire  
Of my restraint, why here I live alone,  
And pitiest this my miserable fall ;  
For pity must have part, envy not all.*

66.

*Thrice-happy you that look as from the shore,  
And have no venture in the wrack you see,  
No int'rest, no occasion to deplore  
Other mens travails, whilst your selves sit free.  
How much doth your sweet rest make us the more  
To see our misery, and what we be ?  
Whose blinded greatness ever in turmoyl,  
Still seeking happy life, makes life a toy.*

S f

67. Great

1300.

a His Garden in Solonia, a City in Dalmatia, after he had resigned up the Roman Empire.

66.

Great *Dioclesan*, and more great therefore,  
For scorning that whereto vain pride aspires,  
Reckoning thy Gardens in *Illyria* more  
Than all the Empire, all which th' earth admires :  
Thou well didst teach, that he is never poor  
That little hath, but he that much desires;  
Finding more true delight in that small(a) ground,  
Than in possessing all the Earth was found.

67.

Are Kings that freedom give, themselves not free,  
As meaner men, to take what they may give ?  
What ! are they of so fatal a degree,  
That they cannot descend from that and live ?  
Unless they still be Kings, can they not be,  
Nor may they their Authority survive ?  
Will not my yeilded Crown redeem my breath ?  
Still am I fear'd ? is there no way but death ?

68.

Scarce this word death had sorrow uttered,  
But in rust one, and tells him how a Knight  
Is come from Court, his name delivered.  
What news with him, said he, that trayterous wight ?  
What, more removes ? must we be farther led ?  
Are we not sent enough yet out of sight ?  
Or hath this place not strength sufficient  
To guard us in ? or have they worse intent ?

69.

By this the bloody troop were at the door,  
When as a sudden and a strange dismay  
Inforc'd them strain who should go in before ;  
One offers, and in offering makes a stay ;  
Another forward sets, and doth no more ;  
A third the like, and none durst make his way :  
So much the horrour of so vile a deed,  
In vilest mindes hinders them to proceed.

71.

At length, as to some great assault, the Knight  
Cheers up his fainting men all that he can,  
And valiantly their courage doth incite,  
And all against one weak unarmed man.  
A great exploit, worthy a man of might !  
Much honour, wretch, therein thy valour wan !  
Ah poor weak Prince ! yet men that Presence fear,  
Which once they knew Authority did bear.

72.

Then on thrusts one, and he would foremost be  
To shed anothers blood, but lost his own ;  
For entring in, as soon as he did see  
The face of Majesty to him well known ;  
Like Marius Souldier at Minternum, he  
Stood still amaz'd, his courage overthrow'n :  
The King seeing this, starts up from where he sat,  
Out from his trembling hand his weapon gate.

73. Thus

1300.

73.

Thus even his Foes that came to bring him death,  
 Bring him a weapon that before had none,  
 That yet he might not idly loose his breath,  
 But dye reveng'd in action not alone ;  
 And this good chance that this much favourerth,  
 He flacks ; not for he presently speeds one,  
 And Lyon-like upon the rest he flies,  
 And here lyes one, and there another lies.

74.

And up and down he traverses his ground,  
 Now wards a felling blow, now strikes again,  
 Then nimbly shifts a thrust, then lends a wound,  
 Now back he gives, then rushes on again :  
 His quick and ready hand doth so confound  
 These shameful beasts, that four of them lies slain :  
 And all had perisht happily and well,  
 But for one act, that O ! I grieve to tell.

75.

This coward Knight seeing with shame and fear  
 His men thus slain, and doubting his own end,  
 Leaps up into a Chair that loe was there ;  
 That whilst the King did all his courage bend  
 Against those four that now before him were,  
 Doubting not who behind him doth attend,  
 And plyes his hands undaunted, unaffear'd,  
 And with good heart, and life for life he stir'd.

76.

And whilst he this, and that, and each mans blow  
 Doth eye, defend, and shift, being laid to sore ;  
 Backward he bears for more advantage now,  
 Thinking the wall would safe-guard him the more ;  
 When loe with impious hand, O wicked thou !  
 That shameful durst not come to strike before,  
 Behind him gav'st that woful deadly wound,  
 That laid that most sweet Prince flat on the ground.

77.

Monster of men ! what hath thy fury done  
 Upon an overpressed Innocent,  
 Lub'ring against so many, he but one,  
 And one poor soul, with care, with sorrow spent ?  
 Could thine own eyes endure to look upon  
 Thy hinas disgrace, or didst thou not relent ?  
 But what thou didst, I will not here Divine,  
 Nor stain my thoughts to enter into thine.

78.

But leave thee wretch unto black Infamy,  
 To dark eternal horror and disgrace ;  
 The hateful scorn to all Posterity :  
 The out-cast of the world, last of the Race,  
 Of whose curst seed, Nature did then deny  
 To bring forth more, her fair-works to disgrace :  
 And as ashamed to have produc'd that past,  
 She stays her hand, and makes this worst her last.

Sf 2

79. There

'Tis said that some of the strokes of the Swords were to be seen in the Walls, till these late times when the Castle was demolished ; & that King James by reason of this murder had no mind to take so full a view of the Castle at his coming out of Scotland, as he at first intended, being told of it as he was beholding the Castle.

1300.

79.

There lyes that comely body all imbrude  
 With sacred blood, amidst the foul be shed ;  
 Those holy streams became with that vile, rude  
 Unballowed stains confusedly interspred :  
 Ah ! why was grosness with such grace indude,  
 To be with that sweet mixture honoured ?  
 Or serv'd it but for some vile grave, ordain'd  
 Where an unbalmed Corps should be contain'd ?

80.

Those fair distended limbs all trembling lay,  
 Whom yet, nor life, nor death their own could call ;  
 For life removed had rid all away,  
 And death, though entring, seiz'd not yet on all :  
 That short-tim'd motion (that soon finish shall,  
 The Mover ceasing) yet a while doth stay.  
 As th' Organ found a time survives the stop,  
 Before it doth the dying note give up :

81.

So holds those Organs of that goodly frame  
 The weak remains of life a little space ;  
 But ah ! full soon cold death possess the same :  
 Set are those Sun-like Eyes, bloudless that face,  
 And all that comely whole a lump became ;  
 All that fair form which death could scarce disgrace,  
 Lyes perisht thus, and thus untimely Fate  
 Hath finish't his most miserable state.

Stow, p. 343,  
 344.

Though King Richard II thus lost his Kingdom and life by the Invasion of Henry IV ; yet no sooner came Henry V to the Crown, but he shew'd his respect to Richard, having his Corps convey'd from Langley to Westminster, where he had him honourably bury'd, close by his Queen Anne his first Wife, according to his desire when living ; and, which was more, observed yearly a day in memory of the said Richard. The Epitaph of the said King Richard runs thus, according to the Monkish mode of Poetry in those times.

R. Holinshed  
 vol. 3.

*Prudens & Mundus Richardus jure Secundus,  
 Per factum victus, jacet hic sub marmore pictus,  
 Verax sermone, fuit & plenus ratione,  
 Corpore procerus, animo prudens ut Homerus ;  
 Ecclesie favit, Elatos suppeditavit,  
 Quemvis prostravit, Regula, qui violavit.*

And so much for King Richard II his miseries and murther ; and as for his Epitaph, the ignorance and well-meaning of the Rimer shall pardon his Poetical faults, being held famous, and of great esteem in those times. As of later times, *Ortuinus Gratius*, and the rest of the *Magistri nostri* and *Virtuosi* in the *Epistole obscurorum virorum*, thought their own Latine and Learning far above that of *Erasmus*, *Renchlin*, and such others, truly famous and immortal for their Learning and Oratory.

Sec̃t.

## Sect. 3.

*The grand dispute and troubles amongst the Cordeliers, concerning the trifling and childish Questions of the largeness of their Capuchin or Hood, and the usage and right of the Bread and meat which they eat.*

AND now amongst all these Tragedies, take one piece of foolish gravity, where you shall finde the Pope and his Cardinals as serious about meer trifles, as if in the Consistory they were met, onely to invent the Game of *Goose*; and his Holiness sitting, consulting, and troubling his head as wisely, as *Pantagruel* in *Rabelais* in deciding the non-sence Law-case between the two foolish Lords.

I have heard of two *Italian* Brothers, who fell out and kill'd each other, upon the dispute which of them should possess the Heavens, and command the Stars; and History tells us, that the *Ætolians* and *Arcadians* had cruel Wars for a Wild-Boar; that the *Carthaginians*, and the people of *Piræa* for a Sea-rovers-ship; that the *Scots* and *Picts* for a few Mastiff-Dogs; and that the Wars between *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* and the *Switzers*, began for a Cart-load of Sheep-skins. And some will tell us, that that great hatred and antipathy betwixt the (a) *French* and *Spaniards*, began meerly because the *French* were not so gloriously clad as the other, at an interview betwixt *Lewes XI*, and *Henry IV* the King of *Castile*. And the *Indian* Histories assure us, that the King of *Pegu*, having three white Elephants, wanted a fourth for his Coach: which to obtain from the King of *Siam*, who had one, (b) rais'd an Army of a Million of men; in which were three thousand Camels, five thousand Elephants, and two hundred thousand Horses; whereby he destroy'd the Kingdom of *Siam*, and forced the poor King to kill himself for the loss of his whole Empire; and all this ado for one white Elephant to joyn to his other three.

Though these actions might perswade some to pitty, others to smile at them; yet here we shall have a Papal Controversie or two more ridiculous; which I shall give you in the words of a late ingenious Author, as it is now rendred out of *French*, whereby we may see how obstinate people are in meer trifles.

For there is no question but that when the *Cordeliers* were at a difference between themselves concerning the form of their *Capuchin* (Cowl or Hood) when those who would be call'd the *Spiritual Brethren* would have their Hood narrower, and others which they named the *Brothers of the Communalty* would have theirs of a larger size; they thought their dispute wonderful considerable: And in good earnest the quarrel lasted almost a whole Age, with infinite heat and animosity on both sides, being at last with much ado determin'd by the *Bulls* of four Popes, *Nicolas IV*, *Clement V*, *John XXII*, and *Benedict XII*. But now it looks, as if really it had been to make the world sport, when men but mention this Dispute; and I verily believe there is hardly a *Cordelier* at present that cares a Rush for the size of his

Sir Hen. Wottons State of Christend. p. 147, 148.

a Car. Garcia Antipatia de los Franceses y Espannoles, cap. 17. page 226. Epit. of the French Kings, p. 280 this hapned anno 1463. b Myst. of Jesuit. Part 3. pag. 54.

Myst. of Jesuit. part 3. pag. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66.



1300. ' his *Capuchin*. For so in truth a wise Fryar would have said, ' when the Contest was at the highest, — *Let us but have patience awhile, and we shall both be laugh'd at.*

' The same might likewise have been said upon another *Question* sprung about the same time, and which is of a nature so ' thin and airy, that it almost vanisheth with a touch.

' 'Tis a certain truth, that what the *Cordeliers* eat and drink, ' is as well devour'd, as that which is eaten or drank by those who ' never made profession of their Rule: This is undeniable. But ' there sprang a Question amongst them, whether the *right* to ' those things which were consum'd by the usage, as *Bread* and ' *Wine*, appertain'd to them or not; or whether they had onely ' the simple *usage* of them, without any *right*. The greater part ' perceiving this to be a certain degree of Perfection, which cost ' them nothing but their quitting of all *right* to those things ' which they devour'd by the *use* (since this Renunciation did not ' at all hinder the *usage*, for which they were onely interest'd) ' greedily embrac'd the Opinion, that the *Cordeliers* had indeed ' but the simple *usage* of things, without any *title* to them: That ' the *right* appertain'd to the *Roman Church*, and that theirs ' was the Poverty, of which *Jesus Christ* gave them an Ex- ' ample.

a Some call  
him *Nicolas*  
III.  
b *Sext.* de  
verbor. fig-  
nif. c. *Exiit*  
qui.

' (a) *Nicolas* IV, who had been taken out of the Order of the ' *Cordeliers*, made a (b) *Bull* wholly advantagious to this preten- ' sion, and defin'd, that in effect they had but the simple usage; ' and that *Jesus Christ* had given us the Example of this present ' Poverty, which consists in the general Renunciation of all *Right* ' to Temporal goods.

' Thus continued matters for some time; the *Cordeliers* eat and ' drank as well as other men, though without *Right* or *Title*. But ' *John* XXII, who was of a fiercer humour, being rais'd to the ' Pontificate, found himself importun'd with this unprofitable ' *Right* which the *Cordeliers* attributed to the *Roman Church*, ' from whence he saw no profit to come; and therefore he took ' a fancy to end this *Question*, without any regard to the Decision ' of his Predecessor *Nicolas*.

c Extrav. a  
Jo. XXII. de  
verbor. signif.  
c. *Ad cond-*  
*torum.* & c.  
Cum inter  
nonnullos, &  
Bzov. anno  
1322. m. 4.  
d Nec Fra-  
trum ipsorum  
intentio fue-  
rit, quod ad  
quemcunq;  
alium quam  
ad Fratres  
dictarum re-  
rum perve-  
niet com-  
pendium.  
e Extrav. Jo.  
XXII. de ver-  
bor. signif. c.  
Cum inter  
nonnullos.

' The *Cordeliers* alarm'd at this, being assembled in their ' General Chapter at *Perouse* [*Perugia* in *Tuscany*] solemn- ' ly protested to adhere to the Definition of Pope *Nicolas* ' the IV.

' But for all this, *John* took the adverse party, (c) declaring that ' he cared not for this *Right* to the *Bread* and *Wine* of the *Corde-* ' *liers*, and other things which they consumed by the usage, since ' there accru'd no profit by it to the *Church* of *Rome*; that the *Cor-* ' *delier Fryars* were never the poorer; and that their (d) intention ' was, that none but themselves should derive any profit from it: ' That it was a dishonour that the *Roman Church* should interest ' it self for an *Egg* or piece of *Cheese*: That in things which they ' devour'd after that manner, the *Usage* and the *Right* of *Usage* ' was not to be distinguish'd; and that all this airy and spiritu- ' al refinement was but a pure illusion. In fine, he (e) deter- ' min'd, that it was a plain Heresie to affirm that *Jesus Christ* ' possess'd nothing in this World, neither in particular nor in com- ' mon; and that he should have no *Title* to the things which he ' used.

' These

These Divisions of *John XXII* appeared quite repugnant to those of *Nicolas IV* : and the difference did so perplex Cardinal *Bellarmino*, as he really profess'd they were not to be thoroughly reconcil'd. 1300.

(a) He acknowledged that *Nicolas IV* did teach that one might separate the *Right* from the *Usage* ; and that *John XXII* had declared the contrary. <sup>a De Rom. Pont. 4. c 14.</sup>

He confess'd also that *Nicolas* has determin'd that this is a holy Poverty ; and on the other side, that *John XXII* look'd upon it as Hypocrisie. And upon these two points unluckily takes the part of *Nicholas* against *John*.

But for as much as in the third point that concerns the Poverty of *Jesus Christ*, the *Cordeliers* opinion is taxed of Heresie by *John XXII* ; that the two *Popes* should not seem at variance in a point of Faith, he endeavours to piece them together by distinguishing of the times.

He says therefore that *Jesus Christ* did possess Temporal things at one time, and that he was absolutely bereav'd of them at another : That so it is true, that as to one season he prescrib'd us an Example of perfect Poverty, by an absolute renunciation of the possession of all things, as says *Nicolas* : And that it is true, he at another time possess'd Temporal goods which he made use of, as *John XXII* had decided it.

But this way of according the Decision of the two *Popes*, does not appear so solid : for *John XXII* doth not pretend that *Jesus Christ* was Master of the Temporal things he us'd at one certain time onely, but that he was so always, as appears by the general Principle which he makes use of to prove it, which is, that the *Usage* is unjust, which is unaccompanied with *Right* : Whence it is easily infer'd, that *Jesus Christ* having made use of Temporal things, and never having used them unjustly, he had always a *Right* to the Use of them.

But however the matter was, divers of the *Cordeliers* did take themselves to be justly condemn'd, and *mangre* the Pope, they obstinately maintain'd that their *Bread* belong'd to the Church of *Rome* ; so as the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria* [of whom we spake so much formerly] being then at variance with the Pope about his Election to the *Empire*, they joyned themselves to him, and stoutly sustain'd his Right against *John XXII*. The Emperour on his part upheld the *Cordeliers*, reproaching to the Pope as a foul error, his Decision touching the Poverty of *Jesus Christ*.

In sum, the Animosity of both these Antagonists came at last to that height, that the Pope (according to the stile of that Age) (b) Excommunicated the Emperour, declared him Heretick, favourer of Hereticks ; deposed him from the Empire, and caus'd all the poor *Cordeliers* to be burnt that he could lay hands on. On the other side, the Emperour (c) enters Italy with a puissant Army, (d) seizes on *Rome*, declares Pope *John* (then at *Avignon*) unworthy of the Pontificate, creates a new Pope, or rather Anti-pope, namely a *Cordelier*, call'd *Peter* (e) *Ramucens* of *Corbaria*, who chose the Title of *Nicolas V*, and who for the first action of his Pontificate, vacated the <sup>b 1324.</sup> <sup>c 1327.</sup> <sup>d 1328.</sup> <sup>e Rainaldus.</sup>

1300. ' the *Bull* of *John XXII* against the *Cordeliers*, himself Excommunicating and deposing him.

And thus in short have we taken a view of this tedious and bloody quarrel about a mouthful of Bread and Cheese ; a Controversie not worth a wise mans thought : for let me but have my belly full, and eat and drink when I please, let his Holiness or any body else that hath such a longing humour, take the Excrements, I, and if he please, wrapt up or sawced in the Notions of *Right* or *Usage*, and twenty suchlike distinctions, if by this means both parties are pleas'd ; for I am confident to be no looser, and his worship hath an easie Stomack that is thus satisfied. All which being as meer fopperies, as he that was angry that his Hat was button'd up on the wrong side.

*a Spondan.*  
an. 1322.  
14.

*b Annal. Mi-*  
*norum, Tom.*  
*3. an. 1322.*  
*1323.*

Though *John XXII* got the better of the Emperours New Pope *Nicolas*, yet was he so much incensed against the *Cordeliers*, that he was once thinking to (*a*) extirpate the very Order ; for which, and his strongly opposing them in this trifle, he hath since been vilified by their pens to the purpose : Of which (*b*) *Luca Waddingus* will afford you some instances : But as simple and ridiculous as the dispute is, yet even at this day cannot the *School-men* leave off troubling their mouldy Cobweb-heads, and the world about it. And thus much for this blockish Quarrel and dispute.



CHAP.





## CHAP. VI.

1. *The great Schism amongst the Popes, with some Reflections on some of their Actions.*
2. *The troubles of Naples; and the wicked design against the Medici and Florentines; with the murder of Juliano de Medici.*
3. *The murder of James the First, and James the Third, Kings of Scotland.*
4. *The deaths of Henry the Sixth and Edward the Fifth, Kings of England.*
5. *The troubles in Spain, and the miseries of Don Henry the Fourth King of Castile and Leon, by reason of his proud and rebellious Nobility.*

## SECT. I.

*The great Schism amongst the Popes, with some Reflections on some of their Actions.*

**W**E have several times seen how the Popes of *Rome* have disturb'd the peace and happiness of other mens Dominions, and have been the ruine and destruction of many Princes; and now methinks it will not be amiss to take a sleight view of the destruction of *Rome* it self, where many wise men, through variety of pretenders, could not discover the true Vicar, and Infallible Bishop.

Part of this story belongs to the former Century, yet 'tis more convenient to place it all together here, the greater portion of it belonging to this.

*Clement V* being (a) chosen Pope by his Simoniackal Promises a 1305. to *Philip le Bel* King of *France*, and being before his Election Archbishop of *Burdeaux*, and also that Country-man, being in *France* when he was chosen Pope by the Cardinals at *Perugia*, would not for some reasons remove out of *France*, but (though the Cardinals earnestly perswaded him for *Italy*) settled the Pontifical Seat at (b) *Avignon*. b 1308.

By this removal into *France*, *Rome* was deprived of the Popedom or Papal Seat above LXX years; till what time *Gregory XI* (c) restored it again to *Rome*. c 1377.

This *Gregory* dying, the Cardinals chose *Urban VI*; but presently after declaring they were forced by the *Romans* to such an Election, they declared this void, and chose *Clement VII*; by which

T t

1300. which means the Schism began ; the story of which being large and intricate , take this following Chronologie to make it more plain and intelligible.

		Gregory XI dyed 1378.		
	Empe- rours.	A.C.	Popes.	Popes.
<i>Onuphrus.</i>	<i>Wende- slans.</i>		(a) <i>Ur- ban VI.</i>	(b) <i>cle- ment VII.</i>
		1378		
		2 1379	2	2
		3 1380	3	3
		4 1381	4	4
		5 1382	5	5
		6 1383	6	6
		7 1384	7	7
		8 1385	8	8
		9 1386	9	9
		10 1387	10	10
		11 1389	11	11
		12 1390	(c) <i>Boni- face IX.</i>	12 (c) He was* unskilful in sing- ing (then much look'd after in a Church-man) and also in writing; a great Seller of In- dulgences, and very guilty of Simony. He created XI Car- dinals.
		13 1391	13	13
		14 1392	14	14
		15 1393	15	15
		16 1394	5 (d) <i>Bene- dict XI or XIII.</i>	(d) He promis'd to resign up his Poppedom, if <i>Boniface</i> would do so too, so that another Pope might be chosen, and the Schism ended, but had no minde to do so : so he held himself for Pope, and created VIII Cardinals.
		17 1395	6	2
		18 1396	7	3
		19 1397	8	4
		20 1398	9	5
		21 1399	10	6
	<i>Ruper- tus.</i>	1400	11	7
		2 1401	12	8
		3 1402	13	9
		4 1403	14	10
		5 1404	(e) <i>Inno- cent VII.</i>	11 (e) Before his Election he sware to resign the Poppedom, if <i>Bene- dict</i> would : but neither of them had any stomach to it. He created XI Cardinals.
		6 1405	2	12

(f) He

Empe- rours.	A.C.	Popes.	Popes.	
	7 1406	(f) Gre- gory XII.	13	(f) He also before his Ele- ction sware to resign his Pope- dom for union-sake, if <i>Benediſt</i> would; but how long in this he jugled, <i>Theodorick à Niem</i> will tell you. He created XIII Cardinals.
	8 1407	2	14	Popes.
	9 1408	3	15 (g) Alex- ander V.	(g) The Cardinals thinking to end this Schism, call'd a Coun- cil at <i>Pisa</i> , where they declared <i>Gregory</i> and <i>Benediſt</i> guilty of ma- ny crimes, and pro- nounce them deposed, and so chose this <i>Alex- ander V</i> : Though nei- ther <i>Gregory</i> nor <i>Bene- diſt</i> obey'd the Coun- cil, but would be Popes still. And <i>Alexander</i> dyed be- fore he had sat a year.
	10 1409	4	16	
<i>Jodocus.</i>	1410	5	17 (b) John XXIII.	(b) Some say that by force he nominated and chose himself Pope, <i>Fel. de Burgamo</i> . He crea- ted XVI Cardinals.
<i>Sigis- mond.</i>	1411	6	18	● To break this Schism of three Popes at a time, a Council is held at <i>Constance</i> , where <i>Gregory</i> de- prives himself, and <i>John</i> with much ado is overperswaded to deliver up his Popedom; but <i>Be- nediſt</i> would by no means sub- mit; yet he is there declared no Pope, and so the Council elects <i>Martin V</i> .
	2 1412	7	19	
	3 1413	8	20	
	4 1414	9	21	
	5 1415	●	22	
	6 1416		23	
	7 1417	<i>Martin V.</i>	24	
	8 1418	2	25	
	9 1419	3	26	
	10 1420	4	27	
	11 1421	5	28	
	12 1422	6	29	
	13 1423	7	30	
	14 1424	8 (i) Cle- ment VIII	12	
	15 1425	9	3	
	16 1426	10	4	
	17 1427	11		
	18 1428	12		
	19 1429	13		
	20 1430	14		
	21 1431	(k) Enge- nius IV.		
	22 1432	2		
	23 1433	2		
	24 1434	4		
	25 1435	5		
	26 1436	6		
	27 1437	7		
<i>Albertus II.</i>	1438	8		

protests, declares the Pope to have no power to dissolve or remove that Council, and that a Council is above the Pope: lay several Accusations against *Eugenius*, and so pronounce him deposed and no Pope; in whose stead they elect *Felix IV*. But *Eugenius* would not obey this, ranted as much against them and *Felix*, and created XXVII Cardinals.

T t 2

(l) *Felix*

\* Some say  
he was roy-  
sord: see  
*Grimstone*  
History of  
*Spain*, l. 18.  
p. 687, 688.

1300.

Empe- rours.	A.C.	Popes.	Popes.
	2 1439		9 (1) <i>Felix</i> IV.
<i>Frederick</i> III.	1440	10	2
	2 1441	11	3
	3 1442	12	4
	4 1443	13	5
	5 1444	14	6
	6 1445	15	7
	7 1446	16	8
	8 1447	<i>Nicolas</i> V.	9
	9 1448	2	10
	10 1449	3	11
	11 1450	4	

(1) *Felix* was formerly Duke of *Savoy*, and had many that adher'd to him, and several stood Neuters; he created XXIV Cardinals.

● *Felix* upon the earnest intreaty of the Emperour *Frederick* III, and other reasons, resigned up all his interest to the Pope-dome, and so *Nicolas* V remain'd sole Pope; and thus this Schism ended.

By this Schism or Schisms which continued so many years, Christendom received much detriment, each Party and Faction maintaining it self with all earnestness. *Urban* VI to strengthen himself, because *Joan* I. Queen of *Naples* (a lover of change) adher'd to *Clement*, pronounceth her deposed from her Kingdom, which he gives to *Charles Durazzo*. To counterpoise this, *Joan* (by the counsel of *Clement*) declares *Lewes* Duke of *Anjou* Heir to the Kingdom, (and Pope *Martin* V confirm'd it afterwards) which increas'd the trouble: But in brief, *Durazzo* proves too strong, enters *Naples*, seized upon Queen *Joan*, and caused her to be hanged.

And with that severity did *Urban* persecute those of whom he was any way jealous, that he took (\*) five Cardinals, had them tyed up in sacks, and so thrown into the Sea: but others tell worse things of him.

Nay, so zealous were the people of those days for Schism, that neither the Councils of *Constance* or *Basil* could presently end this disturbance; for what Pope soever they nominate or approve of, falleth presently out again with them, concerning whose Authority is greatest, the Councils or the Popes; they declaring themselves to be above the Bishops of *Rome*, whilst on the other side his Holiness pronounceth himself above all.

And these disputes went so far, till at last it came to an equal Muster, *Felix* and the Council of *Basil* against *Eugenius* and the Council of *Florence*, so that either party was back'd with a Pope and Council.

As for the Council of *Constance*, I may fancy that they took no great care for the preservation of Kings, since they decreed onely this, that it was not lawful to kill Tyrants, with this knavish condition, *Without the command or sentence of a Judge*; yet this Council (and so did *Basil*) declare it self above the Pope, and that he ought to be obedient to a Council: yet will not all the Ro-

manist,

\* *Platin.* p.  
270.

*manifests* believe this, though thus decreed by a lawful Council, as they say; for if this be not legal, how can *Martin V* be a true Pope, being set up and chosen by it? and if he fail, there cannot have been a true one since. And besides this, we may suppose that there hath been a notable jumbling of Cardinals, when in this very Schism there was about two hundred created, besides those who were made by *Martin V*, and *Nicolas V*.

But though this Schism was some trouble to Christianity, yet the succession of the Emperours went peaceably on; onely *Wenceslaus* was deposed for his vitious life, as if the troubles of the Popes were the peace of the Empire; and at these times, probably, the Popes are too busily imploy'd to disturb the *German* Government.

As for the Council of *Basil*, *Aeneas Sylvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius II*, hath wrote much in its vindication: But when he came to be Pope, he changed his note, and declared against his former writings, decreeing that the Pope is above a Council: thus *Interest* can work Miracles; but for his unconstancie he is pointed at by this Proverb, *What Aeneas approves of, that Pius condemns*. And to this Proverb which others made of him, we will add this saying of the Clergy——(a) *Marriage hath been for great reason taken away from Priests; but yet for greater, it ought to be restored to them*.

After *Pius* sat in the *Roman* Chair, *Paulus II*, such an Enemy was he to all good Learning, that (b) *Platina* tells us he used to call Scholars *Hereticks*; and the better to carry on his design of *Ignorance*, he persuaded the *Romans* from bringing up their children in Learning, to write and read being knowledge enough.

b Humanitatis autem studia ita oderat & contemnebat, ut ejus studiosos, uno nomine *Hereticos* appellaret. Hanc ob rem *Romanos* adhortabatur, ne filios diutius in studiis litterarum paterentur, satis esse si legere & scribere didicissent. *Plat.* p. 340.—— Is enim nec literatur nec moribus probatus. *Volaterran*, lib. 2. fol. 259.

He would have been an excellent companion for the Emperour (c) *Domitian*, that banish'd all Learned men, and had one kill'd for making a Map of the World: yet if in this he came not near him enough, he might for greediness of money; for which in his time at *Rome* all Church-preferments were publickly (d) sold. However, he loved something else as well as Money, or else he is shrew'dly belyed. For *Janus Pannonius*, who lived in his time, and was Bishop of *Fusfkirchen* [by the *Hungarians* call'd *Entegyhazac*, commonly known by its Latine name *Quinque-Ecclesie*] in lower *Hungary*, and well acquainted with the affairs at *Rome*: This *Janus*, I say, as soon as this *Paul II* came to his Popedom, sent him good (e) advice: but a little after we finde the matter alter'd; for thus he quits his Holiness.

*Pontificis Pauli ne testes Roma requiras,  
Filia quem similis te docet esse marem.*

*Pope Paul's a man, Rome, seek no farther tryal;  
He gat a daughter makes it past denial.*

Quod *Aeneas* probavit, *Pius* damnavit. a Sacerdotibus magna ratione sublatas Nuptias, majori restituendas videri. *Platina*, edit. Antiqu.

c *Suetori* in vita *Domitiani*. 10.  
d *Platina*, lib. Genebrardi; l. 4 p. 1080. *Carranza* sum. Cencil. pag. 879.

e *Delic. Poetar. Hungar.* pag. 250.

Id. pag. 284.

And



1300

And again thus:

*Sanctum non possum, patrem dicere possum,  
Cum video natam, Paule secundæ, tuam.*

*I cannot call thee Holy, Paul, but rather  
Now I your Daughter see, can call you Father.*

And in another place thus he sings to the same purpose:

*Cum sit filia Paule, sit tibi aurum;  
Quantum Pontifices habere raros  
Vidit Roma prius: Pater vocari,  
Sanctus non potes, at potes Beatus.*

To him succeeds *Sixtus* or *Xystus IV*, of whom *Cornelius Agrippa* gives this noble Character, *That he built at Rome a very famous (a) Bawdy-house*: but this, you may suppose, was for the profit of his Holiness; for the same Author goeth on and tells us, that every *Cartisan* of Rome payes every week to the Pope a *Julio* [every *Giulio* is about an English Sixpence] which yearly rent sometimes surmounts the sum of twenty thousand Ducats. And how his Disciples gain'd under him, the same *Agrippa* assures us, that he hath heard them thus cast up their Incomes and Rents, — He hath two Benefices, one Cure worth twenty Ducats, a Priory worth forty Ducats, and three Whores in the Brothel-house, which every week brings him in the gain of twenty *Giulios*, i. e. ten shillings.

*a* Sed & recentioribus Temporibus *Sixtus Pontifex Maximus Roma* Nobile admodum Lupanar extruxit. — *Romana* scorta in singulas Hebdomadas *Julium* pendit Pontificis, qui census annuus non nunquam viginti millia Ducatos excedit; adeoque Ecclesie procerum id munus est, ut uno cum Ecclesiarum proventus etiam lenociniorum numerent mercedem. Sic enim ego illos supputantes aliquando audiui. Habet (inquierentes) ille duo Beneficia, unum curatum aureorum viginti, alterum prioratum decatorum quadraginta, & tres Putanas in Burdello, quæ reddunt singulis Hebdomadibus *Julios* viginti. *Hen. Corn. Agrippa* de vanitat. scientiarum, cap. 64.

*b* Apologie pour les Personages soupçonnez de Magie, cap. 15. page 400, 401, &c.  
*c* Lib. 22. fol. 259.

This *Agrippa* was in this time so famous for all manner of Learning, that he was courted by all Persons and all Countries, though some object to him the *Magick Art*; but to quit him from this, Monsieur (*b*) *Naude* hath lately written a large Apologie, whither I refer the Reader. And (*c*) *Volaterran* tells us, that this Pope *Sixtus IV* loved his kindred so well, that to prefer them he would go against and violate all Laws Humane and Divine; a great pity that such a fault should over-cloud so excellent a virtue.

1483.

*d* Cogitans, Tom. 2. pag. 204. Conf. fol. p. 1209.  
*e* Lib. 22. fol. 261, in vita *Alexand.*

To him succeeded *Innocent VIII*, who is said to have followed on the same trade, and thereby to have clearly gain'd sixteen Children, eight Boys, and as many Daughters, before his Popedom; but to mend the matter, they now say he was (*d*) married, and so honestly had them before he obtain'd the Papal dignity. But (*e*) *Volaterranus* doth more than hint that they were Bastards, by comparing him and them to Pope *Alexander VI* and his off-spring.

As for Pope *Alexander VI*, who succeeded this *Innocent*, I need not say much, seeing all the *Roman* Historians themselves do confess him to have been a Monster amongst men; and that as he basely got his Popedom, viz. by *Simony*, so lived he ever after

after very wickedly. Before his Popedom he enjoyed one (a) *Zanoccia*, and afterwards reserved her for his especial Curtisan; he had by his love to Women four Sons and Daughters; the best of the latter sort was call'd *Lucretia*, with whom he was thought a little too familiar (as her two Brothers were also :) wherefore upon her was this Epitaph.

*Hoc jacet in Tumulo Lucretia nomine, sed re  
Thais, Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus.*

*Lucrece by name, Thais indeed lyeth under this stone,  
Alexanders Daughter, his Sons Wife, and his own.*

At *Tournay* in *Flanders* there is an Epitaph, which will somewhat out-riddle this of *Lucretia*.

*Cy gist le Pere, cy gist la Mere,  
Cy gist la soeur, cy gist le Frere,  
Cy gist la femme & le mary,  
Et n'y a que deux Corps icy.*

*Here lyeth the Father, and here lyeth Mother,  
Here lyeth the Sister, and here lyeth Brother,  
Here lyeth the Husband, and here lyeth the Wife;  
Yet here are but two bodies to make all this strife.*

Many biting Verses might be collected against this *Alexander* out of the works of that so famous *Italian* Poet, *Jacobus Sannazarius* [or *Aëtius Syncerus*, being call'd both wise] *Mantuan*, and such other like Scholars that then flourish'd; but it would be to no purpose, seeing they confess the worst of him, and all since are ashamed of him.

As for the manner of his death, take it thus according to (c) *Guicciardin*. *Cesar Borgia* his Son, resolving to poyson *Adrian* Cardinal of *Corneto*, sends some Flagons of poysoned Wine to the *Vineyard*, where they with the Pope were to sup. The Pope coming too soon, before any other Wine was brought, and being very thirsty, *Borgia's* man, (not knowing of his Masters design, but thinking it to be most excellent Wine) fill'd some of it to the Pope, who drank heartily. It chanced at the same time *Borgia* came, and through ignorance pledged his Father; who having took some Antidotes before, and being young and lusty, lived, though he indured an hard sickness; but his old Father *Alexander VI* dyed upon it.

But Dr. (d) *Coeffeteau* will rather follow *Onuphrius*, viz. that it was the Pope himself that contrived the poyson to take away several Cardinals, the better to enrich himself by the seizing upon their wealth, and that the man through mistake gave onely the poysoned cup to *Alexander* and his Son *Borgia*, whereby the rest escaped: and this makes the Pope more wicked, and may well enough be believed; for *Guicciardin* confesseth that this Pope and his Son used this trick several times, to the murdering of several Cardinals, against whom they had but the least pick.

Here I might tell the several mischiefs that this *Alexander* brought upon the World, for the preferring of his wicked Bastard *Cesar*

1300.  
a Or *Vano-*  
*cia*, or *Van-*  
*nozia*, or *La-*  
*nozia*, or *La-*  
*nozia*. *Onu-*  
*phrius* in vi-  
ta *Alex. Jo.*  
*Marian.* de  
rebus *His-*  
*pan.* lib. 26.  
cap. 2.

Fran.  
Sweet. pag.  
515.

c Lib. 6.

d Pag. 1: 12.

1400. *Cesar Borgia*; but it will be too tedious for this place. And he that would see any more of the former Schism (the Story of which would fill a large Volume) may peruse (f) *Theodorici à Niem*, who was Secretary to several Popes in that Rupture.

d De Schif.  
mate, & Ne-  
mus unionis.

SECT. 2.

*The troubles of Naples, and the wicked designe against the Medici and Florentines, with the murther of Juliano de Medici.*

AND now a glance at some State-troubles and murders will not be amiss: Yet here passing by the murder of *Galiazzo* Duke of *Milan*, the troubles and dethroning in *Bohemia*, and the leap-frog-government of the Kingdom of *Naples*; though we might tell what a coyl the Popes made to have one King to thrust out another; to which *Charles VIII* of *France* was assisting.

a Tam male  
instituta, ut  
ne legere  
quidem nos-  
sit, aut pen-  
gere. Jo.  
de Rufiores

Tom. 3. p. 8.  
4. 10. p. 82.  
Genebrard.  
Tom. 2. pag.  
1082 1083.

qbl. de  
Communes  
c. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.  
c. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.  
16. 17. 18.  
19. 20. 24.  
25.  
c. Guicciard.  
1. 4.

This *Charles* was so well bred up, that he could not (a) read a word; for which want of Learning, he might thank his Father *Lewes XI*, so great an Enemy to good Literature, that he would have his Son know no more *Latine* but these (b) five words:

*Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit Regnare.*

This *Charles de Valois VIII* of *France* pretending a right to the Kingdom of *Naples* upon the *Anjonan* account, marcheth into *Italy*, carries all before him. Pope *Alexander VI* is out of his little wits, but fortifies himself in *Castel St. Angelo*. *Charles* enters *Rome* a Conqueror; several Cardinals apply themselves to depose the Pope; but they are both made friends: *Alexander* invests *Charles* with the Kingdom of *Naples*, and intitles him Emperour of *Constantinople*. On the other side, *Charles* humbly in the *Vatican* (c) kisseth his Holinesss Foot, and another day (c) held the Basin of Water whilst *Alexander* wash'd his hands: which humble Ceremonies; lest they might be forgot by Posterity, the Pope appointed to be painted in a Gallery in the *Castel St. Angelo*.

Thence *Charles* marcheth to *Naples*, whence the young King *Fernando*, and his Father *Alphonso* [though the Pope had invested that Kingdom in the House of *Aragon*] were forced to flee, and *Charles* was there Crown'd; and stay'd there some time, and so return'd for *France*. In the mean time, the *French* behaved themselves so oddly, that there ('tis said) *Europe* first knew the *Venerian* disease; and by their behaviour, the *French* lost the love of the People, and so the *Neapolitan* Kingdom; for no sooner was *Charles* departed, but *Fernando* returns, and retakes the Kingdom: The Pope at this time (for all his former dissembling Agreement with *Charles* at *Rome*) having a greater kindness to the *Aragonians* than the *French*; *Alexander* himself being a Neighbour of *Valentia* in *Spain*: yet Dr. (d) *Robert Gaguin*, a good Orator and Historian [but it seems his (e) Poetry was too uncivil to our *English Henry VII*, when he was Ambassador from the said *Charles* hither] affirms that the *French* King took this expedition

d De gettis  
Fran. lib.  
11. fol. 16.  
& la Co-  
nique Mir-  
tiniene, fol.  
303.  
e Lord Fern-  
and's Hist.  
Hen VII.  
pag. 24.

pedition into *Italy* at the intreaty of Pope *Alexander VI.* Though it appears that his Holiness presently turn'd his note, and not onely secretly wish'd him farther off, but at last became his open Enemy.

But leaving these hurly-burlies, as being too common in History, let us take a short glance of the Popes wicked design upon *Florence*, where Murder and Sacriledge we shall finde raging in their height.

The City and Common-wealth of *Florence* now flourish'd under the *Medici*; at which prosperity, not onely some rich Male-contented Citizens, but Pope *Sixtus IV.* also looked with an envious eye. And his Holiness took every occasion to thwart the interest of that City, and lessen its Credit and Reputation.

At this time the two Brothers, *Lorenzo* and *Giuliano de Medici*, sons to *Pietro*, son to *Cosmo*, bare the greatest sway and love over the *Florentines*. At this the House of *Pazzi* (a rich and powerful Family there) took exceptions; and in this distaste the Pope joyns with him. And their result was, that nothing would bring their designs about, but the destruction of these two Brethren.

Many Consultations they had how to bring this damnable deed to pass, and many great men had they drawn to this Conspiracy; insomuch, that *Fernando* King of *Naples* consented to the designe against the *Medici*, though I cannot say that he knew of the intended Murther: Though *Francesco Salviati* Archbishop of *Pisa* was a great stickler in this inhumane action.

After long Consultation, the Conspirators go to *Florence*; the chief of which were, the *Pazzi*, the *Salviati*, *Giovan Baptista da Montesecco* a noted Commander under the Pope, *Giacopo di Poggio* son to the famous Orator, and many others. The better to cover the villany, they perswaded Cardinal *Riario* to come towards *Florence*; which he doth, and is nobly feasted by *Giacopo de Pazzi* at his Town *Fiesole* about four Miles from *Florence*, whither the *Medici* were invited, with a design there to murther them: but *Julian* not coming, that plot fail'd.

Upon this they had the Cardinal to *Florence*, where they doubted not, but by this means to obtain their ends. Being there, they vizarded their numbers and meetings, under their walking upon and civilities to the Cardinal, and against the next Sunday prepare a great Feast; but being informed that *Giuliano* could not be there, they resolved to put their black design off no longer, fearing to be discover'd by their lingring. The place appointed by them for this Murther, was the Cathedral Church of *St. Reparata*, where they knew both the Brethren would not fail to be: And they thought no time fitter for them, than when Mass was singing: as for the manner how, they order'd *Antonio de Volterra* and *Stephanus* a Priest to kill *Lorenzo*, and *Francesco de Pazzi* with *Barnardino Bandini* to do the same to *Juliano*; and that upon this uproar, *Salviati* the Archbishop of *Pisa*, with *Giacopo de Pazzi*, and their followers, should seize upon the Palace and Senate.

This day (Sunday the 26 of *April*) and time being come, they go to Church, where they see the Cardinal and *Lorenzo de Medici*, and the Church full of people, and Service begun, but *Giuliano* not come; wherefore *Francesco de Pazzi*, and *Barnardo Bandini*,

V u

who

*Omphrius*  
in *Xysto IV.*  
*Macciavelis*  
*Hist. Flor.*  
l. 8. Coeffet.  
pag. 1206.  
*Spondan. an.*  
1578. 43  
5.6.7.

1478.

1400. who had the charge of killing him, went to his House, and perswaded him to Church, talking merrily to him all the way; and in a gayety and friendship, *de Pazzi* took *Giuliano* in his arms, whereby to feel if he had any privy Armor on.

Being come to Church, *Bandini* with a Dagger stab'd *Giuliano* to the heart, and *de Pazzi* wounded him in other places, and by chance himself also in the Leg. *Giuliano* thus slain, *Bandini* slew *Francesco Noxi*, a great friend to the *Medici*. In the mean time *Antonio Volterra*, and *Steffano* the Priest, assault *Lorenzo*, and wound him a little in the Throat; and thus hurt, he escapes from them into the Vestry. And the Cardinal retires himself to the high Altar.

In the mean time the Archbishop *Salvata*, with *James Pazzi*, and a number of their gang, went to the Palace; he and some others going up (leaving the rest below) and found the Senate sat down to dinner: *Cesare Petrucci*, that year *Gonfaloniere di Guistitia*, perceiving some mischief by the Archbishops carriage, and amazed countenance (for now when he should be desperate he began to be fearful) boldly thrust *Salviati* out of the Chamber, and seiz'd upon *Giacopo de Pazzi* by the hair of his head, and delivered him to the Serjeants. The rest of the Senators at this taking alarm, with what weapons they had, fall upon those who went up with *Salviati*, and plyed themselves so well, that they presently overcame those Conspirators, killing some, throwing others alive out of the Palace-Windows; and the Archbishop had the reward of hanging.

Whilst this was doing, the Citizens encouraged with the news of the preservation of *Lorenzo de Medici*, hurry in Arms to the Church, conduct him from the Vestry to his own House, and recover the Palace from the Conspirators, who had possess'd the door and the lower Rooms of it, killing all of the plot they could meet with.

And having thus redeem'd themselves and City, nothing was cryed about but *Medici, Medici*, every one striving who should shew their hatred most upon the Traytors; insomuch, that the parts of their dead bodies were carryed about the streets, some stuck upon Lances, others upon Swords, others drag'd along; and not any of them escaping that could be laid hands on. And so the people having thus for some time satisfied themselves upon their Enemies, the Corps of *Giuliano di Medici* were buryed with a great deal of state, and lamentations of the Citizens.

The Popes Forces, who had lurked upon the *Florentine* Borders, to have taken advantage of their surprisal, to have fallen in to their Territories, and so to have made a perfect Conquest, hearing of the miscarriage, retreated: But Pope *Xistus* seeing this murder and hidden-treason would not bring his designs about, pulls off his Vizard, and shews himself an open enemy, draws out his Pontifical Weapon, and first falls a Cursing and Excommunicating them, and then with the assistance of *Ferdinando* of *Naples*, resolves to over-run them by War. Against these the *Florentines* oppose themselves: as for the *Interdict*, they neglect and despise it, and commanded their Priests to continue their Celebration of Divine-Service; and for the other, they strengthen themselves by Arms: But the story of the War I shall wave, as

too tedious for this place. This being sufficient to shew what wickedness their Holinesses will perpetrate, to bring their about-  
 1300.

## Sect. 3.

*The murther of James the First and James the Third, Kings of Scotland.*

**B**Ut now let us look a little neerer home, and we shall behold the murther of a Prince in *Scotland*, famous by their Writers for his Vertues, Learning, sweet disposition, Valour, and what not? And this is King *James I.* The chief of this Conspiracie was the Earl of *Athole*, assisted with his Nephew *Robert Stuart* and *Graham*.

*Will. Drummonds H. H. of Scotland, Georg. Buchanan, lib. 10.*

The first inckling that the King had of this Treason, was whilst he was besieging *Roxbourgh* in *Teveot-dale*, then defended by Sir *Ralph Gray* and his *English*: for when he had brought the Castle to that extremity, that they were consulting of yeilding; his Queen in all haste possible speeds to him, and gives him some hints of the Treason, and that it was such, that if not quickly prevented, would indanger him and his. Upon this he raiseth the Siege, through jealousie disbands most of his Army, and with those whom he thought he might trust, much troubled in minde with this villany, he goeth to *Perth* (now call'd *St. Johnstons*) where he remains in the *Black Fryars*, a Covent neer the Town-Walls belonging to the *Dominicans*.

Here the King bends all his wits to finde out the bottom of the Treason: which design of his being known to the Traytors, they resolve for a speedy execution, lest delay might bring a farther discovery, and a stop to their wickedness. Accordingly, assisted by the darkness of a night, they got undiscovered to the *Black-Fryars*, one *John* belonging to the Court being their guide, and had also procured them entrance into the Gallery before the Kings Chamber-door, where they attended some of their Confederates, who should have let them in farther in, by taking out the Bar on the in-side of the door; and *Robert Stuart*, being a favourite with the King, and so familiar at Court, took off all jealousie, and was a main assistant to their approach and entrance.

Whilst they were thus in expectation, Fortune was favourable to their Treason; for *Walter Stratoun*, one of the Kings Cup-bearers, having not long before carryed in some Wine, came forth of the Chamber, and finding some armed men rudely rushing to force their entry, with a loud voice cryed out Treason; upon which they fall upon him, whom whilst they were killing, a young Maid of Honour, named *Douglasse*, others say *Lovel*, claps to the Door; but not finding the Bar, and seeing no other remedy for their preservations, thrust her Arm in the hole or staple, thereby to keep the Door fast. But this tender Bolt being soon broke, the Traytors rush into the Chamber, killing all such as they found to make any assistance; amongst which

1400. was *Patrick Dumbart*, Brother to *George* sometimes Earl of *March*.

1436. At last they strike down the King, whom they there left dead with XXVIII wounds. Nor did it go well with the Queen, who thinking to save her Husband, interposed her own body, whereby she received two wounds, but not Mortal.

As for the Traytors, the common sort of them were hanged, *Robert Stuart* was hang'd and quarter'd, *Walter* Earl of *Athole* was thus punished for three days together :

The first day, he was stript naked to his Shirt, and by a Crane fixt to a Cart, after hoysted aloft, his joynts put out ; and thus hanging, shew'd to the people : and thus dragged along the high Street of *Edinbourg*.

The second day, he was mounted on a Pillar in the Market-place, and Crown'd with a Diadem of hot Iron, with this Inscription :

### THE KING OF ALL TRAYTORS.

And this they say was done to him, to make his words good, he confessing one motive to this design was, because he had been told by some South-sayers or Witches, that he should once be Crown'd King.

The third day, he was laid naked along upon a Scaffold, his Belly was ript up, his Bowels taken out and thrown into a fire, he looking upon them: then was his heart taken out and thrown in also ; lastly, his head was cut off and fixt upon the most eminent place of the City, and his body divided, and parts of it sent to the chief places in the Kingdom.

As for *Robert Graham*, he was thus punished : a Gallows was raised in a Cart, then he had his right-hand nailed to it, and so drawn along the streets, whilst the Executioners with burning Pincers tore pieces from his Shoulders, Thighs, and suchlike fleshy places which were farthest from his Vitals, thereby to keep him the longer alive, and in greater pain : yet did these terrors bring little repentance to him, as may be ghest by his impious answer ; for being asked, during all these tortures, *How be durst lay hands on his Prince ?* made this Reply, — *That, if he had Heaven and Hell at his choice, he durst leap out of Heaven and all the joys there, into the flaming bottom of Hell.* — At last, having all his flesh almost pull'd off, his Heart and Intrails were thrown into the fire, his Head stuck up, and his Quarters sent to several places for a terror to others.

And here I shall hastily pass by the unfortunate Raig of King *James III* ; how his own Subjects covenanted against him, confined or forced him to *Edinbourg* Castle, and at last came to open Battel against him at *Bannoch-Burn*, not far from *Sterlin*, where his Army being beaten, he was after in cold blood murdered in the Mill : but whether this abominable murther was done by *Patrick* Lord *Gray*, *Robert Sterling* of *Keer*, or *Andrew Borthwick* a Priest, or all of them, must be left as their Histories hath it, uncertain.

See.

## Sect. 4.

The deaths of Henry the Sixth and Edward the Fifth,  
Kings of England.

**B**ut leaving *Scotland*, here might I treat of the miseries of *England* at the same time, of the long but unfortunate Raig of good *Henry VI*, of his dethronement, and, which was worst, of his murther in the Tower of *London*, as the common opinion goeth, by (a) *Richard Duke of Gloucester*, afterwards call'd *Richard the III*. Though Mr. (b) *Buck* of late would deny the fact, and clear the said *Richard* from this, and all other imputations laid to him by all other Historians.

The body of this King *Henry* was carryed to *Chertsey* in *Surrey*, and there buried in the Monastery belonging to the *Benedictines*. And 'tis said that many Miracles have been done at his grave, above two hundred of which was gather'd into one (c) *Volume*; nor was there any disease, but they say was cured by him, Blind, Lame, Dumb, Kings-evil, and what not? And as if these were not enough, they make him cure another Miracle, viz. a Woman that used to go with Childe above (d) two years.

*Richard III* (envying the fame of *Henry*, if we may believe King (\*) *Henry VII*) removed the Corps from *Chertsey* to the Chapel of *Windfor*, where he was also worshipped by the name of *Holy King Henry*; and here they say that his Red-velvet-Hat (e) heal'd the Head-ach of such as put it on their heads: there his body rested for a time; but now his Tomb being taken thence, it is not commonly known what is become of his body. 'Tis true, King *Henry VII* had a desire to have it removed to *Westminster*; to which purpose the Abbot desired the (f) consent of Pope *Alexander VI*.

King *Henry VII* also desired to have this *Henry VI* Canonized: to which purpose he wrote to the said *Alexander*, who gave the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Durham* (g) Authority to inquire into his Miracles and Life. Nor did *Henry VII* cease here, but *Alexander* dying, he solicited (h) *Julius II* very earnestly; and some think, that had the King lived a little longer, he had obtain'd his request: But this I shall leave with these words of *Edward Hall* — *These and other like Offices of Holiness caused God to work miracles for him in his life-time (as old men said,) By reason whereof King Henry VII, not without cause, sued to July Bishop of Rome to have him Canonized, as other Saints be: but the fees of the Canonizing of a King were so great a quantity at Rome (more then the Canonizing of a Bishop or a Prelate, although he sat in St. Peters Chair) that the said King thought it more necessary to keep his money at home, for the profit of his Realm and Country, rather then to impoverish his Kingdom for the gaining of a new Holy-day of St. Henry: remitting to God the judgement of his will and intent.* —

And here passing by the cruel death of the young Innocent Prince *Edward*, eldest Son to this King *Henry VI* in cold blood, after

1471.

a Bacons  
Hist. Hen.  
VII, pag. 2.  
b Hist. Rich.  
III, pag. 20.  
Spondan  
calls him a  
Martyr, an.  
1471. 26.

c Vd.  
Harpsfield  
Hist. Eccles.  
p. 595.  
d Ib. p. 596.

\* Spelman.  
Concil. tom.  
2. pag. 712.

e Stron, pag.  
424.

f Spelm.  
Concil. pag.  
712, 713.

g Spelm.  
pag. 720.

h Harpsfield  
pag. 594.

Ed. Hall's  
Chron. fol.  
223. b.



1400. after the fight at *Tewkes-bury*, I might come to *Edward V*, and shew how he was deposed by his Uncle *Richard*, by means of his wicked Instruments, *Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, Dr. *John Shaw*, Brother to *Edmond Shaw* Gold-smith, then Lord Mayor of *London*, and suchlike ; and from this I might lead you to the making away of the said young Innocent Prince, *Edward* and his Brother, by the means of the said *Richard III* : but because all Histories will not exactly agree upon the manner how, I shall refer you to the Chronicles themselves, where the juggle, if not the murders, may be seen at large.

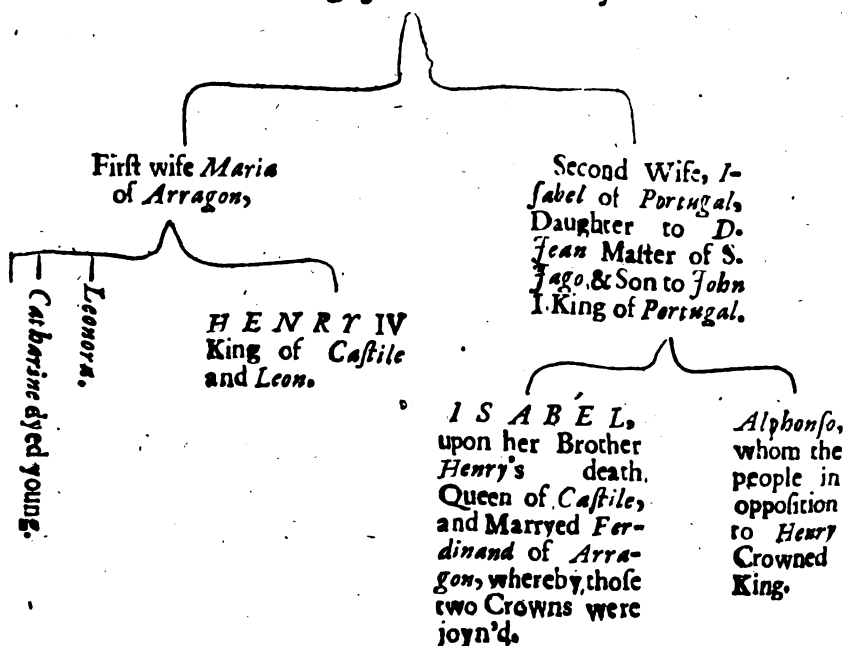
## Sect. 5.

*The troubles in Spain, and the miseries of Don Henry the Fourth King of Castile and Leon, by reason of his proud and rebellious Nobility.*

*L. de May-  
erne Hist. d'  
Espagne, lib.  
18, 19, 20,  
21.*

IF we look into *Spain*, we shall finde those Territories miserably wasted by Tumults and Rebellions ; we might see how the young King of *Castile Henry III* was so neglected by his proud and greedy Nobility, who pocketed up his Revenues, that once he was forced to pawn one of his Robes for two Shoulders of Mutton to help out his Supper. And we might see their Rebellions against his Son King *John II*, whose troublesome Reign might be an *Item* to Kings to beware of confiding in and favouring too much one Subject, by the neglect of the rest : And the unhappy end of the Constable *Don Alvaro de Luna*, may be a caution to the greatest favourites in their carriage ; for Kings at last (in whose protection lyeth their greatest safety) may be perswaded to leave them to Justice ; and then no mercy can be expected from the so-long-abused Law and People. But proceed we to greater troubles and misfortunes then these.

This King *John II* had by his



This

This *Henry IV* succeeded in the Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, after the death of his Father *John II*. *Henry* was civil and courteous, never *Thou'd* any body, were he never so mean; he was also liberal, a lover of peace; but that which spoil'd all, he was too careless in his Government, not desiring to trouble himself much with the affairs of his Kingdom: which with his Clemency made his proud Nobles neglect, and in the end despise him.

1400.  
1454.

To tell all his misfortunes, would be too tedious: In short, several of his Nobility made a League against him, one of the chief of whom was *Don Alphonso Carillo* the Archbishop of *Toledo*. They carryed their plot cunningly and secret; and if a discovery should happen, they had either fair pretensions, or a juggling carriage, with which they knew it was an easie matter to pacifie the King.

The King had notice of their League, and desired to confer with the Marquess *De Villena*, one of their Chieftains, and some others: they refuse to come to him. At last, *De Villena*, upon Hostages given to his party, and a safe-conduct, meets the King, but comes well provided and guarded with his Faction and Friends, by whose assistance he was so strong, that he resolved to seize upon the King, and the *Infanta's* [*Isabel* and *Alphonso*] and once made a violent attempt upon the Court: but finding the King (who had notice of the Plot) too well provided, turn'd all off with a fair excuse; and the King was too apt to pardon and believe all to be for the best.

1464.

Another time they had laid a plot to be let in secretly into their Lodgings, there to seize on the King, the Queen, the *Infanta's*, and to dispatch their Enemies; but this was by chance also discover'd, and so prevented: yet would not the King punish *Villena*, because he had given him his word of security.

These failing, they contrived to seize upon him, under pretence of a Conference; but of this also the King having intelligence, he prevented their Treachery. The *Covenanters* finding their plots discover'd, flee to open Arms, and draw up several Articles against the King; and the better to countenance their Cause, they pretended great care and friendship to the Kings Brother *Alphonso*. At last a kinde of peace is struck up; *Alphonso* declared Heir to the Crown, and Commissioners on both sides appointed to end all differences; and *Alphonso* is sent to the Confederates, to render them more peaceable by his presence, and their thus enjoying of what they desired.

Now the King hoped nothing more than an happy peace; but he found himself betray'd on all hands. For whilst the Commissioners were consulting, the Archbishop of *Toledo*, and *Don Frederick* the Admiral, made shew as if they had fallen out with Marquess *De Villena*, were weary of the League, and so came over to the King, to whom they profer'd their service. His Majesty rejoiceth at this; but was presently in troubles again, by reason of the treachery of his Commissioners, who being won over by the Confederates, had consented to a dishonourable peace, whereby nothing remain'd to the King save onely the name.

And this grief was doubled by another misfortune; for he having sent to *Don Gomes de Caceres* Master of *Alcantara*, and *Don Pedro Puerto Carero* Earl of *Medillina*, his trusty friends, to come

to

1400. to him; it fortun'd that whilst they were upon their journey, they met with *Alvaro Gomes* Secretary to the King, and *Ganzalo of Sabavedra*, one of the Kings Commissioners, both now turn'd to the Confederates. These two Traytors told the other two Nobles a smooth and sad story of the Kings displeasure against them, how he had given order to have them seiz'd on, and so it would not be safe for their Lordships to fall within the reach of the King. These Lords thus falsely perswaded of the Kings displeasure, forgot their honours, and joyned themselves also with the Leaguers.

But yet the Kings misfortune grew worse and worse; for the Archbishop of *Toledo*, and the Admiral, carryed themselves so cunningly, that *Henry* ever put his greatest confidence in them. And though he was secretly advised not to trust too much to them, nor to commit any Forces to their charge, assuring him that they waited but that opportunity, and then would deliver them with themselves over again to the Leaguers; yet to all these Informations would he give no credit, but confer'd upon them several places of strength, furnish'd them with money, and gave them Commissions to raise Souldiers, with an Order to meet him with their Forces at *Arevalo*, which place he design'd with their assistance to besiege.

To this Siege the King goeth; and wondering the Archbishop came not, he sent *Fernand Badajos*, one of his Secretaries, to hasten his March. The Secretary meets him and his Troops marching towards *Avila*, the Rendevouz of the Confederates, delivereth his message; but from the Archbishop gets nothing but this answer — *Tell your King from me, that I am weary both of him and his affairs; and that shortly the true King of Castile shall be known.*

This was sad news. At the same time cometh information, that the Admiral also had play'd the knave, seiz'd on *Valladolid*, proclaimed young *Alphonso* King, so joyned himself also with the Rebels. At which the King, full of grief and amazement, kneel'd upon the ground, lifting up his hands to Heaven, thus humbly pray'd.

*O Lord God! unto whom belongeth the defence and protection of Kings, and by whom they reign: I recommend my Cause unto thee, and commit my life into thy hands: I yeild thee infinite thanks, that it hath pleas'd thee thus to punish me for mine offences, which are worthy of a sharper scourge: And I confess, that the same which I suffer is very small in respect of my deserts. May it please thee (O Lord!) that these troubles may diminish the pains which are due to my soul, in regard of my sins; and if it be thy will that I shall pass through these miseries and afflictions, I beseech thee from the bottom of my heart, to give me patience to endure them, and reason and understanding to guide my self in them.*

June, 1455. In the mean time the Confederates meet before *Avila*, before which City, in the plain fields, they erect a great Scaffold, on which was placed the Statue of King *Henry* in a Mourning Habit, sitting in a Regal Throne, the Crown on his head, the Scepter in his hand, and the Sword laid before it. Upon the Scaffold the Archbishop of *Toledo*, with some others ascended, and

a Paper was read, by which *Henry* was degraded: it contain'd four chief points. 1400.

- I. *As deserving to be deprived from the dignity of a King*: at which the Archbishop took the Royal Crown from its head.
- II. *That he was no more worthy to administer Justice*: at which the Earl of *Placencia* took away the Sword.
- III. *That he was unfit to govern the Kingdom*: then the Earl of *Be-nevent* took the Scepter out of its hand.
- IV. *That therefore he was deprived justly of his Royal Throne*: then was the Statue thrown down from the Seat, with many unworthy and outrageous speeches, by *Diego Lopez*, brother to the Earl of *Placencia*.

This done, the other Lords, with *Henries* young brother *Alphonso* ( who had stood a little off as spectators ) mounted the Scaffold, took and lifted *Alphonso* upon their Shoulders, crying out *Castile, Castile* for the King *Don Alphonso*; so the Trumpets sounded, and they all went to kiss his hand as their true King.

Poor King *Henry* received this news patiently, saying with the Prophet *Esay*----- *I have nourished and brought up children, and they have despised me.---- But although these treacherous and disloyal servants have so wrong'd and scorned me by the Statue which they have degraded, and thrown away all respect and duty which they owe unto me; yet they cannot keep me, who am the true King, from having strength and courage to chastise and disperse them: For I hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the just Judge of Kings, that their wickedness shall be destroyed, and mine innocencie made known to the whole World.* And then considering how many Places and Nobles revolted from him, and the powerfulness of his enemies, he would oftentimes say, ---- *Naked I came out of my Mothers Womb, and the earth must receive me naked; no man can become so poor as he was born: And if God doth now chastise me for my sins, he will comfort and preserve me hereafter: for his infinite power killeth and giveth life; hurteth and healeth; giveth kingdoms, and taketh them away; lifteth up Kings, and throweth them down again, even as he pleaseth.*

Yet did not the disconsolate King absolutely despair, but sent to all places he had any hopes in to assist him against the Rebels; and amongst the rest, *Don Garcia Alvarez de Toledo* Earl of *Alva de Tormes*, was very active for his service.

In the mean time, the Confederates lay siege to *Simincas* upon the River *Duero* in *Leon*; which was valiantly defended by *Don Juan Fernandes Galindo*, and other Royalists. And here the very boyes and Lackeys shew'd their zeal against Rebellion; for understanding that the Archbishop of *Toledo* was the chief of the Faction, in derision of him and the League they made an Image representing him, which they named the *New Don* *Opas the Apostate*.

The Reader may here understand by the by, that about the years 712, 713, 714, *Julian* Governour of *Centa* in the Streights on the *African* shore, falling out with his Lord *Roderigo* the last King of the *Goths* in *Spain*, in revenge joyns himself with the *Moores*; with them enters *Spain*, routs his Prince; and by this treachery the *Moores* became Masters of all that Continent, excepting the mountainous parts in *las Asturias*, *Biscay* and *Navar*;

1400. and so retain'd it for many hundred years, till by degrees they were beaten out : And thus was the name and rule of the *Gothick* Government lost.

In this wicked treachery against their own Country and Christian Religion, was as a principal Actor *Opas* or *Oppa* Archbishop of *Toledo*, who joyned himself with unbelieving *Moors*, to the shame of himself, and the loss of Christianity in those parts. And this is that *Don Opas* to whom these boys alluded.

The Image of the Archbishop being in all sort prepared, one of the boys sat down as Judge ; and the Treason being palpable, commanded the Image to be imprisoned, and at last pronounced sentence against it ; thus :

*Whereas* Alphonso Carillo Archbishop of Toledo, following the steps of the ancient Bishop *Opas*, the ruine of Spain, for that he had betray'd the King his Natural Lord, rebelling against him, and detaining his Money, Towns and Fortresses, which he had committed to him, is therefore condemned to be drawn up and down the streets, and publicke places of *Simancas* ; a Trumpet to go before, proclaiming that the King did command this justice to be done to the Traytor *Opas*, as a recompence due for his Treacheries and Treasons ; and that then it should be burn'd.

This sentence pronounced aloud, we need not question but the young Judge was obey'd in every thing. Then was the Image carryed out of the Town, attended on with above three hundred boyes, and burned with a great deal of triumph in the very sight of the Confederates Army : which at last despairing of taking the Place, rais'd the siege.

King *Henry* we may well suppose was not idle, having in a little time got an Army of near upon an hundred thousand men. This vast strength terrified the Leaguers ; so they fell to private plots, and instigated one *Juan Carillo* to kill the King ; but this *Carillo* being taken prisoner in a skirmish, and perceiving he could not live long by reason of his wounds, was sorry for what he had undertaken, desired to speak with the King, ask'd pardon of him, had it, confess'd how his life was sought after, and revealed to him other wicked practices against him ; and the next day *Carillo* dyed of his wounds.

The King with his potent Army might have quell'd all before him ; but through his love to peace, and carelesness, he lost all opportunities ; allowed of a Conference, where it was concluded, that every man should lay down his Arms, and return home ; a Truce to continue for five Months, and that in the mean time Commissioners should treat of a Peace.

Thus the King lost his cause ; his Army by his negligence wasting and slipping away. Nor did the Confederates disband according to promise ; *De Villena* watching all occasions to see if he could get the credulous King into his clutches. In the mean time *Don Alphonso* led a miserable life with the Leaguers ; and suspecting either their bad intentions, or the success of his cause, would willingly have agreed with King *Henry*, and go to him ; but they kept him strictly, threatening to (a) poyson him, if he receded from his Government.

Both parties now seem'd weary ; so another peace is clapt up, but very dishonourable to the King, considering what an Army he lately had : But this quiet lasted but a while ; they flee to Arms ; both

a Peritulum  
veneno, nisi  
regnaret.  
Jo. Marian.  
l. 23. cap. 9.

both Armies meet by *Olmedo* in *Old Castile*, where the Archbishop of *Toledo* appears in his Arms, upon which he wore his white *Stole* poudred with red Crosses: The Battel is fought, and both parties cry victory; but the Kings party daily wasted, insomuch that most forsook him; and like a private Gentleman hew as content to skulk up and down accompanied with some (b) ten horsemen.

1400.  
1467.

b Mariana, cap. 11.

At last, after some trouble, *Alphonso* dyeth about XVI years old; upon this, the Confederates consult about a new Head: they generally agree upon *Donna Isabella* his Sister, send to her to accept of the Government, and they would proclame and Crown her Queen. She upon good advice refuseth all such profers, declaring her obedience to her King and elder Brother *Henry*; and conjures them also to loyalty, to throw away all private Interests and Factions, and conclude in a firm peace and union.

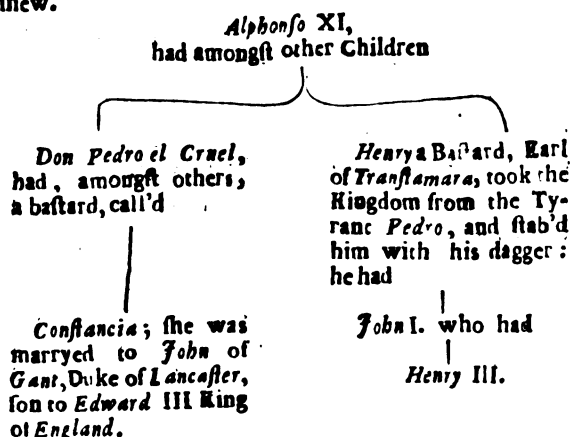
1468.

The Confederates perceiving that they wanted an Head, and so a main pretence to countenance their Arms to the people; and that, whatever they had hitherto gained, was more by their dissembling then strength; that also the Pope *Paul II* had censured them if they continued in open wars: For King *Henry* was held an obedient son to the Bishops of *Rome*, for which *Calixtus III* had sent him formerly an Hat, and a consecrated Sword (which they use to bless upon *Christmas-Eve* at night, laying them upon the Altar, where they say Mass.) And farther, they recollected, that upon *Henries* death, *Isabella* was like to be Queen; whereby they could procure no favour or benefit to themselves, by opposing her peaceable desires.

Upon these considerations they consented to an Agreement; so Articles are drawn up, a Peace concluded on: *Donna Isabella* is declared Princess of the (c) *Asturias*, and lawful Heir to the Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon* with their dependants.

c *Las Asturias* formerly of a larger extent, is now,

a little Province between *Galicia*, *Leon* and *Biscay*, lying upon the *Cantabrian* sea. ('Tis twofold; *Asturia de Oviedo*, and *Astur. de Santillana*.) As the Heirs of *England* are called Princes of *Wales*, and those of *France* the *Dauphins*; so are those to the Crown of *Castile*, call'd Princes of the *Asturias*. Upon what occasion, this short Scheme may shew.



Upon the death of *Don Pedro* surnamed the *Cruel*, though his bastard-Brother *Henry II*. seized upon the Crown, and was acknowledged for King; yet *John of Gant*, Duke of *Lancaster*, pretended the right to lye in him, by reason of his Wife *Constance*: and made some bustle about it. *Henry* dying, there succeeded his son *John I.* with whom and *Lancaster* a peace was concluded; *Lancaster* to renounce all his Title to *Castile*, and King *John* to marry his son *Henry* to *Lancaster's* Daughter *Catherine*; which accordingly was accomplish'd, so both their Pretensions united. And for more honour, *Don Henry* the young son was to be call'd Prince of the *Asturias*; since which time the eldest sons of *Castile* were call'd *Princes*, and the younger are titled *Infantas*. This hapned about the year 1388. And so much by the way concerning the Title of Prince of *Asturias*; yet do I finde *Jehan Frussart*, who lived at this time, to tell us that *Henry* was call'd Prince of *Gallicia*; in his French Edition; 1530. vol.3. fol.95. and fol.143. In the old English Edition, vol.2. cap.154. fol.170. and cap.176. fol.214.

X x 2

What

1400.

What troubles hapned in *Castile* after this treaty, being not considerable, I shall pass over. *Donna Isabella* now declared Heir, several matches were consulted of; but she secretly joyned her self with *Don Fernando* Prince of *Girona*, and the eldest son living to *John II* King of *Arragon*. At this marriage King *Henry* was greatly vext, as being contrary to his desire, and without his knowledge. But at the long run, the King becomes more pacified; and at last (a) dying, she succeeds as Queen of *Castile* and *Leon*; although some busled for *Joane*, the supposed Daughter of King *Henry*; but she is generally thrown by as a bastard, being begot of his Queen *Joane*, by one *Don Bertrand de la Cueva*, afterwards prefer'd for his kindness, being created Earl of *Ledesma*, Master of *Santiago*, and Duke of *Albuquerque*. As for *Henry* himself, he is by all esteem'd as frigid, and uncapable of such loves. Not long after, *John II.* King of *Arragon* (b) dying, that Kingdom was united to *Castile*, by the fortunate former marriage of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*.

a 1474

b 1479

Here might I descend into the troubles of *Navar*, and tell how *Don Carlos* Prince of *Viana*, took up Arms against his Father *John* King of *Navar* and *Arragon*. Upon which quarrel began the great Factions of those of *Beaumont* and *Grammont*; the first adhering to the Prince, and the latter to the King: and the feuds of these two potent Families, was one of the main causes of the loss of *Navar* to the *Spaniard*, those of *Beaumont* assisting *Don Ferdinand* in the conquest, against their own King and Country: Of which more hereafter.

In short, the Prince being not able to keep the field, withdrew himself to *Naples* for sometime; thence returns, endeavours new troubles, upon which he is taken and secured. Upon this the *Catalonians* rebel; and though Prince *Carlos* was set at liberty, and (c) dyed presently after, yet they continue their Treasons: The people of *Barcelona* publicly declare King *John* an Enemy to his Country, and so they would withdraw themselves from his obedience: And the *Catalonians* sent to *Henry IV.* of *Castile*, to desire him to take them under his protection, they being resolved no more to obey the Crown of *Arragon*.

c Some say he was poyson'd by his Step-mother D. *Joane*, to make way for her son *Ferdinand* to the Crown of *Arragon*.

*Don Henry* accepts them; so they set up the Banners of *Castile*. At last, after a tedious War, they are vanquish'd, forced to submit; and King *John* giveth them all freely a pardon. But of *Spain* more in the next Century.

A



A CONTINUATION  
OF THE  
REBELLIONS  
AND  
Treasonable practices  
OF THE  
ROMANISTS,

Particularly in *Spain, Scotland and Ireland* :  
From the year MD. to MDC.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

1. *John and Catherine King and Queen of Navar deprived.*
2. *Pope Julius II.*

SECT. I.

*John and Catherine King and Queen of Navar deprived.*



He Conquest of *Navar* being acted suddenly, we shall make the story of it but very short. 1500.

At the beginning of this Century, we finde *John d' Albret* (or *Don Juan de la Brit*) and *Donna Catherine*, King and Queen of *Navar*, which had boasted it self a Kingdom almost DCCC years.

*Ferdinand II* King of *Arragon*, having by his marrying with *Isabella* Queen of *Castile*, enlarged his Authority and Dominions, as also by his banishing the *Jews*, and subduing the *Moors* to him in *Granado*, made his Government more secure; cast many a greedy (a) thought upon the

a Jo. de Bus.  
fices, lib. 15.  
16.  
Spontan. an.  
1512. 21.



1500. the seizing the Kingdom of *Navar*; and then all of *Spain* (*Portugal* excepted) would be his own.

At last opportunity (good enough, as he thought) offer'd it self, which was thus :

Pope *Julius II.* (a zealous Hotspur) falling out with *Lewis XII.* King of *France*; *Fernando* sides with the Pope, and having rais'd an Army, not onely demands passage for it through *Albrets* Territories, but the command of his strongest Castles and Fortifications; and, which was most, the possession and custody of Prince *Henry*, eldest son to *Navar*; and all these as a security of *Albrets* good behaviour to him; and to be restored again, when *Fernando* thought good.

King *John* thought these demands unreasonable, justly suspecting a difficulty of ever ouing the *Castilians*, if they were once so strongly settled in his Dominions: especially at this time, when the Factions of the two Families *Gramont* and *Beaumont* had made some disturbance with him at home, and the last of them wishing too well to *Fernando*. Add to this, there was no necessity of such demands for passage, seeing they might march several ways into *France* without troubling *Navar*. Thus *Albret* fearing the worst, by smelling out the designe, thought to strengthen himself by joyning interests with the *French* King.

The backwardness of *Navar* being known, Pope *Julio* falls a *Bulling*, with the consent of his Cardinals, declating *John d' Albret* and *Catherine* his Wife, with their Posterity, for *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks*, so deprived of all *Royal Dignity* and *Honour*; freely giving their Kingdom and Dominions to *Fernand*, or any that will take the pains to have them.

*Fernand* now thinking that the Popes blessing and cursing gave him right and title good enough to the Kingdom: And having his Army ready in *Alava* (a little Province between *Biscay* and *Navar*) made it march on a sudden under the command of *Don Fadrique de Toledo* Duke of *Alva*, Grand-father to *Don Fernando d' Alvarez de Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*, so noted in the *Netherlandish* Histories, and who after that, in a little time conquer'd *Portugal* to the obedience of his Master *Philip II.* For the Narrative of which, I shall refer those that desire to read it, to *Jeronimo Conestaggio* of *Genova*. But the *Portugais* 1640 make quicker work in regaining of it from *Philip IV.* And so they might without a wonder, if they surpass the *Castilians* so much in courage, as (b) *Antonio de Sousa de Macedo* relates it.

a Lusitania  
liber. l. 3. c. 9.

b July 22.  
1512.

But to return: the *Castilians* made such haste, that they entred *Navar* before *Albret* expected them; which so amazed his unprovided Court, that he presently (b) fled for it into *France*, leaving his Queen, Children, and People to shift for themselves. All hopes thus lost, the Queen, with her son Prince *Henry* and three Daughters, two days after quits *Pamplona* to follow her husband; whom having overtaken, she thus (amongst other speeches) tartly upbraids.

c — O Roy!  
vous demeu-  
rerez Jean d'  
Albret, & ne  
pensez plus  
au Royaume

de Navarre, d' Autant que pour avoir esté superflueusement bon, vous en avez esté moins estimé des vostres, & vous estes perdu vous & vostre Royaume. L. de Moyne, l. 25. pag. 1191. — O Roy! vous demeurez Jean d'Albret, & ne pensez plus au Royaume de Navarre, que vous avez perdu par vostre nonchalance. Olhagaray, p. 455.

----- (c) O King! King! thou shalt remain John d' Albret, and never think more of the Kingdom of Navar; for that having been superfluously good, you have been the less esteem'd of your Subjects, and have undone your self and your Realm.

Thus

Thus the Kingdom of *Navar* became an easie prey to *Ferdinando*, from which time it hath continued an *Appendix* to the Crown of *Spain*, whilst the *French* are forced to be content with its empty title. 1500.

As for *Albret*, though he was a lover of splendour and learning, himself being well skill'd in Heraldry, and a great Collector of Books for his Libraries; yet he made himself *cheap*, by being too good-natur'd, and too familiar even with the meanest of his Subjects; so that, when it came to a stress, his former freedom rendered his name of Majesty contemptible. Nor gain'd he a little Ill-will by his wholly affecting the *French* modes and humours, too light and Airy for a Mountainous, rough-hewn people; especially such, who breath nothing but the *Spanish* air: but, which was most, his preferring many Strangers or Forreigners, not onely by giving them good Estates, but by intrusting them with the greatest Offices and Places in his Kingdom; whereby the Natives grumbled to see themselves so neglected and slighted.

To these we might add the Factions amongst the Nobility; but that which was the fountain of all, was his giving of himself up so much to his (a) pleasures, that he wholly neglected the Government, not troubling himself with the management of any thing in it; nor caring how things went right or wrong, so they would but let him alone to his own fancie; so thus (like some other Kings) he had the Title, other the sway and Authority: so that he himself lost nothing by the want of these his Dominions, seeing he carry'd the name of King along with him, whilst the *Spaniard* took the trouble and care of Government upon him. And all such are but pictures of Kings.

a Vid. Michel  
Baudier Hist.  
du Cardinal  
Ximenes, pag.  
166, 107.

*Francis I.* King of *France*, [who succeeded *Lewis XII.* to whom our *Albret* fled] who, for his great love and care to the Church, Learning, and his people, is so renown'd by all Historians; upon his death-bed, with his blessing gave his son [*Henry II.*] these two Rules.

*First fear God:*

*Then be careful for the good of your Subjects.*

Upon which excellent advice, the famous *French* Antiquary Lawyer and Poet, *Steven Pasquier* (by the folly of *Latinizing* names call'd *Paschasius*) compos'd this following *Epigram*.

*Nato hæc Franciscus dixisse novissima verba  
Fertur, & ingemitus prosiluisse pios.  
Imprimis venerare Deum, Charissime Fili;  
Mox tibi sit Populi cura suprema tui.  
Dixit & occubuit. Duo ne Præcepta putato:  
In duo peccat, qui peccat in alterutrum.  
Nam cui nulla Dei cura est, nec cura suorum est;  
Et cui non populi est cura, nec ulla Dei est.*

St. Paschas.  
Epigram, lib.  
5. & vid. Delit.  
Poet. Gal. vol.  
2. pag. 971.

*Frances* (whilst death was closing his heavenward eyes)  
Bequeath'd unto his Heir, thus, his advice:  
*First worship God, dear son: Then, see you bend  
Your ways, as most to your Subjects good may tend.*

*This*

1500.

*This said, he dyed. Nor think these Rules but two ;  
For who breaks one, must break the other too.  
Since, who loves not God, loves not his own affair ;  
And, who slight his peoples good, for God can't care.*

Thus was *Albret* the loss of himself and Kingdom; it being a certain Rule, that subjects take their influence from the actions of their Princes; an active, vigorous and valiant King infusing courage into his meanest vassal: whilst the negligent and effeminate [and all such are observed to be too good natur'd, and so negligent, which in a King is worse than tyranny] renders the people unactive, and though jealous, yet careless; which stupidity makes them more stubborn, because they see themselves tyrannized over and abused by such base-spirited cringing favourites, as usually domineer under the Protection of such breathing Statues of Kingship.

But to return. And yet who can be but troubled at the sad fortune of poor *Albret*? who dyed of grief 1517. his Queen *Catherine* some eight months after; both of them out-living their Conquerour *Ferdinando* about a year, who dyed 1516.

a An. 1512.  
23, 24,  
25.  
b Annales, an.  
1512.

(a) *Spondanus* here takes upon him to deny that Pope *Julio II* made any such Censure of deprivation against *Albret* and his Queen; and in this opinion he is so earnest and prolix, that (b) *Brietius* the Jesuite and his Countryman, twits him of being a better Frenchman than an Historian.

But seeing this Bishop of *Pamiers* (one very well read, but by-ass'd in Church-history) was the first (I know of) that hath call'd this Papal deprivation in question, and that but the other day too.

c Pru. de San-  
doval vida del  
Carlos V.  
André Favyn  
Hist. de Na-

And again, perceiving that so many (c) *Romanists* themselves do confess and acknowledge it, I shall trouble my self no more about it.

varre, l. 12. Gonzalo de Illiscas. Hist. Pontifical y Catholica, lib. 6. cap. 23. & 3. Alphons. Ciacon. in vita Julii II. Pierre Olhagaray Hist. de Foix, Bearn & Navarre, pag. 455. Phil. Briet. Geograph. part 2. l. 5. pag. 284. P. Berthault Florus Francicus, lib. 4. cap. 8. Cesare Campana Arbori delle Famiglie Regali de Spagna, pag. 89. Cnephrius in Julio II. Johan. Mariana de Rebus Hispan. lib. 30. cap. 8. Pierre d'Avity le Monde, & Navarre. El. Anton. Nebrissenfis, de bello Navar. lib. 1. Gasp. Sciop. Ecclesiast. cap. 141. pag. 512. Camill. Borellus Comment. de Hispanica Legatione ad sum. Pont. cap. 4. & 73, 74. Id. de Regis Catholici Piazantia, cap. 46. & 109, 110. Lud. Nonius de Hispania, cap. 80. Giovanni Botero le Relationi Universalis, part 1. lib. 1. pag. 13. & Navarra. De l'origine dictionair. v. Navarre.

However, it happens no better to his son *Henry*, who was excommunicated, and declared (a) deprived by Pope *Leo X*, as a Zealous *Romanist* assures us. And thus much for the loss of the Kingdom of *Navar*, by the Christian Fatherly care and Charity of their spiritual Infallibility; the *French* thinking the case very hard, whilst the *Spaniard* looks upon it as lawful enough, not so much by (b) Conquest, as by a just and legal Title.

a D. Michel  
Lonigo da  
Este, delle Co-  
rone de Prin-  
cipi Christia-  
ni. Tavola IV.  
di Navarra.

b—Que el Ca-  
tholico Rey

Don Fernando quinto lo gano, y ayunto con los Reynos de Castilla y Leon, cobrandolo con justo Titulo, y no de hecho, como algunos pensaron. Pedro de Medina de Grandezas y cosas memorables de Espanna, cap. 128. f. l. 131. b.

1500.

## Sect. 2.

## Pope Julius II.

And as for Pope *Julio* II, we need not question but that he was apt enough to act mischief against any that had not an affection for him, having been the Author of many (c) Divisions and Wars before he attain'd to his Pontifical greatness, being naturally of a furious and turbulent humour, insomuch that he is Characteriz'd to be one more fit for a (d) sword than the Popedom. And we shall finde him oftner commended for his feats in (e) War, than his Devotions; nor but that it might be as lawful for him or any of his Successors, to defend by Armes the rights of his Chair and Territories, as any other Temporal Priace.

c Spond. an.  
1500. & 8.d Julius Papa  
non tam Apo-  
stolicæ sedis  
claviger, quam  
Armiger: Pau-  
lus Langius  
Chron. Citi-  
zerse, anno  
1513.

e Bellico nomine clarus septuagenarius senex. Michael Buchingerus Historia Ecclesiastica, pag. 279. — A nullis parum probatus, quod armis magis, quam sacrosanctum Pontificem decerat, deditus esse videretur. O-nuphrinus Continuat. Platina. — Julius II. Papa Egregius Bellator. Abrab Bucholcerus Hæge Chrono-logica, an. 1503. — Et certes il faut confesser que Jules aimait trop les Armes & la Guerre, pour acquerir la qualité & la gloire de parfait Pontife. Nir. Coeffeteau Responce au du Plessis, pag. 1224. — Bellica gloria clarus. Barb. Caranza summa Concil.

Certain I am, that it is deliver'd to us by good Authority, that after he was Pope, at the siege of *Mirandula*, without any consideration of his age, infirmity, or peaceable Office, he prosecuted that War clad in his (f) Armor, or Coat of Male, with a Sword girt to him, now and then mounting the Cannons, and lying in his Tent obvious to all danger, not at all regarding the extremity of the cold or snow.

f Jo. de Buf-  
sieres, Tom. 3.  
pag 206, 207.  
Spond. anno  
1511. & 1.  
Guil. Barla.

de Potestate Papæ, pag. 295. Paul. Long. Chron. Citizerse, anno 1503.

Above all other people, he had the greatest Pique against the *French*, for which they twit him with ingratitude. However, to shew his zeal against that Nation, he did not onely (f) Interdict Lewis XII. and his Dominions, but (g) absolverh his Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, giveth his Kingdom to any that can take it; and by Decree in the *Lateran* Council, takes away the Title of (b) MOST CHRISTIAN from the *French* King, and confers it upon the King of *England*.

Spond. anno  
1512. & 19.  
g Will. Drum-  
mond's Hist. of  
Scotland, pag.  
138.  
h Will. Drum-  
mond's Hist. of  
Scotland, pag.  
138.

pag. 231. lib. 15. Fr. Guicciardin, l. 11. Spondanus, anno 1513. & 2. Sir Rich. Bakers Chron. of England. Laur. Bauck de Tyannide Papæ, pag. 495.

Nay, some say that his fury was such, that at his marching out of *Rome* against the *French*, he threw his Keys into the River *Tiber*, saying, --- Since St. Peters Keys would do him no good, he would make use of St. Paul's sword. That the story was really true, I shall not be positive, though many have exercis'd their wits upon it; amongst the rest, they tell us that the well-temper'd *Melancthon* made these following verses, though I do not remember any such amongst his Poems.

Morney's My-  
sterium In-  
quiritatis, pag.  
553.

Cum contra Gallos bellum Papa Julius esset  
Gesturus, sicut Fama vetusta docit:  
Ingentes Martisturmas contraxit, & urbem  
Egressus, sevas edidit ore minas.

Y y

Iratusq;

1500.

*Iratusq; sacras claves in flumina jecit  
Tibridis, hic urbi pons ubi jungit aquas,  
Inde manu strictum vagina diripit ensen,  
Exclamansq; trucitalia voce refert :  
Hic Gladius Pauli nos nunc defendit ab hoste,  
Quandoquidem clavis nil juvat esse Petri.*

But shorter is *Gilbertus Ducherius*, thus :

*In Gallum (ut fama est) bellum gesturus acerbum,  
Armatum educit Julius urbem animum ;  
Accinctus Gladio, claves in Tibridis amnem  
Projicit, & sævus talia verba facit :  
Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad Prælia claves ,  
Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit.*

This latter is comprehended in the designe or project of the first, somewhat to this purpose.

*When fierce Pope Julio (as fame declares)  
Resolv'd against the French to wage his Wars ;  
He muster'd up his men of War so strong,  
Threatning destruction as he march'd along ;  
And mad that here his Priesthood did no good,  
He whirl'd his Keys into proud Tibers flood :  
Then brandishing his glittering blade on high,  
Thus to his Troops with direful voice doth cry ;  
Since Peters Keys will here no help afford ,  
I'll now defend and quell with Pauls sharp Sword.*

And to shew that this *Julius* was of no peaceable disposition, not onely the *French*, as (a) *Hadrianus Turnebus*, but also his own Countrymen, as (b) *Cælius Calagurnius*, who poetizeth upon his Statue melted into a Cannon : Nay, his own friend and admirer, (c) *Johannes Pierius Valerianus*, could not think of his Picture, but as a dreadful spectacle to terrifie the beholders. (d) *Enricus Cordus* alloweth him no place in Heaven, as if he had formerly sold it. And *Huldricus Huttenus*, a good Scholar for his time, and as great a Souldier ; nor need we question his courage, he confessing to us how he once encounter'd and beat (e) five *Frenchmen* : This German Knight is very fiery against Pope *Julio* ; and indeed his too much zeal was one of his greatest faults ; and his verses and railings are so many against this Pope, that I shall rather refer you to (f) himself, then trouble my self to transcribe them.

Amongst the multitude of others, who imploy'd their pens to upbraid this *Julius*, for his warlike humour, was our (g) *John Owen*, who according to his usual brevity thus girds at him.

*Ecce duo Gladii Christo Petrus ensifer inquit ;  
Ecce duo Claves, O Petre, Christus ait :  
Deposuit Petrus Gladium, Clavesq; recepit ;  
Deponis Claves Tu, Gladiumq; rapis.*

<sup>a</sup> Delit. Poet. Gal. vol. 3. p. 1098.  
<sup>b</sup> Poet. Itall. vol. 1. p. 527.  
<sup>c</sup> Poet. Itall. vol. 1. p. 1334.  
<sup>d</sup> Poet. Germ. vol. 2. p. 734.  
<sup>e</sup> Poet. Germ. vol. 3. p. 673.  
<sup>f</sup> Id. pag. 666.  
<sup>g</sup> Epigram. vol. 2. lib. 1. Epigr. 77. pag. 140.

And yet for all this, I meet with one *Italian Poet* (b) *John Antonius Flaminius*, who doth not onely commend this *Julius*,

as  
a

as an excellent incomparable person ; but also, as if his Temper were too peaceable, he earnestly solicits his Holyness to wars, and seems ( as it were ) grieved and troubled, that his Country *Italy* is like to suffer, by the too much placable and sweet disposition of the Pope. 1500.

'Tis storied of this Pope, that one hinting to him the unagreeableness of his holy calling, with his warlike actions and humour, by telling him that Christ said to St. Peter, ---- *Put up thy sword into the sheath* : That the Pope should reply, ----- 'Tis true ; but that was not till after st. Peter had struck with the sword. --- Propos Memorables, p. 1.

I have formerly hinted of the hatred which this Pope carried against the *French* ; nor did their King *Lewes XII.* shew himself insensible, calling a Council at *Pisa* to depose him ; which *Julius* counterplotted by another of his summoning at the *Lateran* : where it was odd sport to see these two cursing and degrading one another. Nay, the *French* King went so far, as to stamp upon his Golden Coyn this Inscription :

### PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN.

'Tis true, of late, some are willing to deny this, because they say they cannot meet with any such Coyn now-a-days. But this Argument is not strong enough to quash the Testimony of the famous and faithful Historian *Monsieur de Thou* (and a *Romanist*) who (a) affirms, there were many of them to be found in his time. a— Cuius etiam aureo nummo, qui Titulos Regis

*Francia Regniq; Neapol. cum Effigie sua ex una parte, & insignia Francie ex altera referebat, cum hoc Elogio, PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN. Quales adhuc hodie multi reperimur. Jac. Aug. Thuanus Histor. lib. 1.*

In behalf of the *French*, I suppose, these following verses were made upon the Pope, who used to call them *Wine-Piffers*.

*Genua cui Patrem, cui Matrem Græcia, partum  
Pontus & unda dedit, num bonus esse potes ?  
Sunt vani Ligures, & Mendax Græcia, Ponto  
Nulla fides ; tute hæc singula solus habes.*

*Who's born at Sea, whose Mother's of Græcian blood,  
Whose Sire's of Genoa can ne'er be good :  
For th' Sea's inconstant, Ligurians are vain,  
The Greeks are lyars ; all these in thee remain.*

The latter Editions of *George Buchanan's* Poems amongst the (b) *Miscellanea*, afford us this Copy under his name ; but the so doing doth not render him the Poet. I am apt to think they were made whilst *Julius* was living ; and certain I am, that at the death of the said Pope, *Buchanan* could not be above seven years old : and (c) *Belleforest*, who flourished at the same time with our *Scottish* Poet, gives us the verses, but nothing of the Author : But this by the by. However it be, we finde the Pope thus vindicated by some of his friends. b Pag. 376.  
c Les Chroniques de France, fol. 536. b.

1500.

*Est Venus orta mari, Graium sapientia, solers  
Ingenium est Ligurum; Qui malus esse potest,  
Cui genus ut Veneri? a Graiis sapientia? solers  
Ingenium a Genua est? Mome protervetace.*

*Greece fam'd for Wisdom, Ligurians have wit at will,  
Fair Venus sprang from th' Sea; then he's not ill;  
Whose Wit's from Genoa, learning from Greece,  
Whose birth is Goddess-like. Mome hold your peace.*

*a De Episc.  
urbis, lib. 6.  
b In vita Julii  
II. Phil.  
Briet. anno*

1503.

*c Nullus enim antea Pontifex barbatus extiterat. Pap. Mass.*

But to conclude with this *Julio II*; we are told by (*a*) *Papirius Massonus*, and (*b*) *Alphonso Ciaconius*, that he was the first of the *Roman* Bishops who wore a long beard; since which time, they say, the custom hath been in force amongst them, though (*c*) before him, they are said to have shaved all off.

*d Pro sacer-  
dotum barb.*

*e Bone Deus!  
quam multa  
ea sunt quæ  
omnibus in  
Antiquorum  
Codicibus*

*passim mendosissime leguntur? quot immutata, quot adempta? quot iaculcata? Atque unam multa quorundam, iniquitate quotidie non perverterentur. Id. pag. 9.*

But whether this be true or no, is nothing to my purpose; though certain I am, that the bearded Portraits in the last Editions both of *Ciaconius* and *Cherubinus* his *Bullaria* and other Copies do sufficiently contradict the foresaid Assertion. However, a little after this, some were so zealous against the Beards of Ecclesiasticks, that the famous (*d*) *Pierius Valerianus* a zealous *Romanist* thought himself obliged to write a Vindication of Priests Beards. In which having now and then to do with their Councils and Decrees, concerning this small matter of Beards; yet he findes such (*e*) cheatings, falsifications, Forgeries and corruptions in those very Books and Copies, that the good man cannot withhold from putting up his complaint to God against such villanies.

CHAP.



## CHAP. II.

*The Holy Junta, or the rebellious League of Spain against Charles V.*

**T**O relate at large all the troubles of *Spain*, would be endless, especially those agitated against the famous Cardinal *Ximenes*, whilst he govern'd those Dominions.

This great Minister of State, of the Family of the *Cisneres*, was first Christned *Alfonso*, which afterwards in his Cloyster he changed to *Francis*: being a *Franciscan* by Order, first he studyed at *Alcala de Henares*, then read the Laws at *Salamanca*: for some time acted as an Advocate in the Court of *Rome*: In short, he grew so famous for his learning and integrity, that he rose to be Archbishop of *Toledo*, got a Cardinals Hat, and the Government of all *Spain* to be in his hands.

This Grandeur from a mean beginning, procured him no small envy and ill-will from many of the Nobility; but he kept his ground, nor would he lose an inch of his Authority: he was civil where he met with civility; but was so great a friend to Justice, that he would not let the Laws be like Spiders webs, for he made no distinction, the greatest Grandee lying as open to Chastisement, as the meanest Vassal.

It would be too tedious to relate how he reduced the revolted *Moors* in *Granada*; how he conquer'd *Mersalcabir* and *Oran* in *Africa*: the latter of which they say was not acted without some miracles; as how a *Cross* appeared to them at their landing, and that the Sun stood still for above four hours, as an Assistant and Spectator of their Victory.

At home he was ever now and anon allarm'd with Conspiracies and Seditions, but still he was himself undaunted and victorious. One of the first who flew out, was *Don Pedro Portocarrero*, brother to the Duke *Del Escalona*, who made some disturbance to make himself Grand Master of *St. Jago*; but this uproar the Cardinal over-topt. The next was more formidable, the Ring-leader being *Don Pedro Giron*, eldest son to the Earl *Uregna*, who by force of Arms would seise upon the Dukedom of *Medina Sidonia*; and in this he was seconded by many of the chief Nobility. But this was also quell'd by the prudence of our Cardinal.

But that which threatned him most, was the insurrections of *Valladolid*, and the other chief Cities in *Old Castile*, perswaded to this Revolt by many of the Nobles; I, so zealous were they, that they mounted their Cannons, fortified themselves, crying along the streets----- *This is against Ximenes the peoples Tyrant*: But this faction he also over-topt; yet he is not quiet, for those of *Malaga* mutiny, beat out the Judges and the Admiralty, for-

tifie



1500. tifie themselves, mount their Cannon, making one piece bigger then all the rest, with these words Ingraven on it;

*Malacitanæ libertatis Affectores F.C.*

*The Defenders of the Malaquins liberty have caused this Gun to be made.*

This he also suppress, as he did the Sedition of D. John Velasques of Cuellar, who would right or wrong keep the Town of *Arevalo*: Nor did it fare any better with those Noblemen, who had affronted the Cardinal, and violated all justice in *Villefrate*; and the Duke of *Alva's* contention for the Priory of St. John of *Hierusalem*, came little better off, being conquer'd, and forced to submit.

In short, this great Cardinal held up his head against all opposition; and the better to strengthen his Authority, he first rais'd in *Spain* the *Train-bands*, consisting of above thirty thousand substantial house-holders, all which he had ready at a small warning. And though many dependants of the Nobility, who must follow their Lords Example, hated him, yet never was there any favorite in all *Spain* better beloved then he, by the generality of people; such was his impartiality to Justice, Charity to the Poor, and care for the well-fare and honour of his Master and his Dominions.

One time, some of the discontented Nobility desired to know by what right he acted as he did; the Cardinal replied, *By the will and power of his Catholick Majesty*. This not satisfying, he shew'd them his *Guards*; then shewing his *Franciscan Girdle*, and knocking his Fingers, added---*This is enough to tame the proudest Vassals*. And lastly, the better to inform their curiosity, he order'd a Train of Artillery to be discharged, concluding, --- *This is the power by which I do, and will govern Spain, until the Prince our Lord come to take the charge of it himself*.

And in this he was as good as his word. King Charles arrived in the *Asturias* in (a) September, and the Cardinal dyed in November after, not without a grand suspicion of poyson: he was buryed at *Alcala de Henares*, where he had built an excellent Colledge, and where, to his immortal honour, and vast expenses, he had caused his *Biblia Complutensia* to be printed in diverse Languages, as *Hebrew, Caldee, Greek and Latine*; to accomplish which, he had procured many Copies from the *Vatican*, and hired many excellent Linguists from sundry places.

And thus much in short of this great Cardinal, of whom you may see more in *Alvaro Gomez*, and *Michael Baudier*; the first having writ his life at large in *Latine*, and the other in *French*: who in him endeavours to pattern out an exact Minister of State, to the great Cardinal de *Richelieu*: Nor doth envie it self finde any fault in him, but that some fancie him to be one too lofty, and one that could not brook an opposition; qualifications which some think agreeable enough with a Governour.

Prud. de Sandoval Hist. del Carlos V. parte 1. lib. 6. 3a. Wadsworth.

But leaving him (though I could say no less, seeing he was such a grand Patron to Learning) let us take a view of a more formidable Rebellion.

In *Spain* we finde ruling Don Carlos I. a young Prince not well acquainted

acquainted with the Kingdom, having been brought up in *Flanders* [he was born there in *Gendt* 1500.] where the *Flemings* had so inveigled themselves into his favour, that at his coming into *Spain* for the Crown, they ruled all as they pleas'd, and got the chiefest Preferments and places for themselves, to the no small grief and trouble of the Natives.

1500.

Of the Forraigners *Guillermo de Crouy* Lord of *Xeures* or *Cheures* [Duke of *Sora* in *Naples*, and of *Arfschot* in *Brabant*] was the chiefest favourite, and indeed sway'd the King and Kingdom as he pleas'd; and in his actions was so partial and covetous, that he became abominable to the *Spaniards*, who for his faults lessen'd their Affection and Loyalty to their King. And here, by the way, take one merry and instructive story of a favourite.

A Petitioner having presented this *Xeures* with an handsome Mule with rich Furniture, that his desire might be the sooner granted: *Xeures* being asked presently by another Gentleman, where he had got that curious Beast, replyed, *He knew not*. The poor Petitioner being by, and seeing himself so soon forgotten, and so his business neglected, went his ways; and orders his Mule to be cryed, declaring all her Marks and Furniture. Which the other Gentleman hearing, went presently and told *Xeures*, that according to the Marks it must needs be, that this Mule had been stoln: by which device the poor Petitioner recovered his Mule, which he had given before to small purpose. Thus much for *Cheures*, though related to the Royal Bloud of *Hungary*, yet base, cruel and covetous; as most Favourites are, by such vices getting their preferments: All such grand Flatterers, Pimps and Pick-thanks, being the greatest bane and curse that can happen to a King and Kingdom.

*Carlos* had not been long King in *Spain*, but the Emperor *Maximilian* I. (his Grand-father) dying, he was chosen Emperour at *Franck-fort* by the Electors, and so was call'd *Charles* V. The Electors send him news of it, desiring him to come into *Germany* to receive the Imperial Crown. He consents, and prepares for his journey; at which the *Spaniards* take an Allarum, the great City of *Toledo* leading the way, protesting against his going, desiring the other Cities to joyn with them, the better to hinder his departure.

1519.

The Emperour, in hopes to get some money for his journey, summons a Parliament to be held at *St. Jago* in *Galicia*. *Toledo* obeys it, and [according to the custom of that City, which was for the Aldermen (*Regidores*) and Common-council-men (*Jurados*) then present, to draw lots, and one of each to go, upon whom the Lot falls] it was *Don Juan de Silva's* chance to go as *Regidor*, and *Alonso de Aguirre* as *Jurate* for *Toledo*: But the Citizens knowing these two Burgesses not to be of their Faction, would not afford them a full, but a limited power; which the other not accepting, they went not: Whereupon the *Toledians* chose four others of their own party to go, and perswade the Emperour not to depart out of *Spain*.

These Commissioners hasted to *Valladolid* where *Charles* was; where being come, they had a designe to get the people into a Tumult, and so by force to hinder the Emperours departure, and to seize upon *Xeures* and the other *Flemings*; but this plot fail'd; though some hours after opportunity offer'd it self, if they could have

1520.

1500. have taken hold of it. For a Rumour being suddenly spread in the City, that the Emperour was departing, and that the Magistrates had granted him his desire; the people in a hurly-burly ran madding about the streets, shewing a willingness to hinder the Emperours journey. In this hubbub and confusion, one runs up into the Steeple of (a) *St. Michael*, and rings the Bell; which being heard by the people, without fear or wit they hurry to Arms. *Charles* informed of this dangerous Tumult, resolves to depart, though in a most stormy rain. Being come to the Gates, there he found some of the rabble, who had seiz'd upon them, began to shut them, and Barricado up the way; but the Emperours Guards presently made them quit their Post: so having got out, he hastes to *Tordesellas* with such speed, that none but *Xeures* could keep him company. But the Magistrates of *Valladolid* plead their innocencie in this last uproar, laying the fault onely upon the Rabble, many of which were severely punished.

a A very ancient Parish, where hung a great Bell, commonly call'd the Council-Bell, which never used to be rung, but in times of war, uproars, or Alarms.

The Emperour hastes to *St. Jago*, to meet his Parliament, where the Commissioners or Burgesles shew nothing, but their resolution to oppose the Emperours desires. Though he promised a return after he had received the Imperial Crown; *Germany* now falling into some distractions by reason of his absence. From *St. Jago*, *Charles* goeth to *Corunna* (or the *Groyne*) where the Commissioners of the Kingdoms go also; and at last, most of them grant him some monies, for which they got no thanks from their Cities.

In the mean time *Toledo* falls into distractions; the chief Authors of their troubles being *Hernando de Avalos*, and *Don Juan de Padilla*, with his high-spirited wife *Donna Maria Pacheco*, all of good Families; who fill'd the peoples heads full of many whimsies. Infomuch, that in a Religious *Procession* the Royal party were abused, to the no small joy of the Rabble.

The Emperour informed of these things, summons *Juan de Padilla*, and some others, to appear before him. To put a plausible pretence to their non-appearance, they desired some of their kindred to make a muteny, and apprehend them, and not to let them go: but this trick failing, they perswaded the Fryars of *St. Augustine*, and those of *St. Juan de los Reyes* to seize upon them in their general *Procession*: but this by another accidental disorder failing also, they address themselves to some mean and scandalous Fellows, who consenting to their Plot, then *de Avilos* and *de Padilla* made shew, as if they intended to obey the Emperours commands, and appear at the Court. Upon which, the hired Rabble came and seized upon them, declaring they would not part with such good Commonwealths men; so carryed them to a Chappel, where they made them promise not to go to the Emperour; though the other seem'd teeth-forward earnestly to protest against such dealings, and that they were willing to obey the Emperour. This done, the people made the Cowardly Governor of *Toledo*, *Don Antonio de Cordova*, to approve their actions, and to forbid their friends to go to Court.

The mischief being gone thus far, *Hernando de Avalos* and *Juan de Padilla* push them on farther; for which they had the Fryars and Priests at their service, who in their Pulpits incensed the people to the purpose, who according as they were instigated, (though with the loss of some blood) seize upon the Gates, Bridges, and Fort

and Fort of the City; and so all was their own, they now publickly calling themselves the (a) HOLY COMMUNALTYE. 1500.  
a La Santa  
Comunidad.  
And this was the Order they governed themselves by: every time they were to treat of any business, the Inhabitants of every particular Parish were to assemble, and two publick Notaries with them; before whom every man, how mean soever, was to sit down and declare his Opinion.

The Emperour being at *Corunna*, and fitting for his departure, news comes to him of these Tumults of *Toledo*, which did not a little trouble him; but hoping that as their beginning was in haste, so they would not last long. Thus all things being ready, he goeth (b) aboard, lands at *Dover* in *England*, where and at *Canter-* b May 19.  
*bury* being nobly entertain'd by *Henry VIII*, he return'd to his Fleet, which carryed him to *Flushing*, thence by degrees he went for *Aken*, there to receive the Imperial Crown, where we leave him.

The Emperour before his departure had made Governour or Vice-roy Cardinal *Adrian*, who had been formerly his Tutor, and was afterwards Pope *Adrian VI*, for he would not change his name according to the custom.

Upon the Emperours departure, the Nobility and Gentry which waited upon him as far as the sea-side, return'd to their own houses, and the Commissioners or Burgeses to their respective Cities; and the Cardinal took his way towards *Valladolid*.

And now began the people to be stark mad, and the City of *Segovia* led the way; and thus it was: It is a custom in *Segovia* every *Tuesday* in *Whitson-week*, that the Collectors meet to treat concerning the Revenue of *Corpus Christi* Church. Here being now met, one of them falls a railing against the Governour of the City; for which rashness he was warily reprehended by one *Melon*; which reproof was so ill taken by the people, who also hated *Melon* for his Office, being a Sergeant, that in a fury they took the poor *Catch-pole*, threw a Rope about his neck, and dragg'd him out of the City, with a designe to hang him; but they bruise'd him with so many stripes, that he was dead before they got him to the Gallows, however they hung up his body there.

This done, as they return'd, they met with a Companion of *Melon's*, called *Roque Portalejo*, whom without farther ado, they hal'd to the Gallows, hanging him up by the feet till he dyed. The next day being informed that their Alderman and Burgeses *Antonio de Tordesillas*, had granted the Emperour some monies, and was then at the Town-Council; thither they ran in an hurry, climbing over the Doors, breaking in at the Windows; and violently laying hands on him, they dragged him out of *St. Michaels* Church (where the Council meets) nor could all his intreaties and reasons satisfy them, but they set him clad in crimson Velvet on a Mule, with an intent to carry him to prison; yet they had not carryed him far, but they knock'd him off again, put a Rope about his neck, dragged him along the streets; punching him on the head with the pummels of their Swords; nor would they allow him *Confession* or *Sacrament*, but so trail'd him to the Gallows, where they hung him with his head downwards betwixt the two other. This done, they turn'd out all the Kings Officers of Justice, putting others in their places, and ruled all, having seised on the City Gates: but the Forts were gallantly defended

Z z

by

1500. by *Don Hernando de Bobadilla*, Earl of *Chinchon*, and his brother *Don Diego*. And the chieft of the City endeavour'd to excuse themselves to the Cardinal and his Council.

At the same time with the former tumult the City of *Zamora* fell into the like fury against their Commissioners and Burgeses for granting the Emperour a Subsidy : whereupon the Members fled, and hid themselves in the Monastery of *Marta*, a little days journey off; which so enraged the people, that they made Statues and Pictures resembling them, which they dragged about the streets with many reproachful exclamations ; and threatned the Monastery to fire it, if the Commissioners were not deliver'd, whom they resolved to murder.

The people of *Valladolid* had the same freaks in their noddles : But those of *Burgos* could not be kept within any bounds, assaulting the Lord Constables house, invironed the house of the Dutchess *Donna Maria de Tabar*, shooting down part of its Tower, whereby they entred, and sought for her ; but she saved her self by hiding. They ran to *Garci Ruiz de la Mota's* house (who had been Commissioner, and was Brother to the Bishop of *Badajoz* and *Palencia*) resolving to kill him ; but he saved himself by flight ; yet they burn'd his house, with a great number of Deeds, Charters, and other Papers belonging to the King and Kingdom. Nor did they spare the consuming of his richest goods and moveables ; as fine Linnen, rich Tapitry-hangings, &c. with all which they made a great Bonfire to satisfy their fury, and make their worships sport. And to continue the Frolick, they burned down the House of *Garci Jofre*, one of the Emperours Harbingers ; and not content with this, they took the poor fellow, clapt him in Prison, where with blows and thrusts they soon dispatch'd him ; and being dead, they tyed his feet together, so drag'd him to his own door, cutting and pinking his body with their swords all the way : and thus drawing it through all the streets, at last they hang'd it up with his head downwards.

*Madrid* was also posselt with the same Devil of Rebellion, seising upon all the Arms, and setting Guards to maintain their own whims all the City over : and in like manner rose up *Signenza*, *Salamanca*, *Murcia*, *Illescas* ; and as mad as the rest was *Guadalajara*, who not being able to get their Commissioners into their Clutches, rased down their houses ; the foundations of which they plowed up, and sowed with salt, saying that,--- *In regard they were traitors houses, they must be salted, lest they should infect the rest with their infidelity.*----

Cardinal *Adrian* and his Council having consider'd of these distempers, resolved by punishing of *Segovia* to terrifie the rest : to which purpose they sent as Judge *Ronquillo*, a famous Lawyer in those times, with a thousand horse for his security ; and if the City denyed him entrance, and to be judged by him, to make his way by force. The *Segovians* upon this fortifie themselves, and make resistance, being assisted by those of *Toledo*, *Avila*, & *Madrid*, with other inferiour Towns, whereby several skirmishes were performed. The Cardinal, upon this, orders *Antonio de Fonceca* (Captain-General of the Kingdom) to go to the assistance of *Ronquillo*. *Fonceca* marcheth first to *Medina del Campo*, where the Emperours Artillery lay, with them to strengthen himself ; but the people denying to deliver them, they fell to blows, in which exploit

plait, nine hundred houses with the Monastery and Library of St. Francis were accidentally burn'd to the ground, and *Fonseca* beaten off. 1500.

The Citizens of *Medina* enraged at the burning of their houses, flew to Arms, elected one *Bobadilla*, a furious Cloth-worker their Captain, under whose conduct they presently destroy'd all they could meet with, that had any familiarity or kindness with *Fonseca*; against whom they sent their complaints to the other Cities.

At this, the Citizens of *Valladolid* fell stark mad, ran in a fury to *Pedro de Portillo's* house (the chief and richest there) which they plundered and pull'd down; the like they did to General *Fonseca's* house, and the habitation of *Alonso Ninno de Castro* their chief Judge; and turn'd out of their City *Don Alonso Enriquez*, Bishop of *Osma*, and other Gentlemen, whom they supposed would not be partakers with them: the rest they made take an *Engagement* or *Covenant* to their *Holy Commonalty*.

The City *Cuenca* also declares for the people, and suffers themselves to be govern'd by one *Calahorra*, and a *Bridle maker*, as *Salamanca* and *Segovia* were by two *Skinner*s; and of the same humours were *Toro* and *Ciudad-Roderigo*, and other places; in-somuch, that of eighteen Cities in *Castile* which had votes in Parliament, (a) fifteen were risen for the *Commonalty*. Besides, the people of *Murcia* had risen and kill'd their Governour, a Judge, and one of the Sheriffs, with other persons, and threatned the same to any that should be sent to try or question them for so doing: And *Sevilla* it self was running the same risk, but that it seems, the Nobility, the (b) *four and twenty*, and other Justices at that time were too loyal to be perswaded to such wickedness, and so presently quell'd their Tumults.

The Emperour being at *Lovain* in *Brabant*, journeying for his Imperial Crown, received news of these Tumults in *Spain*, which did not a little perplex him; and thinking by fair means to reduce them to obedience, he wrote gracious Letters to all the Cities, offering them pardon, desiring them for the future to be peaceable, promising to return shortly into *Spain* amongst them: Commandsthat the Subsidie which was granted him by the Commissioners at the *Groene*, should not be exacted from the Cities that were Loyal, or would be so: That no Office should be confer'd but upon the *Natives*. But these gracious Letters gain'd nothing upon the people, who were now resolved over shoes over boots.

And the better to carry on their contrived Sedition, they appoint a meeting of the Commissioners of their Cities, to be held at *Avila* in *Old Castile*, and there to sit and act for the good of their *Holy Commonalty*; and this Meeting or Conventicle they call'd *THE HOLY JUNTA* or *ASSEMBLY*. This was held in the Chapter of the Cathedral Church; and in the middle of the Commissioners was placed a little Form, whereon sat a certain Cloth-worker, named *Pinillos*, with a wand in his hand, whose Office was such, that no Commissioner durst offer to speak one word, till by pointing to him with his stick, he had given him the signe.

But this *Junta* was presently after removed to *Tordesillas* in *Leon*: for *Juan de Padilla* having marched out of *Toledo* with two thousand men, which were increas'd with other forces from

a *Toledo, Madrid, Guadalupe, Soria, Murcia, Cuenca, Segovia, Avila, Salamanca, Toro, Zamora, Leon, Valladolid, Burgos, Ciudad-Roderigo.*  
b *Veynte y Quatro*, the four and twenty, or Aldermen.

July 29. 1520.  
La Junta.  
Junta. 1

1500. *Madrid* and other places, and relieved *Segovia* by making *Ronquillo* retreat; he then march'd to *Medina del Campo*, where he was joyfully received, and where *Bobadilla* (the forementioned Cloth-worker) in a furious zeal whisks out his sword, and without any Authority, at one blow cut off *Gil Nieto* (an Alderman) his head, and had his body thrown out of the (a) *Town-hall* Windows upon the Souldiers Pikes which stood below; the reason was, he conceald the coming of *Fonseca*, which he knew of.

a *Regimiento*,  
or *Casa del*  
*Regimiento*;  
The house  
where the Ci-  
tizens meet  
about the Ci-  
ties affairs.

From *Medina*, *Padilla* marcheth to *Tordesillas*, where the *Queen-mother* had been kept up for several years, being held indisposed for any business by reason of her crackt brain. To her he goeth, and sooths her up so cunningly, that she, poor woman, undertook to give him the Command of *Captain General* in that Kingdom; and so she joyn'd her self to the *Junta*, which she commanded to adjurn to *Tordesillas*, which accordingly was joyfully obey'd; and here they sat with her for the future.

The Emperour thinking to quiet all, by taking away their exception from the Cardinal who was a stranger, orders *Don Inigo de Velasco*, Lord high Constable of *Castile* and *Leon*, and *Don Fadrique Enriquez*, Lord Admiral of *Castile* to be in joynt Commission and Authority with *Adrian* in the Government; but all would not do.

The *Junta* having now the weak-brain'd *Queen-Mother* at their disposal, lookt upon themselves as great enough to act any things; so they turn out those who were about her that favour'd the Emperour. Then they send a *Dominican Fryar* to *Valladolid*, who from the Pulpit of *St. Maria la Mayor*, perswaded the people to seise upon the Kings Council there, declaring it unfitting that they should sit in opposition to the *holy Junta*: the Citizens at this were a little divided; however they concluded, that they themselves would not lay hands on the Council-Royal (being of a dangerous consequence,) but if the *Junta*, (which they would not disobey) had a desire to have them, they might send their own Souldiers, and should have liberty to seise upon them. From which time several of the Kings Council began to steal away.

The *Junta* informed of this answer, sent Dr. *Alonso de Medina* a *Franciscan*, who being come to *Valladolid*, desired the people to meet him at the Monastery of *St. Francis*, where, in the Pulpit, he renew'd the old request, that the *Royal Council* might be seised on, and sent prisoners to *Tordesillas*; telling them, that there were souldiers without the City to act it. To this the Citizens agreeing, the next day *Juan de Padilla* enters the City with above a thousand men, seisd on all the Council he could finde, with the Books of the Treasury, and the *Great Seal*, all which he carryed to *Tordesillas*: Yet would not the Citizens let Cardinal *Adrian* be affronted, whom they look'd upon as an holy and good man. But he considering the unconstancie of the people, thought good to consult his own safety; for which endeavouring once publickly to withdraw himself, the Citizens in a tumultuous manner stay'd him, and forced him to retire to his Lodgings, whence not long after in a disguise he (b) stole, and went to *Medina de Rioseco* in *Leon*, whither many of the Nobility went with their forces to wait upon him; by which means he had gathered together

b *Octob. 20.*  
1520.

ther a considerable Army, and so was resolved for the future to put the trial to the Sword. 1500.

In the mean time the *Junta* was not idle, having over-perswaded the crasse Queen-Mother *Donna Juana* to head and countenance them, and appointed her a Council out of themselves to advise her, which got them no small repute amongst the vulgar, which was prest home to the purpose by the seditious *Fryars*. And having thus constituted themselves Supreme, they sent a large (a) Paper of *Propositions* (some of them very extravagant and pernicious) to the Emperour, to have him declare them as perpetual Laws: but *Charles* needed neither such Governours nor Constitutions.

a Dated at  
Tordeſillas,  
Feb. 20. 1510

And now the sword must decide the quarrel; the *Junta* raise men on all hands, seise upon the Kings Revenues to pay them; Proclaim the Lord high Constable, and the rest of the *Royalists Traytors*, and all their Estates forfeited; wrote Letters to all the Cities and Towns of their faction, to encourage them to Arms; nay, and sent to *Don Manuel* King of Portugal, thinking to gain him to their party. They chose (b) *Don Pedro Geron*, one of a noble Family, and of great Relations, for their Captain General; which did not a little displease *Juan de Padilla*. *Geron* marcheth presently to *Valladolid*, which receives him with joy, and takes an Oath to assist the *Junta* for King and Commonalty (like our *Covenantee* distinction King and Parliament;) the refusers of this Engagement, were declared *Malignants*, and laid open to Punishment.

b Whom they  
now began to  
call Duke of  
Medina Sida-  
nia, to which  
he pretended.

Before we proceed any further, let us take a short view of the troubles in the Kingdom of *Valencia*. Before the Emperours departure, the people there began to despise the Nobility, and to confederate together: It hapned that in the City *Valencia*, two (c) *Morisco's* belonging to *Don Ramon de Cardona*, passing along the streets, the Trades-men began to jeer them; and upon a reply, fell upon one of them, whom they murthered; and had acted the same Tragedy on the other, but that he was rescued by one *Diego Pisador*: which prevention, at last so enraged the people, that they fell upon *Pisador*, pursued him to his house, assaulted it, so that he thinking to take sanctuary in *St. Nicholas Church*, they seisd upon him, and kill'd him with their daggers. Having thus ran into mischief, they proceed, and rescue a fellow from execution, though justly condemn'd for very heinous crimes. They despised all Justice and Magistrates; scorned and flouted at all Noble and Gentlemen, whom (like our *Levellers*) they intended to root out and destroy all the Kingdom over; which occasioned a Hat-makers wife in *St. Catharines street*, seeing some Gentlemen go by, bid her Children look at them: the boys desiring a reason, she replied, -- (d) *Because when you come to manhood, you may say that you have seen Gentlemen.*

c Moores  
turn'd Chri-  
stians.

The confederate Rabble chose one *Sorolla*, a Cloth-worker, for their Captain, an impudent base fellow; and then the better to carry on their mischief, they framed this Plot: *Sorolla* was to hide himself in his house, and they were to report about, that *Don Diego de Mendoza* the Viceroy, either had or was going to hang him. This report being cunningly spread through the City, the people grew mad, flew to their Arms, and so march'd with Drums and Colours to *Mendoza's* house, crying out, *Let the Viceroy dye,*

d Porque  
quando se ais  
grandes, po-  
dais dezir  
que vistes los  
Cavalleros,  
Pru. Sando-  
val, l. 6. 20.  
Part 1.

if



1500. *if he deliver us not Sorolla.*--- *Mendoza* defended himself all day long, and by chance was thus preserved from their fury. A good woman by hap espying *Sorolla* in his house, went and told it to the Bishop of *Segorbe*, who hastes to *Sorolla's* house, which he caused to be broke open, and the villain found, had him set on a Mule, himself riding by on another<sup>a</sup>, and so they rode to the *Viceroy's* house, to undeceive the people; who seeing him thus alive, rais'd their Siege and Battery, which had continued all day and most of the night. This plot not fadging against the *Viceroy*, they gave out that he was raising men to punish their insolencies; upon which the people besiege his house again; which forced him to send his Lady out of the City, and steal out himself; all the Nobles and Gentry doing the like with their Families for their own security: whose houses the villains pull'd down or burn'd, and plunder'd all they could lay their hands on; went to the Kings Custom-house, broke the Records, took away the Books, defied the Emperour, appointed XIII. to govern them; and for the General of their Armies, chose *Juan Caro* a Sugar-baker. The City *Xativa*, the *Marquisate* of *Helche*, *Alucante*, and *Oribuela* run into the same Rebellion; the latter chusing for their Lord and Governor one *Palomares*, a poor Serving-man. And now the Kingdom of *Valencia* seem'd to be over-run by a gang of Rebels: but they had a notable shock at a place, to this day call'd *The Field of Slaughter*, where they left above 5000 of their fraternity dead on the spot.

After this they chose for their Captain one *Vincent Perez*, a Fellow whose trade was to gather up Acorns; but their chief General of all was one (a) *Juan de Vilvaan*, who made them believe that he was *Don Juan*, the only Son to *Fernando* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and so the true heir to their Crowns; though that Prince dyed young at *Salamanca*. However the giddy people put so much credit to him, that they swore Allegiance to him as their King, magnifying him as their Redeemer, calling of him the (b) *Disguised man*, and one sent from God to their relief.

<sup>a</sup> Or *John* of *Bilbo*.

<sup>b</sup> *El Encubierto*.

But what this Impostor was, take thus. He was the Son of a Jew, and was carryed by his Father into *Barbary* the same year that the Jews were driven out of *Castile*. A *Biscan* Merchant, call'd *Juan de Bilbao*, met with him on ship-board 1512, as he was trading to *Oran* on the Coasts of *Barbary*, and finding him to write and read well, and speak several Languages, as *Spanish*, *Arabick* and *Hebrew*, took him for his Factor. The fellow calling himself from his Masters name *Juan de Bilbao*, with him he lived four years, till 1516 he turn'd him away for being too familiar with his Wife.

The *Corregidor*, or *Mayor* of *Oran*, not knowing the fault, entertain'd him for his Steward. This Mayor of *Oran* being a young man, kept privately a little wanton in his house, to whom this Fellow shew'd much affection and Courtship; but she being trusty to her Master, tells him all, and that he also perswaded her to witchcraft. Upon this the *Corregidor* hath him imprisoned, and upon a Market-day set upon an Ass, and so whipt through all the principal streets of the City, to the amazement of the people, who had a good opinion of him, so cunningly did he carry himself.

Being

Being thus banish'd *Oran*, he returns for *Spain*, lands upon the Coasts of *Valencia* (just in these distractions) under the name of *Don Henrique Manrique de Ribera*; and here he behaved himself so cunningly, taking hold of the opportunity, that at last he made the people believe that he was their true King, and for such they acknowledged him.

1500.

He carryed his business politickly, kept correspondence with divers Cities in *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, and might have given a main stroak for the whole Kingdom, had not the valiant and loyal Marquiss of *Cenete*, and *Don Pedro Faxardo* the Governour or Lord-lieutenant [*Adelantado Mayor*] of the Kingdom of *Murcia*, with other noble *Cavaliers*, by their valour and industry put a stop to his career. The chiefest loss to the Rebels was in *Valencia* it self, where *Vicente Periz* had almost carryed the whole City: but the Marquiss here carryed himself so cunningly, that he out-braved the Rebel, making most of his followers disband and retire to their own dwellings. This day and plot was so happy to that City, that to this time, 'tis call'd the *Thursday of Vicente Periz*: yet *Periz* received fresh supplies from *Juan de Bilbao*, with which he grew so hardy, that he fought *de Cenete* in the very streets of the City, though to his own ruine, being beaten, himself taken, and his head presently struck off. After which the Impostor Kingling *John of Bilbao* was also taken by the Marquess, the nineteenth of *May* 1522. who, according to his desert, was drawn, hang'd and quarter'd, and his head stuck upon a Lance. After which, *Valencia* began to be more quiet, and wholly submitted themselves upon the return of the Emperour *Charles*. And thus much, in brief, for the Rebellion of the Kingdom of *Valencia*; not to tell of all their Church-robbings, Plunderings, Burnings, Devastations, and Factions even in the very Cloisters and Monasteries themselves, insomuch that one party in the same Covent would pray to God for the King, whilst the other pray'd as heartily for the Rebels.

But now to return to the *Junta* in *Castile*, we finde their Army (consisting of seventeen thousand foot, besides good store of Horse and Artillery) (b) march'd into the field, with an intent to fight the *Imperialists* lying about *Rioseca*.

a Nov. 23.  
1520,

One of the most furious sticklers for the *Junta* against his King, was *Don Antonio de Acunna*, Bishop of *Zamora* (one who had formerly been honour'd with an Embassie into *France*.) He was threescore years old, but lively and vigorous, and excellent in handling his Arms; he had above four hundred Priests under his command in this Rebellion, well armed and stout, himself always charging at the head of them, crying out, *Here my Priests!* And if he saw but any of them (c) handle or read on his *Breviary* or Prayer-book, he would cudgel them for it.

b L. de  
Mayerne, Hist.  
Gen. d'E-  
spaigne, l. 27.  
Grimston, pag.  
961.

Between the two Armies there were now and then some skirmishes; but the *Royalists* thought it no wisdom to put it to a main Battel, their enemies being double the number; besides, they had some underhand dealings with some Chieftains of the *Commonalty*, which made the Rebels too negligent, and retire into Quarters: Upon which opportunity, the *Imperialists* on a sudden march'd to *Tordesillas*, which with the loss of some bloud they took; and here the Bishops Priests fought it out desperately.

Tor-

1500. *Tordeſillas* thus taken, the Nobility waited upon the Queen-mother, who received them kindly, not that she cared how things went, being indisposed in her senses, from understanding what was either good or bad for the publick, though the *Junta*, to delude the *Commonalty*, gave out that she was not onely well in her wits, but fit for Government, and that she had taken it upon her, and acknowledged their interest; and accordingly they acted all things in her name, not mentioning the King. Here some of the *Junta* were taken, others escaped; and the honour of this exploit was justly thrown upon the Earl of *Haro* the Kings General.

The taking of *Tordeſillas* did not a little terrifie *Valladolid*, whither the remaining part of the *Junta* fled and sate in Commission: and the people now growing jealous of *Don Pedro Giron*, chose *Juan de Padilla* for their Captain General, who prosecuted the Rebellion more vigorously then the former.

And now *Biscay* and *Guipuscoa* ran a gadding into the same mischief; nor would the Province of *Alava* be behind; in which Rebellion *Don Pedro de Ayala*, Earl of (a) *Salvatierra* had a main stroke, being of a proud humour, and distasted with his Countess *Madama Margarita*, whom the Court favour'd; and he went the nearest way to work, by getting the *Fryars* to countenance his party and interest.

a He was also Earl of the vallies of *Ayala*, *Quarango* and *San Julian*.

The Royalists hearing of his Rebellion, surprised *Ampudia*, or *Fuente Empudia*, belonging to the Earl; but this they kept not long, the *Commonalty* retaking it: at this assault, the Bishop of *Zamora* is reported thus to have encouraged his men, --- So, my boyes, get up nimble, fight and dye courageously, and let my soul go at a venture along with yours, since you dye in so just and holy an Enterprize.--- A bold Rebel.

1512. By this time, some of the *Junta* were willing to see their errour, and might be brought to accept of a Composition; but the people, *Juan de Padilla*, the Bishop of *Zamora*, and others, were stark mad against any such thing: by which villany, these two got such a love amongst the people, that they protested they would serve under none but them, hooting and crying along the streets of *Valladolid*,----- Let *Juan de Padilla* live, let the Bishop live; long may *Juan de Padilla* live, who takes away the Taxes of Castile:--- we will have none but *Juan de Padilla* and the Bishop.--- And the truth was, these two were as fit for their turns, as a Rope for a Traytor. As for the Bishop, he questioned not but to gain well by these broyls. The See of *Toledo* being voyd by the death of *Guillermo de Crony*, Nephew to *Xeures*, he made himself Archbishop of it, went to the City, was nobly received by the people, who placed him in the Archiepiscopal Chair, and gave him good store of Money and Church-plate wherewith to pay his Sculdiers. But for all this, he is neither held nor reckon'd amongst the Archbishops of *Toledo*, being but an Intruder.

To tell all the Murthers, Rapines, Sacriledges in this Rebellion, all the Tumults in the (b) *Merindades*, the burning of about three thousand people in the Church of *Mora*; and to relate the divers overtures they had for a general peace, would be too tedious.

b Old Castile is divided into VII *Merindades*, viz. of *Burgos*, *Valladolid*, *Calahorra*, *Osma*, *Segovia*, *Avila* and *Soria*. The Kingdom of *Navar* is divided into V *Merindades*: But here Old Castile is onely intended.

The Kingdom of *Navar* is divided into V *Merindades*: But here Old Castile is onely intended.

In

In short, the people were mad against any Treaty: the *Junta* upon an erected Scaffold in the chief Market-place in *Valladolid*, adorned with rich Hangings, with Drums, Trumpets, the Kings at Arms with Maces, Coats, &c. (a) proclaimed the Admiral, Constable, the General, and others for the King, to be Traitors against the *Queen-mother*, and the *Holy Commonalty*. And the people were so mad with delays, that they began to threaten the *Holy Junta* it self, if they were not more vigorous in the War, and laid aside all thoughts of Treaty; being resolved to put all upon the fortune of a Battle. And in truth, the City of *Valladolid*, and some other places for the *Commonalty* had suffer'd very much, all Trade being spoil'd, Corn very dear, their monies all gone in paying the Souldiers, and no safety for any without the venturing of blows.

1500.

March 17.  
1521.

And now the fatal day drew near. *Juan de Padilla* with his Army was in *Torrelobaton* (where he had trifled away too much time) The *Royalists* march towards him, thinking either to besiege him, or force him to battel, before he could get any more succour; the *Imperialists* being towards 10000 men, and the *Commonalty* at that place almost nine thousand.

*Padilla* informed of the designe, was resolved not to be besieged; so, drew out his men, intending for *Toro*, there to stay till more succours came to him. The *Royalists* having notice of his private march, mend their pace; now and then skirmishing them, till they come neer to *Villalar* (a Town in *Leon* between *Medina de Reofeco* and *Tordeillas*) where they fell upon them in three several bodies; and presently putting them to the rout, the pursuit being several miles, in which many of the *Commonalty* were slain.

This victory was gain'd on St. *Georges* day, the *Imperialists* word was (b) St. *Mary* and *Charles*, the *Commonalty* was (c) St. *James* and *Liberty*. This was the ruine of the Rebellion, and the restauration of the people to Peace and Loyalty. Here amongst others, where taken their Captain-General *Juan de Padilla*; *Juan Bravo*, Captain of the 6000 *Commonalty*, which formerly came from *Segovia*, *Salamanca*, and *Avila*; and *Francisco Maldonado*, who now commanded the *Salamanca* forces: who had all their heads cut off, and stuck upon several Nails over the place of Execution.

b Santa Ma-  
ria y Carlos.  
c Santiago,  
liberad.

The Army of the *Commonalty* being thus routed, the *Junta* which was in *Valladolid* sneak'd away: The City it self submitting, which was graciously pardon'd, though they had been the chief maintainers of the Rebellion. And now *Medina del Campo*, *Palencia*, *Duennas Mota*, and other Cities acknowledged their faults.

But *Toledo* would be brought to no reason; the chief Incendiary of that City being *Donna Maria Pacheco Mendoza*, Daughter to the Earl of *Tendilla*, and wife to *Don Juan de Padilla* (lately beheaded) a Lady of a daring and resolute spirit, wherefore she was generally call'd *The valiant woman* (*La Muger valerosa*) and to excite the Citizens to compassion, she made her Son be carryed up and down the streets on a Mule with a mourning hood and Cloak on, and a Streamer with the Picture of her husband *Padilla* beheaded.

The *Imperialists* did not question, if they could either get her  
A a a out

1500.

out of the City, or to joyn with them, to reduce the place to his Majesty ; to effect which, they sent a Captain (who freely offer'd himself) with a few men disguised thither: Being arrived at *Toledo*, he went directly to the Fort where she was, desiring to speak with her: But the people having some notice of the designe, made an Alarm, and ran in great multitudes to the Castle, where finding the Captain in discourse with her, they presently laid hands on him, and flung him out of the high window; by which fall he was broke all to pieces. This done, they cut the throats of all those who came along with him.

And now they resolve to fortifie themselves against all attempts; fill'd their stores full, took all the gold and silver plate out of the Cathedral Church, which they coyned; and they were not a little animated by the coming of the *French*, who taking opportunity of these troubles, enter'd *Navar*, thinking to regain that Kingdom; but all to no purpose: and so at last the *Toledians* were brought to better terms, and received into mercy: *Donna Maria Pacheco* being forced for her own safety, in a Country-womans disguise, riding upon an Ass with some Geese in her hands, to escape out of the City, living the rest of her days in Exile, and as some think dying in *Portugal*. And now for Example was the house of *Juan de Padilla* pull'd down to the ground, the foundation of it plow'd up and sowed with salt, that the soyl where the Chieftain of so great troubles and mischiefs had his birth and habitation, should not produce so much as grafs or weeds; and a Pillar was erected there, with an Inscription declaring the manner of his life and death.

And now all is reduced to obedience, the Emperour returns to *Spain*, (having received the Imperial Crown) and on a Scaffold cover'd with Cloth of Gold and Silk, erected in the chief Market-place in *Valladolid*, the Emperour himself with his (a) *Grandees* and Council about him; being there, Peace is (b) proclaim'd, and a general pardon granted, onely some few excepted for example sake.

But before we leave this story, let us see the end of one or two Chieftains; the first shall be the Earl of *Salvatierra*, who made such Tumults in *Alava*. At last being taken Prisoner, he was carryed to *Burgos*, where he was let bloud to (c) death; then carryed to his grave, his feet hanging over the Bier with irons on them, exposed to the publick view.

This unfortunate Earl, whilst in prison, was brought to such poverty, (being forsaken of all his Friends) that he had nothing to eat but a poor mess of Pottage, which one *Leon Picardo* a Domestick Servant and Painter to the Lord high Constable sometimes brought him. His Son *Don Athanasio de Ayala*, then Page to the Emperour, out of a filial compassion, sold his Horse to buy his Father the Earl Victuals; for which the Master of the Pages would have the young Gentleman punished, and complain'd of him to the Emperour. *Carlos* calls *Don Athanasio* to him, and asking him for his Horse, he presently answered, That he sold him to buy Victuals for his Father: at which the Emperour was so far from being displeas'd, that he forthwith commanded forty thousand (d) *Maravedis* (which is about thirty pound *English* money) to be given him.

a They are so call'd, whom the King gives leave to stand covered before him. All Dukes in Spain are *Grandes*.  
b *Ob. 28.*  
1522.  
c 1524.

d A little *Spanish* coyn of less value than our *English* farthing, which the *Spaniards* commonly account with.

And

And now let us see the *exit* of *Don Antonio de Acunna* the furious and zealous Bishop of *Zamora*, who seeing all his Confederates quell'd, and so no safety for him to stay in *Spain*, resolved to make *France* his refuge: For this purpose, having in a disguise got as far as the Borders of *Navar* (at the same time that the *French* enter'd) he was discovered and seised on by one *Perote*, at a village call'd *Villamediana*, not far from *Legronno*; thence was carryed to *Navaretta*, not far from *Najara* in *Rioseia*, a little Province in *Old Castile*; after which he was sent prisoner by the Emperours Order to *Simancas* in *Leon*. 1500.

The old Bishop having been here kept some time, at last consulted an escape. To perform which, he one time cunningly convey'd a Brick into his Bag, wherein he used to carry his *Breviary*, wherewith he knockt out the Governours brains, that had the charge of him, as they were in discourse together by the fire side. And so upon this opportunity might have made an escape, but that the Governours Son discovering him, brought him back again, and carefully lockt him in his Chamber, without doing any thing else to him, although he had thus basely murdered his Father; which was held and commended for a great piece of wisdom and patience in the young Gentleman.

The Emperour informed of these his wicked Pranks, sent Judge *Ronquillo* (of whom formerly) to sit on him; who condemn'd him, and caused him to be (a) strangled within the said Fort: and some report that he had him hung upon one of the Pinacles of the Tower, to the end that he might be a spectacle and *memento* to all that passed that way; but the Emperour was not pleas'd with such Examples. a 1526.

And thus much for these three years troubles in *Spain*, passing by some other Tumults and uproars there both before and after these, as not of so general and dangerous concern.

1500.



## CHAP. III.

*The Plots in Scotland against King James VI.*

**H**ere passing by the Excommunication of *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, by *Julius III.* for the death of Fryar *George Martinusius*, Bishop of *Waradein*, and after Archbishop of *Gran*, and by the said *Julius* created Cardinal; a man powerful in Arms, and noted for his great actions in *Hungary*. Which Fryar *George* (for so is he commonly call'd) is by some held an honest man, whilst others accuse him of no less than of underhand-dealings with the *Turks*, into whose power they say he designed to deliver up the Kingdom.

1551.  
Girol. Bardi  
vita di Ferdinando, aggi-  
unte alle  
P. Messia.  
Grimston's  
Imp. Hist. p.  
676, 677.

And passing by also the troubles the said *Ferdinand I.* received at his Election into the Empire by the Resignation of his Brother *Charles V.*, Pope *Paul IV* rejecting him and his Title, alledging none to have power to resigne, but into his hands; and so he (and not the *Electors*) is to nominate; nor would he at any time acknowledge him for Emperour, though upon his death his Successor, *Pius IV.*, willingly admitted him for a lawful Emperour: and what need *Ferdinand*, or any other care whether the *Roman* Bishop consented or no, it being no way necessary, and the outside but a Complement? But leaving these and suchlike beyond-Sea-stories, let us come a little neerer home.

1558.

And first, if we look upon *Scotland*, we shall finde it a Kingdom miserably rent between two Factions, the *Puritan* and *Popish*. Of the insolencies of the first, I have elsewhere treated; nor can the latter excuse themselves from the same crimes, if not worse, by endeavouring to betray their King and Country to a forraign power and usurpation, as may appear by these following Observations.

1587.

Here we finde Reigning King *James VI.*, a Prince made wise and wary by the severall troubles he had run through. The *Spaniard* preparing his great *Armado* to invade *England*, several Priests and Jesuites went into *Scotland* to get those people to assist the designe. And amongst the rest, the Lord *Maxwell* was

1588.

very active, coming out of *Spain*, and landing at *Kirkudbright* in *Galloway*, gather'd together some men; but they were presently suppress'd, and himself taken and imprisoned. The Lord *Bothwell* (who troubled himself not much with this or that Religion, having no ends but interest) the Admiral of that Kingdom, had also secretly list'd many Souldiers, giving out they were for the safety of the Nation. Amongst others also Colonel (a) *Sempil*, who for some time had resided with the Duke of *Parma* (having betray'd the Town of *Lire* to the *Spaniards*) landed at *Lietb*,

a He afterwards lived  
a Pensioner  
in Spain,  
where he be-

gan the Foundation of a Scotch Seminarie, intending to make his bastard *Hugh Sempil* (whom he train'd up with the Jesuites) the *Rehor* of it: He was living there about the beginning of King *Charles I.* his Reign; and was very mallepert in the designs of his *Spanish* match. *James Wadsworth* his *English-Spanish* Pilgrimage, cap. 7. pag. 61. Edit. 2.

with

with an intent to farther the plots; but he, by the mistrust of some papers, was seiz'd on by Sir *John Carmichael* Captain of the Kings Guard; but being rescued by the Earl of *Huntley*, escaped the law.

1500.

But the hopes of the *Romanists* were quite blown away by the overthrow of the *Spanish Fleet*; yet the Duke of *Parma* cheers them up again, by telling them of another Army and Fleet to be set out next Spring. This good news he sends by *Robert Bruce* to the Earl of *Huntly*, to be communicated to the rest of that Faction; the chief of which was the Earl of *Arrol*, the Lord *Maxwell* (who call'd himself *Morton*) the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lord *Claude Hamilton*, and suchlike. And a little after, *Parma* sent over ten thousand Crowns by *John Chesholme*.

Thus encouraged, (and also thrust on by Father *Hay*, Father *Creighton*, and other Jesuites) they resolved to undertake some noble act, the better to credit themselves with *Spain* and *Parma*. And nothing is thought better then to seize on the Kings person. In this plot there was *Montross*, *Bothwell*, *Crawford*, *Arrol*, *Huntley*; the *Lairds* of *Kinfawns*, of *Fintrie*, and others. The design was laid to meet all at the Quarry-holes between *Lieth* and *Edenbrough*, thence to go to (a) *Halyrood house*, to seize on the King, to kill the Chancellor and Treasurer, and then they need not fear to carry all as they pleas'd. But *Huntley* coming before the rest, and suspected, is imprison'd; upon which the rest retire. *Montross* and *Crawford* submit and ask pardon, whilst *Bothwell* and *Arrol* are declared Traytors for refusing to come in upon summons.

1583.

a 'Tis sometimes also call'd the Abbey. 'Tis the Kings Court, at the East-end of Cannygate at Edinburgh.

*Huntley* is by the Kings favour set at liberty, upon promise to be quiet for the future; but in his going home in the North, he meets with *Crawford*, who joyn together again, and fall upon the Treasurer; then having joyn'd themselves with the Earl of *Arrol*, they raise what forces they can, and enter *Aberdeen*: The King upon notice, marcheth against them; upon which, the Lords are discouraged, retreated, and divided one from another at the (b) *Bridge of Dee*. The King thus victorious, the Confederate Lords seeing no other safety, submit themselves to the Kings Mercy and Tryal. They are accused,

b This day and action is call'd, The Raid of the Brig of Dee.

*For praëising with Jesuites and Seminary Priests, and the receiving of Spanish Gold to hire Souldiers to disturb the Kingdom.*

*For entring into Bond and Covenant with the Earls of Arrol and Montross, and others, and treasonably to have surpris'd (b) Perth with intent to keep it against the King.*

*For conspiring to take the King prisoner at Halyrud-house, and to kill his Servants and Counsellors.*

c Now better known by the name of St. Johnstone.

*For besieging the house of Kirkhill, firing it, and forcing the Treasurer, the Master of Glammis, to yeild himself.*

*For summoning the Subjects by Proclamation falsely in the Kings name, falsely giving out that he was a prisoner, and desired them to set him at liberty.*

*For marching to the Bridge of Dee, to fight and invade the King.*

*For taking the Kings Herald at Arms in Aberdeen, spoiling him of his Coat and Letters, when he was to proclaim them.*

And



1500.

*And that Bothwell for his part, had hired Souldiers, as well strangers as others, with an intent to seise on Lieth in the Kings absence.*

Upon tryal, they are found guilty, but the sentence by the Kings favour and warrant was suspended; in the mean time they were imprisoned, Bothwell in Tantallon, Crawford in Blackness, and Huntley in Edinborough Castle.

Now for the better and clearer discovery of their plots and designs for the King of Spain against their own King and Country, take these following Letters.

Mr. Robert Bruce (the chief Agent) his Letter to the Duke of Parma, Governour in the Netherlands for the King of Spain.

My LORD,

**M**R. Chesholme arrived in this Country five days after his departure from you, and with requisite diligence came to the Earlof Huntley, in his own house at Duufermelting, where having presented to him your Highness Letters of the 13 of October, he declared amply unto him the credit given him in Charge, conformable to the tenour of the Letters from your Highness: wherein they perceived your Highness great humanity and affection to the advancement of the glory of God in this Country, with other consolations most convenient to moderate the dolour and displeasure conceived in the hearts of the Catholiques, by reason of the success of your (a) Army, contrary to their hope and expectation.

a Viz. the  
Spanish Fleet,  
1588.

Also some days after, (as the commodity offer'd to me to receive the money) the said Chesholme delivered to me six thousand two hundred threescore and twelve Crowns of the sun, and three thousand seven hundred Spanish Pistolets: and likewise hath carryed himself in all his actions since very wisely, and as becomes a man of God; chiefly, when (upon the suspicion conceived of his sudden return) the King sent to take him.

I shall behave my self by the Grace of God (in keeping and distributing of the mony last sent, and of that which resteth yet of the sum) according to your Highness prescription; and as I ought to answer to God in conscience, and to your Highness in credit, and to the whole world in the Reputation of an honest man: and will manage it in such sort, that by the grace of God, there shall be fruit drawn thereof pleasant to your Highness. It is true, that I finde (as all others would do, that would enterprise such a charge here) my self involved in great difficulties: For on the one part I am in great danger of the Hereticks, and them of the Faction of England, by reason of the open Profession that I make of the Catholick Religion, and of the suspicion that the last hath of my secret practices and dealings against them. On the other part, I have much ado to moderate the Appetite that some Catholick Lords have, to have the mony presently, for the hope which they give of some pretended occasions, which will never fall out as they promise. The Earlof Huntley made instance to have the third part of the sum which was sent hither, as soon as it was delivered to me; but he hath

bath not toucht, nor shall be touch hereafter a half-penny, but upon good tokens. I have paid him in the mean time with inexpugnable reasons, wherewith in the end he is contented. 1500.

I beseech your Highness, by the first Letter it shall please you to write into these parts to the Catholick Lords, to remove one error from (a) three of them, who have written in the name of the rest: which moves them to think, that because they were the first who made offer of their service to the Catholick King, that all the money which comes hither, should be parted into three, and immediately after the arrival thereof delivered to them, without giving any part to others; who besides them, are a great number at the service of the Catholick King and you; and who are resolved to hazard all according to their power, for the advancement of this Cause: Nor will they in any sort depend on the other, in the accepting of the Treasure that comes from your liberality, but acknowledge it as coming directly from your Highness, to whom onely they will be bound and obliged, and not to the other three; of whom the Earl (q) Mortoun hath hitherto contented himself with reason: As also the Earl of Huntley hath never shewn himself subject to money, but since he hath been induced by the third, to wit, my Lord Claude Hamilton his Uncle, who is somewhat covetous of gain, and thought under such pretext to make his profit.

<sup>a</sup> Huntley, Lord Maxwell (alias Mortoun) and Lord Claude Hamilton.

<sup>b</sup> Lord Maxwell.

The said Earl of Huntley is constrain'd to remain at Court: he is fallen from his constancie in his outward profession of the Catholick Religion; partly for having lost all hope of your support, before the returning of the said Chesholme, because of his long stay there; partly by the perswasion of some Politicks; partly to avoid the perils imminent to all them that call themselves Catholicks; partly to keep himself in the favour of his King, who pressed him greatly to subscribe to the Confession of the Hereticks, and to be at League with England. But for all this, his heart is nowhit alienated from our Cause; for he hath always a good soul, although he hath not such vigour to persevere and execute so as is requisite in so great an enterprise: But they may help the defects, by joyning with him a man of Credit, resolute to assist him; as we have advised to do, since the Baron of (b) Fintrie is put in custody by the King in the Town of Dundee, so that he durst not go out of the Gates thereof, under the pain of a great sum, until occasion may be offered to depart the Country, within the limited time. And I by the Kings commandment am forbidden to come neer the said Earl, because they have attributed to the said Laird of Fintrie and me, his constancie in the Catholick Religion, and his absence from Court against the Kings will. (c) His securement hath somewhat hindred our course, and permits me not to move him, as it hath pleas'd you to command me, and as I desire, to dispose of the money joyntly with me. So that for the supplying of his want, I have associated to the same end a very honest and wise man, called Father William Creichtoun Jesuite, who was detain'd some years in the City of (d) London, after he was taken upon the Sea coming hitherwards from France.

<sup>b</sup> David Graham Laird of Fintrie. In Scotland, the Barons were either Great or Small; of the latter were Knights and Lairds, and none were such formerly but those who held Lands of the King in Capite, and had power of life & death; but now every one will be a Laird, as in England an Esquire, forsooth.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. Laird of Fintrie.

<sup>d</sup> In the Tower of London.

Likewise I shall help my self by the prudence of Sir James Chesholme, eldest brother to the said John who brought the money from your Highness; for he is a man confident, wise, one of our part, and very little suspected. In the mean time, one part of the money is in the principal house of my Lord Levingston, a very Catholick

1500.

lick Lord: the other part here in Edingborough, in surety enough to help as it shall need the Catholick Lords, who will come hither presently, to resist the designs of them of the English Faction, which think to remain at Court with forces, to order all things according to their fancies. As for the like sum, or greater, which your Highness intends to send hither, it would be very expedient that it were very soon sent hither, secretly to help the necessity that may fall out, and to cause things to incline to our side, when they are in Balance, as there is great appearance they will be by the occasion aforesaid. and in case that necessity requireth no distribution, the said sum shall be kept and reserved to better occasions, or till the arrival of your forces in this Island.

a Sir John  
Maitland.

b Don Bernardino de Mendoza the Spanish Ambassador in France to carry on the Spanish interest and League against the French King.  
c He means Mr. William Chesholme, Uncle to Sir James and Mr. John.  
d The King.

There is suspicion, as also Arguments probable enough, that Thomas Tyrie, who hath brought hither your Highness's Letters to our King, hath not behaved himself according to his duty; for he hath accommodated himself in his behaviour, more of the affection of our (a) Chancellor (who is of the faction of England, and abuseth the credit he hath with the King) then according to the instructions given him. He hath not presented nor made mention to the King of Colonel Simpills letter, whereof I have caused the Copy to be presented to his Majesty by the Earl Bothwell, as if it had been sent to him with another of the said Colonels to himself, which he received from Thomas Tyrie at his arrival, who hath reported to the said Chancellor, as that Seigneur Don (b) Bernardino spake to him in Paris, to the disadvantage of the Chancellor. Also he hath reported to the King, that my Lord (c) Bishop of Dunblane, being returned thither, spake to your Highness and to others many things to the great prejudice of his (d) Highness: And it is believed also, that he is the cause of the suspicion which was conceived of the coming of the said John Chesholme newly to the said Bishop. However it be, the other reports aforesaid which he hath made, have not served to conciliate, but to alienate the affection of the King, of the Chancellor, and many other Hereticks, from the said Seigneur Don Bernardino, the said Bishop and Catholicks here that have to do with them.

e The Scotch call it--500 Crowns of Reril.

As for my self, although I speak not willingly to the disadvantage of any whatsoever, chiefly of them whom I have recommended, as I did the said Thomas Tyrie to the said Don Bernardino, yet I will prefer the love of the truth to men, and would not by concealing thereof, bring prejudice to the common good, nor to the fidelity that the one oweth to the other; and especially to that we owe all to the King of Spain, and your Highness, to whom I am presently servant, particularly addicted by the obligation of five hundred Crowns of (e) fee, and forty for monthly entertainment, which it hath pleas'd your Highness to give me freely in the name of the King of Spain, not being required for my part, nor other thing for my particular to this present: By reason whereof I am the more bound to give your Highness most humble thanks, and to endeavour my self to deserve by my most humble and faithful service, as well the said entertainment as the recompence it hath pleas'd your Highness to promise me of your grace and favour. The said gift of your liberality, came well for my purpose, seeing by reason of the danger of my person, it behooved me to augment my ordinary train for my greater surety; which I was not able longer to have born out without help. For from all the Lords of Scotland, I have not retain'd

tain'd but a part onely of the money, which I spent travelling, for the advancement of this Cause in Spain with his Catholick Majesty, and with your Highness in the Low-Countries: As for the four hundred Crowns employ'd for the deliverance of Colonel Simpill out of prison, I have put it in Count with the residue which I disbursed of the first sum, according as it hath pleas'd your Highness to command me.

The Earl of Morton, to whom I have given consolation by writing in prison, hath instantly pray'd me also by writing to remember his most affectionate care to your Highness, finding himself greatly honour'd, by the care it pleas'd you to have of him. By the grace of God, he is no more in danger of his life by way of Justice, it being impossible for his enemies to prove against him any thing which they had supposed in his accusation: as also the Kings affection not so far alienate from him, as it hath been heretofore: And in case he were in danger, or that it were requisite for the good of our Cause presently to deliver him, we can at any time get him out of prison: However, in the meantime we wait the Kings pleasure towards his liberty, onely to avoid all pursuit that they would make, if we deliver him by extraordinary means. When in the Kings Name they offer'd him his liberty, if he would subscribe the Confession of the Hereticks faith; he answered, He would not do it for the Kings Crown, nor for an hundred thousand lives, if he had them to loose; and hath offer'd to confound the Ministers by publick disputation. I shall sollicite the Lords his friends to procure of the King his liberty very soon; for he imports more to the good of our Cause, then any of the rest, by reason of his Forces, which are near England, and the principal Town of Scotland, and the ordinary Residence of our King; as also he is a Lord the most resolute, constant, and of greatest execution of any of the Catholicks.

It is no small marvel (considering the means the Hereticks have to hurt us, and their worldly wits so far passing ours, and their evil will and intention against us) that we subsist. Truly, we cannot but attribute the effect thereof to God, who [when the certain news of the returning of the (a) Army of Spain by the back of Ireland, was dispersed through the Country; and the Hereticks of the Faction of England triumphed, and the constancie in the outward profession of the Earl of Huntley and others was alter'd] caused the Earl of (b) Angus to dye, who was the chief of the English Faction. And the same time grew some dissensions amongst the Hereticks, by reason of some Offices which some pretended to usurp above others at Court. And by the instant prayers, and holy persuasions of two Fathers Jesuites, converting to our holy faith two Heretick Earls of the chiefest of Authority amongst them; the one whereof is called the Earl of Arrol, Constable of Scotland, converted by Father Edmund Hay; the other called the Earl of Crawford, converted by the foresaid Father William Creichton. They are both able and wise young Lords, and most desirous to advance the Catholick Faith, and your enterprises in this Island; which they are determin'd to testifie to his Catholick Majesty and your Highness by their own Letters, which by the Grace of God I will send by the first opportunity. In the mean time they have required me to make you offer of their most humble and most affectionate service, promising to follow whatsoever the same Jesuites and I shall

1500.

a The Spanish Armada being beat, a great part of them fled Northwards, round about Scotland, and so return'd home by Ireland.

b Archibald Douglas Earl of Angus dyed at Smeron near Dalkeith, July 1588. supposed by witchcraft or other evil means.

1500.

think good to be done, for the conservation of the Catholicks, and to dispose and facilitate the execution of your enterprises here, which they may do more easily then they that are known to be Catholicks, whose actions are ever suspicious to the Hereticks for their Religion, whereof these two Earls have not yet made outward profession; but in that, as in the rest, they submit themselves to our will, and to what we think most expedient.

The said Fathers of that company do profit very much in Scotland, and so soon as any Lord or other person of Quality is converted by them, they forthwith dispose and incline their affections to the service of the King of Spain and your Highness, as a thing inseparably conjoyn'd with the advancement of the true Religion in this Country. If I had commandment from your Highness, I would give them some little Alms in your name, to help them and eight others whereof four are also Jesuites, and the other four are Seminary Priests of Pont a Mousson in Lorraine, which are all the Ecclesiasticks that produceth so great spiritual fruit in Scotland, and acquires to you here such augmentations of your friends and servants.

<sup>a</sup> The  
Hibrids,  
where Crei-  
ton thought to  
meet the Fleet

After the parting of Colonel Sempill from hence, the Lords sent Letters with the foresaid Father Creighton and other Gentlemen after the Army of Spain, to cause it land in this Country; but it had taken the way to Spain few days before their arrival at the (a) Islands, where it had refreshed it self, so that it was not possible for them to attend on it. They of this Countrie, who are of the Faction of England, were in a marvellous fear, during the uncertainty of the landing of the said Armie, and confess'd plainlie, that if it had landed here, they had been utterly overcome.

<sup>b</sup> Viz. the  
Abbeys of  
Coldingham  
and of Kells.

The Earl Bothwell, who is Admiral of Scotland, and as gallant a Lord as any is in the Countrie, although he make profession of the new Religion, yet is he extremelie desirous to assist you against England, having waged and entertain'd all this Summer (under pretence to order the Isles) some Troops of men of War, which together with his ordinarie Forces, should have joyned with yours if they had come hither. He suffers himself to be peaceable guided by me, notwithstanding the diversitie of our Religion; and hath often times said, that if the Catholicks would give him suretie to possess, after the restitution of the Catholick Religion, two (b) Abbies which he hath, that he would even presentlie be altogether one of yours. He intends to send Colonel Halkerstoun, to accompanie certain Captains and Gentlemen to Spain, and almost four hundred Soldiers all safe from the shipwrack in our Isles. And because they are in great necessitie, he is purposed to furnish them with Ships, Victuals, and other things necessarie, to testifie thereby to the King of Spain the affection he hath to do him most humble and affectionate service. And if we think it good, hath offer'd himself to go to your Highness in the Low-Countries, and by your advice afterward, do the like to his Catholick Majestie of Spain. But hereupon we will advise what is most expedient: If we may always be assured of him, he will be as profitable for the good of our Cause as any Lord in Scotland, for he hath great dependance about this Town, which is the principal of Scotland; as also upon the Frontiers of England. He hath offered to main-

maintain and defend me against all that would attempt any thing against me. 1500.

We have chosen for every Catholick Lord, a Gentleman of the wisest and faithfullst Catholicks, and best beloved of their friends, to serve them in Council, and to meet at all occasions, to resolve upon the most expedient courses, that may concern the good of our Cause, according to the will and intention of their Lords, who have obliged themselves to approve and execute their resolutions, and in no wise to contradict the same: and by that means we hope to proceed with greater securitie and effect, then we have done heretofore. They shall never know any thing of our Intelligences there, nor our final intentions; but according to the exigence of the affairs which shall be in hand, and that superficially, and without discovering our selves too much.

Your Highness shall understand by the particular Letters of the Lords, what remaineth to be said to you by these presents: by reason whereof I will make an end, most humbly kissing your Highness hands, and praying God to give you all the good hope and felicity you desire.

Your Highness most humble

From Edinbrough this  
XXIV of January,  
M D LXXX X.

and most affectionate Servant,

Robert Bruce.

At the same time with this, some of the Nobility, in name of all the rest (as this Letter also testifieth) writ to Philip II King of Spain; which take as followeth.

S I R,

WE cannot sufficiently express by speech, the great grief we have conceived, being frustrate of the hope we have so long had, to see (the last year) the desired effects which we hoped of your Majesties preparations. And our displeasures have been so much the greater, that your Naval Armies should have passed by so near us, without calling upon us, who expected the same with sufficient Forces for the peaceable receipt and assistance thereof, against all enemies in such sort, that it should have had no resistance in this Countie, and with our support should have given England work enough: At least, if it had come in to refresh it, it had preserved a number of Vessels and Men, which we know have perished near our Isles, and upon the Coasts of Ireland; and had discovered an incredible number of friends, in full readiness to have run the same fortune with it, in such sort, as we dare well affirm, it should not have found half so many in England, for all that is spoken by the English Catholicks (a) fled into Spain, who by emulation, or rather by an unchristian envie, too much lessen our power of aiding you, thereby to magnifie their own onely, and make themselves to be able to do all, so to advance themselves in credit with your Majestie, and such as are about you: but the experience of this their passage, hath sufficiently testified

a Refugit  
their faith  
the Scotch  
Copy.

1500. testified, that they have not shewn themselves in such number to assist your forces as we have done. And therefore your Majestie, as most wise as you are, should, if it please you, make such account of the one, as not to neglect the other; and so serve your self with both, to the designe you aim at, without hazarding your Forces, for the particular of the one or the other.

We refer even to the judgement of some of your own subjects who have been here, the Commodities and Landing in these parts, where the expence bestowed upon the Equipage of one Gallasse, shall bring more fruit to your service, then you may have of ten upon the Sea. And we may assure your Majestie, that having once six thousand here of your own with money, you may levie here Forces of this Countrie as freely as in Spain, who will serve you no less faithfully then your own natural subjects.

And although we cannot without censure of presumption give your Majestie advice in your affairs in Spain; yet in that which may concern your service here, we may speak more freely, as being upon the place, and knowing by ordinarie experience many things unknown to any of yours that are not here. The over-late arrival of your Armie in our Waters, took from it the Commoditie to retire it self in such safetie, (as it might have done coming sooner) by reason of the great Winds that are ordinarie here in Harvest; as also lack of Pilots experienced upon the Coasts of England, Scotland and Ireland, appeareth to have bred great harm to the said Armie: which we could have remedied concerning Scotland, to have sent Pilots from hence, if it had liked your Majestie to have served your self with them.

Likewise (saving better advice) it seems to us altogether unprofitable, to fetch the Armie by Sea, if it may be avoided, for many causes: And amongst others, because such as shall have fought by Sea, shall be unable, being wearie, to fight again by land against new Forces: So the best should be to shift by one way or other, for springing of your men and Vessels; and so the English Forces staying upon the Sea unfought with, shall be disappointed, and shall not come in time to assist them that shall be assailed by land. Afterwards sending hither a part of your forces before the other which should go the right way to England, and that secretly by the back of Ireland, Your Majestie should compel the enemy to divide their Forces, and it may be should cause them send the greatest part hither, where we might make them believe the greatest part of your Forces were arrived, at least should make them (a) weaken a good part of England, and draw away a great part of their Forces which would resist your landing and invasion on that Coast. And we may well promise, that having here 6000 of your men and money to aid others here, we should within six weeks after their arrival be a good way within England, to approach and assist the Forces which your Majestie should cause to enter there.

a The Scotch Copy runs thus: — At least sould cause thame disgarneis as meikle of England, and draw a great part of their Forces, quhilk wald resist, &c.

The Knight William Sempil Colonel, can shew your Majestie the whole, to whom we leave it. Also we have caus'd to be writt both before and since his departure, our several suchlike advices, by Mr. Robert Bruce, causing them to be address'd to my Lord Duke of Parma, to whom your Majestie referr'd us, at the beginning of

*of these affairs. And seeing your Majestie is duly advertised and informed, we will conclude, kissing most humble your Majesties hands; heartily praying God to grant you full accomplishment of all your holie enterprises.*

1506.

From Edinborough this  
XXIV of January,  
MDLXXXIX.

Your Majesties most humble  
and most affectioned Servants,

*Earl of Morton,*

*G. Earl of Huntley,*

*Claud Lord Hammiltoun,*

In the name of the other Catholick  
Lords in Scotland.

The King, one might think, had no reason to mistrust *Huntley*, having not long before married him to a gallant Lady (*a*) akin to his Majesty; and also got him to subscribe to the *Confession* of Faith, then used by the Reformed in *Scotland*; and confer'd many favours upon him. But all this to no purpose; he is yet a friend to *Spain*, and sorry for his subscription, as may appear by his Letter to the Duke of *Parma*, thus:

*a* Being Sister to the Duke of Lennox.

My LORD,

I Have received from John Chesholme the Letters it pleased your Highness to write the XIII of October, full of most Christian affection to the well-fare of our Cause, for the which I give your Highness most humble thanks. The support of ten thousand Crowns sent to that end, is received by Mr. Robert Bruce; which shall not be imploy'd, but for help of the most urgent necessity of the said Cause, as it hath pleas'd your Highness to direct.

After the (b) departure of Colonel Sempil, I found my self so beset on all hands, and pressed in such sort by our King, that it behooved me to yeild to the extremitie of time, and subscribe with his Majestie (not with my heart) the *Confession* of their Faith, or otherwise I had been forced immediatelie to have departed the Countrie, or to have taken the fields by resisting his Forces, and such as he might have drawn out of England to his aid; which I could not have done, especiallie then, when by the returning of your Army into Spain, all hope of help was taken from us.

*b* Or rather Escape, in which he assisted.

But if on the one part I have erred, by the apprehension of dangers that threatned my ruine, I shall on the other part endeavour my self to amend my fault (whereof I repent me with all my heart) by some effect, tending to the weal and advancement of the Cause of God, who hath put me in such credit with his Majestie, that since my coming to the Court, he hath broke up his former Guards, and caused me to establish others about his person of my men; by means of whom and their Captains (who are also mine) I may ever be master of his person; and (your support being arrived)



1500. rived) spoil the Hereticks of his Authoritie, to fortifie and assure our enterprises.

Whereupon I beseech your Highness to send me your advise, and assure your self of my unchangeable affections in my former resolutions, although the outward actions be forced to conform themselves, sometimes, to necessity of occasions, as Mr. Robert Bruce will more amply write unto your Highness; to whom I farther remit my self. Praying God (having first kiss'd your Highness hand) to give you accomplishment of your holie enterprises.

Your Highness most humble  
and affectionate Servant,

From Edinbrough this  
XXIV of January,  
(a) M D LXXXIX.

a Both the  
Scotch and  
English Copy  
hath 1592.  
but by a mi-  
stake.

G. Earl of Huntley.

The Earl of Arrol being turn'd *Romanist* by the perswasions of Edmund Hay the Jesuit, is also by the same reasons very zealous for the *Spanish* interest, as appears by his Letter to the Duke of Parma; thus:

My LORD,

b Is it against  
their own  
King, for the  
King of Spain?  
or what else?

Since God of late by the clear light of his holie Catholick Faith, hath chased from my understanding the darkness of ignorance and error, wherein I have been heretofore nourished; I have been as soon perswaded in acknowledging of so great an effect of his divine grace towards me, that I am chiefly obliged to procure, since I know the enterprises of his Catholick Majestie and your Highness tend principallie to that end; as also the advancement of some (b) civil cause, which hath verie great affinitie and conjunction with ours here. That I may testifie by this present, the affection that I have to the Weal of the one and the other, having ever before my conversion been one of the number of your friends and servants for the respect of the last; to the which, the first of Religion, which is the greatest and most important that is in the world, being joyned thereto, I am also become altogether yours, which I most humbly beseech your Highness cause to be signified to his Catholick Majestie, and to promise him in my behalf, that he hath not in this Countrie a more affectionate servant then I, neither yet your Highness, as you shall understand more amply of my intention in particular by him, by whom your Highness shall receive this present. To whom (after I have most humbly kiss'd your hand) I beseech the Creator to give you the accomplishment of your holy desires.

Your Highness most humble  
and most affectionate Servant,

From Edinbrough this  
XXIV of January,  
M D LXXXIX.

Francis Earl of Errol.

At

At the same time, the foresaid Mr. Robert Bruce the chief Agent, writ to *Francisco Aguirre* a Spaniard then at *Antwerp*, telling him, that when he is again sent into *Scotland*----- Cause your self to be set on land near *Seaton*, where I pray you to enter secretly, and there you shall be kept till I come and finde you, &c.

1500.

The following part of this Letter was writ in such cunning and obscure terms, that they could not understand it.

We formerly heard of the imprisonment of some Lords for their Rebellion, and now the King thinking for ever to make them his by his grace and favour, releaseth them all freely, onely *Morton* enter'd bond of an hundred thousand pound *Scotch*, not to practice any more against him or Religion. But in most the King found himself mistaken.

For, *William Creighton* the Jesuite, being forced to leave *Scotland*, gets into *Spain*, where he becomes Agent for the Old Cause: Hath several consultations with King *Philip* how to advance the business; and having brought all things to a fair pass, sends Mr. *William Gordoun*, son to the *Laird* of *Abiryeildie*, with Letters to Mr. (a) *James Gordoun* a Jesuit, and brother on the Fathers side to *George* Earl of *Huntley*; whereby he gave him and the *Romanists* in *Scotland* to understand what pains he had taken with the *Spanish* King; and that the said King had confess'd to him, that he had been deceived by the *English*, and so would for the future follow the way and advice given him by the said *Creighton*, both for the invading of *England*, and the alteration of Religion in *Scotland*. And the better to carry all on, the said *Creighton* desired as many Blanks and Procurations as could be had of the *Scotch* Noblemen, for the greater credit and assurance of his dealings and agitations.

1590.

At this the *Romanists* take heart, and not to seem wanting on their parts, they deal with some of the Nobility; from whom they get Blanks subscribed, two of which were procured of them by Sir *James Chesholme*, one of the Kings chief Servants: one of them was thus subscribed in *French*.

a Hedged at  
Paris 1520,  
aged 77 years:  
he writ *Con-*  
*trouersiarum*  
*Christiana fi-*  
*dei Epitomen*.  
1591.

1592.

*De vostre Majestie tres humble*

& tres obeissant Serviteur,

*Guiliame Compte de Angus.*

Another thus subscribed.

*De vostre Mijestie tres humble*

& tres obeissant Serviteur,

*Franzoys Compte de Errol.*

Other

1500.

Other two Blanks were procured of them in *Latine* by *Robert Abircrumby* the Jesuite, one of the main sticklers in these plots ;  
Thus :

*Guilielmus Angusie Comes.*

Another thus :

*Franciscus Errollie Comes.*

Other two Blanks were procured by Mr. *George Ker*, brother to the Lord *Newbottle*, thus subscribed :

*Georgius Comes de Huntlie.*

All these several Blanks should have been fill'd up and supply'd by way of Letters to the King of *Spain*, and Credentials or Certificates in behalf of the said *Creichton*, at the discretion of the said *Creichton* and (a) *James Tyrie*, who should have writ over them, what he thought most fit to carry on the Cause.

Besides these, there were two other Blanks, thus subscribed in the midst of two open sheets of Paper :

*Guilielmus Angusie Comes.*

*Georgius Comes de Huntlie.*

*Franciscus Errollie Comes,*

(b) *Patricius Gordoun de Auchindoun, Miles.*

a There was one *James Tyrie* a Scotch Jesuite, who dyed at Rome 1597, and writ under the name of *George Thomson de Antiquitate Eccles. Scotia* : but whether this was the same *Tyrie* I know not.

One of these two last Blanks should have been fill'd up with Procurations, and whatsoever the said *Creichton* and *James Tyrie* should think fit, for the confirmation of that which Mr. *George Ker* (who was to carry them) had in direction and credit from the Subscribers : The other to contain the Articles to be concluded on for the better security both of King *Philip* and the Scotch Nobility.

c Viz. *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol*.

The sum of which credit, was an assurance that these Noblemen should raise a power of Horse-men, and meet the Spanish Army at their landing, and to assist and accompany them into England. And for farther encouragement, these (c) Subscribers took the burthen on them, and engaged that all the Romanists in Scotland would joyn and assist in the said Cause. Besides these Subscriptions, the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntlie* and *Arrol*, deliver'd their Seals or Coats of Armes in wax for a further confirmation.

Nor did they doubt of carrying all before them, the King of *Spain* having promis'd to send them by the latter end of Spring 1592, an Army of thirty thousand men, to have landed either at

*Kir-*

*Kirkudbright in Galloway*, or at the mouth of *Clyde*, according as the wind served. And besides this, to send good store of money to raise Forces in *Scotland*, and to supply the said Army: whereof (a) four or five thousand should remain within *Scotland*, who with the assistance of the *Romanists* there, should alter the Religion; and the rest of the Army was to pass into *England*.

For the carrying of these Blanks and some Letters into *Spain*, they had once concluded that Sir *James Chesholme*, one of King *James* his chief Servants, should be the Messenger, being through-paced for the Cause; he having then occasion to pass over to his Uncle *William Chesholme* (by them call'd Bishop of *Dumblane*) but the said Sir *James* being let by some private business, that he could not be ready soon enough, they pitch'd upon the foresaid Mr. *George Ker*, Doctor of the Laws, brother to the Lord *Newbottle*. But he was (b) apprehended as he was taking Ship, and his blanks and other Letters seiz'd on; some of which Letters take as followeth.

Part of a Letter from an *English* Jesuit (the first of it nothing to the purpose) take as followeth.

Good Father,

THE inclosed to my Lord, I pray you read, and take it as written to your self, &c.----- The Lord Seatoun in whose house I sojourn sometimes, salutes you. Of the affairs of the Catholics here, I leave it to them to write and relate, by whose means these Letters shall be convey'd. My Lord Seatoun hath an (c) Haven of his own, which may be hereafter very commodious for our purpose. Commend me, I pray you, to F. Barth. Pere, &c. Mr. Dudley Ilper Knight, and John Thules, which upon some sudden pushes of persecution, have made their repair hither, are in health, and salute you. And Mr Syal a Priest dyed here lately in *Edinbrough*. Love me, and pray for me, I beseech you all, Solito. And if you send any into these parts, let them come furnisht with as ample faculties as you may. Let them enquire for one Mr. Jonas, which will be a token betwixt us. Our Lord bless us, and send us to meet once ere we dye.

Seytoun this 2 of  
Octob. 1592.

Yours ever most assured,

Joan. Cecilio.

A Letter from the Earle of *Angus* to Mr. *William Creichtoun*.

MY most affectionate commendations premitted, this present is onely to know of your well-fair, and friends, and of the estate of matters where you remain, and to shew a testimony of my good affection towards you. For (God be prais'd) if you were in this Country, I could do you greater pleasure then I was able to do before, albeit good-will lacked not at any time, as you know.

C c c

The

1500.

In this I follow the Scotch Copies of the Examinations, but Archbishop Spotswood hath 15000. (p. 390.) which I suppose to be a mistake in the Printer.

b Decemb. 27. 1592. he was taken by Mr. Andrew Knox, Minister of Paisley, and afterwards Bishop of the Isles. Ker was imprisoned, but afterwards escaped.

c It may be he means some eight miles East off *Edinbrough*, upon the South-shore of the Firth, viz. *Cokeny-Haven*.

1500. *The (a) bearer hereof can inform you of such things as occur with us, for we are daily subject to alteration; you may credit him as my self, for so his vertues do deserve. It is not needful that I trouble you with his commendation, seeing he is to you that he is: you know his honesty and good intention, and the causes of his departing, to whose sufficiency referring the rest; my hearty salutations, and my bed-fellows, with all our company young and old remembred unto you and your company; commits you with them to the protection of God.*

*a Mr. George Ker.*

Edinbrough the  
X of October  
MDXCII.

Yours ever to his power,

Angus.

Mr. James Gordon sent also a Letter to Creichton, under counterfeit and false names, which runs thus :

### The Superscription.

*b William Creichton.*

To his assured friend (b) George Cranford.

Trusty friend,

*c George Ker.* **A**fter most hearty commendations, your friends who are here have directed this (c) Bearer to you, for full resolution of all your affairs in these Quarters: we have delayed overlong, I grant, but he will shew you the cause of all. The best is, that next you use all expedition in time coming, against the next Summer, otherwise you will loose credit here with your (d) Factors. If you come, you will finde more friends then ever you had, but otherwise you will finde fewer; because the next Summer many are bound to other Countries, and will not stay for you any longer. Haste hither some word to your friends, that we may put them in good hope of you, and they will tarrie the longer.

*d i. e. The confederate Romanists.*

The Bearer is an honest man, and verie sufficient, you may credit him as my self. I should have come with him my self, were it not, that I was perswaded that you would remain satisfied with our Answer, and because I had a stop from Flanders. As the Bearer can shew you, you have gotten all that you (e) desired, therefore make haste. The Bearer is come unto you on his own charge, therefore you must have respect to him. The last Messenger that you sent, came behinde hand here, and hath got no satisfaction as yet, because nothing could be gotten here, and we could finde no man but this that would pass on his own charge; and I fear, if he had not undertaken it on his own expences, you should not have receiv'd an answer so soon, and therefore you should intreat him the better.

*e i. e. The Blanks.*

*f i. e. The Spanish ay gill your Black passis forward, in the Scotch Copy.*

*h i. e. be forced to flee the Country. i The Scotch Romanists and their Religion*

*k Robert A. Bircumb.*

We look for your self here shortlie, and I would that you brought the rest of your (f) friends with you, that are beyond the Sea. For if your (g) purpose pass forward, they must be also present, otherwise we must come and (h) visit you. All other affairs of this Countrie, I will commit to the Bearer, who is faithful.

Your (i) wife and your (i) children commend them unto you, and look to see you shortlie. If I or (k) Sandefoun your friend, receive

ceive any silver from the Bearer, you shall be advertised by another Ticket how much it is, and subscribed with both our hands. The rest I will refer to the Bearer. God preserve you ever from all evil.

1500.

Your most affectioned

At Dundee the XX  
of November  
M D XCII.

to his power,

(a) J. Christefoun. <sup>a i.e. James Gordon.</sup>

There was a Letter also writ by Robert Abircrumbie the Jesuit to the said Creichton, under false names, part of which take as followeth.

To his trusty friend (b) George Crauford.

b Will. Creichton.

**A**fter my due and humble salutations and offer of service, I grieve and lament heavilie the slouth and negligence your (c) Merchants have used in answering of your last suit you proposed unto them: For apparentlie if they had made answer in due time, our (d) wares had been here in due time, with our great profit and consolation. The stay and stop of the matter apparentlie was lack of expences, that no man would of his own charges take that voyage in hand; yea, some craved a thousand Crowns for his expences. So the matter was once whollie given over, and almost clean forgot, until it pleas'd God of his Divine Providence to stir up this (e) Bearer, to take the matter in hand on his own expences; as he hath been ever bent in that Cause, not onely to spend his goods, but also the thing that is more dear to him, that is, his life. Therefore I think he should be more acceptable, as also for the affinitie of blood; for both his Grand-mothers were Creichtons. And as for wit and abilitie in treating of those affairs, he is not inferiour to any of your Merchants which you desired, as you will perceive by experience, God willing. And albeit, that he of his courageous liberalitie and zeal to the Cause, hath taken the matter in hand on his own charges, yet all your friends in these Quarters think it were reasonable, that all should be repaid him again, cum usura, with promotion till any other accident should fall out, for the weal and furtherance of this Cause, &c. But now I will say one word of him, and so come to some other purposes of our own. If I had a thousand tongues, with so many mouths, with Cicero's Eloquence, I could not be worthe enough to commend this Gentleman to you, and all your company, as I shall let you understand, God willing, if ever we do chance to meet face to face; and therefore, whensoever you may prevent him with any benefit, either by your self or any other, abide not till he crave it of you, for he is the worst asker in his own cause that ever you conversed with (f).-----

c The Catholics.

d The Spanish Army.

e Dr. Ker.

f Here follows some private law-business concerning some lands in the Lairdship of Spots.

g David Graham, Laird of Fentrie; yet there was also a rich Citizen of Sterling, call'd David Forrester, who was kill'd or murdered, 1595.

My Lord Levingstone is departed out of this world: You heard before that (g) David Forrester had one son, and now hath another born in the Castle of Striveling, where he is in custodie, hardlie handled.

There is but one of our Nobilitie which hath of the King of Spain

Ccc 2

any

1500. any pension well paid of twelve hundred Crowns; the which apparentlie are evil bestowed, for he, nor any of his as yet, bath ever done any kinde of good in the promotion of the Kings Matters: wherefore such pensions were better bestowed on others, who travel dailie and houlie, putting in hazard both their goods and lives, as the Bearer bath done and dailie doth, and others as he can shew you, &c. Because I have no other thing to write, and have been long enough, I commend me to your prayers, and you to God.

At Scotland the  
XV of Decemb.  
MDXCII.

Yours at his Power,

(a) Robert Sandesoun.

a i. c. Rob.  
Abircromby.

b 15 or 16 of  
February  
1592.

c The Mayor  
and Alder-  
men.

The surprisal of these Letters discover'd all, and spoil'd the designe. *David Graham* of *Fintrie* was tryed and found guilty, and (b) beheaded in the High-street of *Edinbrough*. The Earl of *Angus*, having been imploy'd by the King (who then doubted not of his loyalty) to quiet some troubles in the North, not knowing any thing of the seising of *Kar*, and the discovery of the *Spanish* designe, returns to *Edinbrough*, where he was presently arrested by the (c) Provost and (c) Bayliffs of the City, and sent prisoner to the Castle.

But from this imprisonment he escapes, flees into the North, joyns himself with *Huntley* and *Arrol*, and raise what Forces they can. But upon the report of the Kings marching against them, they fled into the Mountains; and seeing no other help, sent their Ladies to the King to intercede for them: the King tells them, he will shew them what favour he can, but adviseth them to submit to a tryal.

1593.

In the mean time the *Presbyterian Kirk* grow very mallypart, and a Club of their Ministers being jumbled together on their own heads, they forsooth would condemn them; and so they Excommunicate the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol*, the Lord *Hume*, and Sir *James Chesholme*; nor could the King by all his Authority and desires, get the Brethren to forbear or stay the publication of their sentence. Though the Earls had waited upon the King, submitted themselves, and desired a Trial.

But the truth is, the Popish Lords gave no signes of real repentance: no, though the King had used divers means to gain them, and was willing to wink at their past crimes, upon assurance of their good behaviour for the future, yet all his Majesties endeavours were in vain, the *Jesuits* prevailing too much over them with their bad counsels, and feeding them daily with hopes of forraign aid. No, though the King through love exhorted them to enter themselves in custody (to pleasure the *Kirk*, and make some signes of a tryal) would they give any obedience to the Kings desires.

1594. These contempts rendring them more odious, a Parliament is held, and the *Roman* Lords brought to Tryal, and are found guilty of Treason; and sentence was pronounced against the three Earls, and Sir *Patrick Gordon* Laird of *Achindown*; their Scutcheons of Arms are torn by the Herald, and their Honours, Lands and Estates declared forfeited.

Yet

Yet the King had some favour for them; but they grow worse and worse: for joyning themselves with the Earl of *Bothwell*, they make a Covenant or Bond amongst themselves at the Church of *Memmore*, and so flee to Arms; the main stickler in this business being Sir *James Douglas* of *Spot*. And opportunely to assist them, arrives a *Spanish* Ship at *Montrose*, which brought some gold for their supplies.

1500.

The King informed of all by the apprehension of *Allan Orme*, servant to *Bothwell*, sends *Argile* Northwards to quell them: *Argile* gets an Army of 10000 men, but (a) are beat by 900 com-

a The Battle  
of *Clentivats*,  
October 3.

manded by *Huntley*, who here lost his Uncle of *Achindown*, and *Arrol* was sore wounded in his arm and leg. But for all this, the Confederate Lords at the long run were so put to it, that they desired liberty to depart the Kingdom, giving security to practice no more against the King or Religion: so away they went, and *Bothwell* steals into *France*, thence into *Naples*, where he lived miserably, and dyed beggerly, about the year 1624.

The banish'd Lords, not finding themselves in that favour beyond Seas as they expected, resolve to return home; *Huntley* steals over, and being got into the *North*, sends a supplication to the King, desiring that he might be permitted to stay in the Country, upon security to be no more troublesome: the King is willing, and conditions are consulting of. *Arrol* thinking to slip through the *Low-Countries*, is seisd on, and deliver'd to Mr. *Robert Danielstone*, the Kings Agent there; but from him he makes an escape, and returns.

1596.

*Huntley* for some time keeps off the conditions, the *Kirk* being his enemy. And his Uncle *James Gordon* the Jesuit came into the Country to perswade him from any reconciliation; but at last, not onely he, but *Angus* and *Arrol* submit, subscribe to the Faith of *Scotland*, are absolved at *Aberdene* from their former Excommunications, and received into grace and favour of the King.

1597.

About the same time there was discovered a designe to fortifie the Isle of *Elsey*, in the *West* Seas. This Island is a great Rock, four miles in compass, wherein an old ruinous Tower is built on the steep ascent of the Rock: the plot was, that by seising on the Island, the Forces that the *Spanish* King had promis'd to send, might here be received.

The main actor in this, was *Hugh Barklay* Laird of *Ladyland*, who having been the year before committed in the Castle of *Glasgow*, had made an escape and fled to *Spain*; and this year return'd to pursue his old designe.

Having got some followers, he enters the Island, with an intention to have well victual'd it. But Mr. *Knox* (the same who took *Ker*) understanding his purpose, gets hastily a company of men, and makes towards the Isle. Most of *Barklays* men were otherwise employ'd, dreaming of no such thing; and himself not thinking that his plot was known, did not take *Knox* his men (though he saw them coming) for enemies: thus careless, *Knox* lands, and encounters him on the very shore; upon which *Barklay* resolved not to be taken, runs into the Sea and drowns himself: and so there is an end of him and the Popish troubles in *Scotland* for this time.



1500.



## CHAP. IV.

*The troubles in Ireland against Queen Elizabeth.*

**T**O run through all the Rebellions of *Ireland*, would be troublesome both to my self and Reader ; their whole stories and life being but an heap or chain of Troubles, Riots, Misdemeanors, Murthers, Treasons, and suchlike enormities ; whereby they have not onely vexed and molested their Governours, but in the end, brought ruine to the disturbers and such undertakers of disobedience.

Nor could any thing else be expected from the ancient *Irish*, to whom civility and discretion were strangers ; but the Robbery of others held a piece of Devotion, insomuch, that they never undertook such mischief, without first sending up their prayers, and after to give God thanks for such a good booty. Though they profest themselves good Catholicks, yet they supposed no small holiness to remain in Horses Hooves, and that the *Lords prayer* mumbled into the right ear of a sick beast, was cure enough for its distemper ; and any man was held past living in this world, if he desired to receive the Sacrament. Nor need we look for many cures amongst them, when to (a) beat Eggs together, to squeeze out with ones fingers the juyce of shred herbs, to probe and finde out a wound, were signes of an able Physitian ; and thus qualified, he may go for an *Hippocrates*. And no doubt but others of them were much of the discreet hardiness of (b) him, who having received four desperate wounds, and seeing his sword not hurt, gave thanks to God that these wounds were given to his body, and not to his sword.

And what else might be expected from those of former times, when even within these few years, they (c) threatned to burn and ruine *Dublin*, to destroy all Records and Monuments of *English* Government, make Laws against speaking *English*, and have all *English* names changed. Nay, to put their thoughts into practice, they endeavour'd to destroy all the goodly breed of *English* Cattle, by killing many thousand Sheep and Cows, meerly because they were of *English* breed ; and so to leave them lye stinking in the Fields : and as others testifie, to destroy the very Corn 'cause sown by *English* men. And yet 'tis known they had not onely Government, Civility, and what else is praise worthy spread amongst them by the *English* ; but stately Buildings, and other Ornaments of the Country : whereas *Dublin* it self could not afford a place fit for King *Henry II* to lye in, so that he was there forced to set up a long house composed of (d) *Wattles*, after the manner of the Country, therein to keep his (f) splendid *Christmas*.

But these glories and advantages, some of them may think a discredit, if not a ruine to their Nation, and may fancie it as good

Camden. Britan. pag. 790.  
791, 792.

a Ric. Stanishurst, de rebus Hibern. lib. 1. pag. 44.

c Id. pag. 42.

d Sir John Temples Hist. of Irish Rebellion, the Preface. Id. pag. 84.

d Id. pag. 4.

f Ric. Stanishurst, lib. 3. pag. 129.

good to have their Kings (as (a) formerly) to lap up their Coronation-sustenance without the assistance of Spoons or Hands, and to sit in state naked, within the bottom of a *Caldron* at his Inauguration, as to have Decencie and Manners, Thrones or Magnificence amongst them. However, that which they supposed to ruine all, you may guess at by this their complaint, as old at least, as King *Edward* the Thirds time, as (b) Sir *John Davies* supposeth.

1500.

a Speeds Theater of Great Britain, in Ireland in Ulster, p. 6.

b Discovery of Ireland, pag. 184.

(c) *By granting Charters of peace,  
To false Englishe withouten lesse;  
This land shall be much undone:  
But (d) Gossipride and alterage,  
And lesing of our Language,  
Have mickle y holpe thereto.*

c M. S. F. 99, Laud p. 332. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ex a:bo libro scaccarii Dublin.  
d Gossipride, a custom amongst them

of trusting too much to God-fathers, as they thought their Nurces and Foster-Children as Mother and Sister. akin to them

The truth is, above all people they hated the *Englisb*, being willing that *French*, *Spaniard*, or any body else should rule them, but those who do. But of their Combinations and Overtures I shall go no higher then *Queen Elizabeth*; though this following note, by the way, will not be amiss.

(a) *Articles agreed upon, between Francis I. King of France, and James Fitzjohn Earl of Desmond: Extracted by Tillet out of the Records in Paris. Anno 1523.*

a M. S. F. 99. fol. 185. Land. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Jehan du Tillet Recueil des Guerres & Traitez d'entre les Roys de France & d'Angleterre, fol. 157.

*Francis I. King of France* in a Treaty with *James Fitzjohn Earl of (b) Desmond*, wherein he is stiled a Prince in *Ireland*: It was accorded,

b The French Copy calls him, Jaques Conte de Cymonte, Prince en Hybernie.

*That as soon as the Kings Ships should land in Ireland, the said Earl in person, and at his own charge, should take Armes against his Sovereign King Henry VIII. not onely to conquer that part of the Kingdom wherein he lived [which should be to the proper use and benefit of the said Earl, except onely one Port, which should be reserved for the French King for ever, for to harbour his Ships in; and that Port to be left at the Election of the King, out of one of these three, viz. (d) Kinsale, Cork or Yoghall] but also for to (e) restore the Duke of Suffolk to the Crown of England, from whence he was banished, and at the present living in France.*

d The French Copy reads thus, Quinquiesalle, Core ou Drudal.  
e As if he ever had it, but no such matter.

*The Earl of Desmond for this War was to raise 400 Horse, and 10000 Foot; and if need required, to increase them into 15000, or more.*

*The King Covenanted to entertain them at the rate of two Angels le peece for every man armed with Corselets and Mayle for three months; and for every man furnished onely with Swords and Halberts, at one Angel le peece for the like time.*

*That for the draught of the Artillery which should be sent into that land by the King and the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl should provide horses sufficient.*

*That after the War was begun, the French King should not at any*

1500. any time make Truce or peace with the King of England, without comprehending therein the said Earl and Turloghe O Brian with his Nephews.

That if King Henry VIII should, after a Truce or Peace accorded, make War upon the said Earl, the French King was to send them aid of Men, Ships and Artillery.

That if during the said Truce or Peace, the said Earls Subjects or Tenants should refuse to pay him such Rents and Duties as anciently they were accustomed, that then the said King at his own charge, was to send two Ships well appointed to be at his command, until the said Subjects or Tenants were reduced to their former obedience, and the said Ships to be victualed by the Earl.

That the King should give unto the Earl of Desmond a convenient Pension during his life; and unto David Mac Maurice, the Earls Seneschal, an yearly Pension of (a) five hundred Livres during his life.

a 500 Livres, is about 50 pound Sterling.

But this Treaty and its Conditions were never executed, by reason the said French King Francis I was otherwise employed in the Wars of Italy about the Dukedome of Milan, and at the Famous battle of (b) Pavia, was taken prisoner and carried into Spain; and at the said fight was Richard de la Pole, call'd Duke of Suffolk (and by some also termed the White Rose) slain. And some years before (viz. 1513.) was his Brother Edmund Earl of Suffolk beheaded on the Tower-hill in London for Treason.

b February 24. 1547.

Camd. in Comitatu Kildar.

Here we might also tell of Thomas Fitz-Gerald Earl of Kildare, who solicited the Emperour Charles V to seise upon Ireland; and fell into open acts of Hostility and Treason: but leaving these, let us haste to Queen Elizabeth's time, where we shall finde the Tir-Oens, who would intitile themselves O-Neals, the greatest sticklers.

Id. pag. 774.

c Tir-Oen. The name of a little Territory in Ulster, some say Terra Eugenia. Id. Hist. Elizabeth. anno 1560. Anno 1562. A sort of Foot-Souldiers so call'd by the Irish, being obliged to fight to the last: their weapons were somewhat like Axes.

1567.

f In the County of Tir-Oen.

Con O-Neal, surnamed Bacco (i. e. the lame) was such an enemy to the English (though Henry VIII bare him some favour) that he left a solemn curse upon his Posterity, if they ever sowed Wheat, spake English, or built houses; yet he was by Henry VIII created Earl of (c) Tyrone; and to him his son (John, i. e.) Shan succeeded; but not content with that Title, would make himself greater, by a barbarous kinde of Election, viz. throwing up his shooe over his head, took upon him the Title of O-Neal, and takes up Arms against the Queen; but finding himself too weak, he went into (d) England, no question in pomp enough, having his Guard of (e) Galloglasses, bare-headed, curl'd long hair, yellow Frocks dyed with Saffron or Piss; long Sleeves, short Coats, with hairy Mantles. Thus falling down at the Queens feet, confess'd his Crime and Rebellion with howling, and so obtain'd pardon.

But he continued not long in this obedience, and scorning the Title of Earl of Tir Oen, Baron of Duncannon, conferr'd upon him by Queen Elizabeth, he would again on his own head re-assume the great name of O-Neal, vaunt himself the King of Ulster, leavie Forces, offer the Kingdom of Ireland to Mary Queen of Scots; and so hated the English, that he built a Castle in (f) Lake Eaugh, [which some also call Logh-Sidney, in honour of Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord Deputy of Ireland] which he named Feoghnegall, i. e. Hatred to the English. Nay, he went so far, as to strangle some of his own men, because they eat English bread

bread. Thus he created some troubles; but at last, in his Cups, was stab'd by those he most confided in. Of him 'tis Recorded, that he was such a Drunkard, that to (a) cool his body (when too much inflam'd with Wine and Uskabagh) he would cause himself to be buried in earth up to the chin. 1500.

<sup>a</sup> Camdens  
Elizab. anno  
1567.

*Sham* thus dead, a Parliament met at *Dublin*, where 'twas (b) enacted, that for the future none should take upon them the name and title of *O-Neal*; yet *Queen Elizabeth* wink'd at *Turlough Leinigh* of the House of *O-Neal*, when by a popular Election he was saluted by the name of *O-Neal*; thinking to get no disturbance by him, being of a quiet spirit; but in this she was mistaken, so powerfully did his friends work upon him in opposition to her Majesty. 1569.

<sup>b</sup> Id. in Bri-  
tan, pag. 776.

Now when nothing but peace was expected, *Edmund* and *Peter Boteler*, ([c] Brothers to the Earl of *Ormond*) with *James Fitz-Morice* of the House of *Desmond*, and *Mac Cartie-More*, with others, flee into Rebellion, thinking with the Assistance of the Pope and *Spain* to thrust out *Elizabeth*: to inflame this the more, *Don Juan de Mendoza* was sent out of *Spain*. But the Earl of *Ormond* troubled at his Brothers actions, hastes out of *England* to them, perswades them to submit, and obtain'd the Queens pardon for them. The rest were pursued as obstinate and rebellious.

<sup>c</sup> The M S. life  
of Sir John  
Perrot, faith-  
The Earl of  
Ormonds  
three Bre-  
thren.

As for *James Fitz-Morice*, he was so hunted from place to place by the care and industry of Sir *John Perrot*, Lord President of *Munster*, that at last he was forced to submit himself unto the Queens Mercy: so the President being at Church in *Kilmalock*, *Fitz-Morice* comes to him howling and crying for Pardon: *Perrot* caus'd him to prostrate himself, and take the (d) point of his (the Presidents) naked Sword next to his heart, [in token that he had received his life at the Queens hands].

<sup>d</sup> M S. life of  
Sir John Pe-  
rot.

But waving such as these, let us hasten to more dangerous exploits: and first, it is not amiss to know, that there was one *Thomas Stukley*, of an ancient and good Family neer *Iffracombe* in *Devonshire*; and of him a few words by the by.

Though his parts were good and quick, yet his prodigality soon made an end of his estate, which in a younger brother (as he was) is quickly spent; yet having a lofty minde, he cast about how to live, and command over others. At last *Florida*, then newly found out in *America*, came into his thoughts; and this forsooth he would people, not doubting but in time to make himself Prince thereof, as may appear by his bold and ambitious Speeches with *Queen Elizabeth*, upon the desire of her assistance for these his projects. Concluding with her,

*Stuk.* I prefer rather to be Sovereign of a Mole-hill, then the highest Subject to the greatest Monarch in Christendom: For I am certain to be a Prince before my death.

*Q. Eliz.* I hope I shall hear from you, when you are settled in your Kingdom.

*Stuk.* I will write unto you.

*Q. Eliz.* In what language?

*Stuk.* In the stile of Princes, To our dear Sister.

1500.

At which the great Queen was so far from indignation, that she rather pityed and smiled at his impertinences.

But this his vain designe for *Florida* failing for want of money, and having spent all, he was forced to flee into *Ireland*, where after some stay, the better to support his wants, he endeavour'd to obtain the Stewardship of *Wexford*; but being disappointed of it, he fell into a rage, dapperly venting his passion against the Queen and her Government; and in this beggerly fury and discontent, ships himself for *Italy*, where (according to his nature) boasting of his own worth and actions, and carrying himself so cunningly, that at last, by his own commendations and flatteries, he inveigled himself into the esteem and favour of *Pius V*, Bishop of *Rome*; whom this *Stukely* had perswaded, that with three thousand *Italians*, he would drive the *English* out of *Ireland*, and fire all their Fleet: Things which old *Pius* greedily wish'd for, with the destruction of the Queen.

But this Pope [whom they have almost sanctified, and made a Worker of Miracles] dying, there succeeded to him *Gregory XIII*, who carryed on with the same desires, bare the same favour to poor *Stukely*, hoping to get the Kingdom of *Ireland* for his own son *Giacopo de Boncompagno*, whom a little before he had made Marquess of *Vineola*; and of this Royalty *Stukely* assured him, and made proud the Bastard. Thus the Pope and his Son full with hopes of a new Kingdom, the better to countenance this their beggerly boasting Factor, *Gregory*, as if all *Ireland* and Authority were his own, honours *Stukely* with the Noble Titles of

Baron of *Ross*,  
Vicount *Morough*,  
Earl of *Wexford* and *Caterloghe*,  
And Marquess of *Leinster*.

Thus with a muster of Titles, and a Band of eight hundred *Italian* Foot [some say (a) 600, others (b) 6000] with a plenary (c) *Indulgence* for *Stukely's* soul to avoyd *Purgatory*, he imbark'd in a *Genoa*-Ship at *Civita Vecchia*.

a *Jeron. Conestaggio*.  
b *Cicarella* in *vita Gregor.*  
XIII.

c *Tho. Bell's*  
*Motives*, p. 34.

d *Mulei*, signifies a Lord or King, and is never appropriated but to some of the Royal blood.

In the mean time *Sebastian*, the youthful King of *Portugal*, had rais'd a Potent Army, some think to fall upon *Ireland*. But a diffention falling out for the Kingdoms of *Morocco* and *Fez*, between (d) *Mulei Moluc* (some call him *Abdala Meluc*, or *Abdel-meluch*) the Uncle, and his Nephew *Mulei Mahomet*; in which it hapned the latter to have the worst, and to be beat out of the Kingdom, which for some time he had possess as eldest Son to old *Abdala*.

*Mulei Mahomet* the Nephew thus routed, addresseth himself by his Agents to *Sebastian* for assistance. The King of *Portugal* spur'd on, as some have fancied, by the *Jesuits* [the better to make way for the *Spanish* sway over that Kingdom, should *Sebastian* miscarry] promiseth to relieve and resettle him; and so provides for his passage into *Africa*.

Whilst things are preparing, *Stukely* arrives with his Titles and Followers, at the mouth of the River *Teio* in *Portugal*, lands at *Oeras*, whither *Sebastian* goeth to see him, and perswades him

him and the rest to venture with him in his *Mauritanian* expedition. 1500.

The King and his Army take Ship, and land in *Africa*; the Chieftains more like Courtiers than Souldiers; the other liker Peasants than men at Arms: Thus under the fickle conduct of a rash King, they meet the *Moors* in the plain of *Tamisa*, fight, are routed and cut to pieces; and this by some is call'd the *Battel of the three Kings*, because here three ended their days, but in different fashions.

- I. *Don Sebastian* King of *Portugal* was slain valiantly fighting. But some would have him to live many years after, and appear at *Venice*, to the fobbing up of some *Portugals*, the little trouble to the *Spaniard*, but a certain imprisonment and ruine to the undertaker, though he had a mind to King it for a while.
- II. *Mulei Meluc* came sick to the Field, and dyed before his Victory was fully accomplish'd. And after the fight and Victory, his younger Brother *Mulei Hamet* (who here acted as General of his Horse) was saluted King of *Morocco* and *Fez*.
- III. *Mulei Mahomet*, the Nephew and Competitor, seeing his friends the *Portugals* beaten, thinking to save himself by flight, was drown'd as he thought to pass the River *Mucazen*.

And amongst these great ones, our *Thomas Stukely* had the fortune and honour to end his days. And thus *Ireland* escaped a mischief: for the carrying on of which Treasons of *Stukely*, Dr. *Lewis* Archdeacon of *Cambray*, Referendarie to the Pope (and afterwards Bishop of *Cassano*) though born a subject to *England*, was very forward and active, very much soliciting *Gregory XIII* in behalf of the said *Stukely* and his projects, against his own Queen and Country.

About the beginning of King *Charles I* his Reign, I meet with one call'd (a) Sir *Thomas Stukely* living at *Milan* as a Pensioner to the *Spanish* King, and him I finde branded as a *Traitor and Enemy to his Country*; but of what relation or kin to the former *Stukely*, I know not.

<sup>a</sup> James Wadsworth his English-Spanish Pilgrime, chap. 7. pag. 64. Edit. 2.

Thus this mischief intended against *Ireland*, was for a time cut off. For *Portugal* thus deprived of her King, his great Uncle Cardinal *Henry* was proclaimed, who being old, the *Spaniard* after his death resolved for the Crown: for the better securing of which, he staid and kept his great forces lately levyed in *Italy* (as some think for *Ireland*) to pour upon and win *Portugal* when occasion served; which he afterwards accomplish'd; of which see at large (b) *Jeronimo Conestaggio*, an excellent and understanding *Genoes* Historian, (though I meet with a (c) *Portugallized Spaniard* very sharp and severe with him) which Kingdom the *Portugals* regain'd again (1640) in the name of *Don Juan* Duke of *Braganza*, whom they Crown'd, and saluted King *John* the Fourth.

<sup>b</sup> Istoria dell' Unione del Regno di Portugallo alla Corona di Castiglia.

<sup>c</sup> A Book call'd in Spanish, *Tarrado*.

*Parentico*, and *Fuoro Villaco*, as *Draymont* translating it into French, *la Liberte de Portugal*. The *English* bad Translator calls it, *The Spanish Pilgrime*; and so the Author subscribes himself in his Dedicatory Epistle to Henry IV of France.

1500.

This storm thus blown over, another appears. We heard formerly how *James Fitz-Morice* submitted himself to Sir *John Perot*; but in his pretended loyalty and honesty, he could not long continue; for he steals into *France*, addresseth himself to *Henry III*, offers him the Kingdom of *Ireland*, but desires a few Forces to beat out the *English*, and so to subdue that Nation to the *French* obedience. *Henry* having his thoughts at home, straitned between the *Guisean* and *Hugonot*, wisely rejects such idle thoughts: Upon which *Fitz-Morice* hastes to *Spain*, where he makes the same offers to the Catholick King.

1579.

*Philip II* lends him an ear, sends him to *Gregory XIII*, who hugs the designe, and joyns with him *Nicolas Sanders* an *English* man born in *Surrey*, well known by his writings; and one *Allan* an *Irish* man, both Doctors and Priests. The first was by the Pope declared his *Nuncio* for *Ireland*, and blest'd with a Consecrated Banner, to be known by its *Cross-Keyes*. Thus sanctified with an Infallible Authority, and a little money in their fists, with Letters of Commendation to the *Spanish* King; they haste to *Spain*, thence ship for *Ireland*, and land in *Kerry*. Upon which the *English Romanists* at *Rome* (a) rejoyce and triumph, not questioning but all would be their own. And for a farther recruit, the Pope orders more Souldiers to be rais'd in his Dominions, and had got 3000 Calivers in a readines to be shipt at *Legorne*; but the news of their Friends overthrow, stopt the rejoycings of the one, and the preparations of the other.

a George  
Whitstone.  
The English  
mirror, lib 2.  
cap. 11. pag  
156, 157, 158.

In the mean time, the *Irish* informed of the coming of these Papal and *Spanish* Friends, by little and little rise up in Rebellion, in which *Desmond* was not the least, though he had sworn Allegiance to the Queen: And thus carryed on to wickedness, he bailely murther'd, or rather butcher'd *Henry Davils*, an *English* old Gentleman and brave Souldier, and his intimate acquaintance, using to call him Father; and after the same unmanly fashion he slew *Davils* servants; they and their Master in bed dreaming of no such treachery: and this *Sanders* commended as a sweet sacrifice in the sight of God.

As for *Fitz-Morice*, he thinking to raise the Rebels in other parts to his help, his Horses tyring, plundred some fresh ones from *William a Burgh's* Ploughs: a *Burgh's* sons follow for rescue, charge *Fitz-Morice*, kill him, but to the loss of some of their own lives; for which Queen *Elizabeth* comforts up old a *Burgh*, honours him with the Title of *Baron of Castle-Conell*, and gives him a yearly pension. *Fitz-Morice* thus slain, *John Desmond*, brother to the Trayterous Earl, hath his place given him: fights the *English*, assisted with the Popes hallowed Banner, but is routed; and in this conflict *Allan* the Priest, who had assured them of Victory, is slain. And now was the Earl of *Desmond* proclaim'd Traytor, for having dealt with Forraign Princes for the Conquest and destruction of *Ireland*, for relieving *Sanders*, *Fitz-Morice*, and other Rebels, for harbouring the *Spaniards*, for hanging the Queens faithful subjects, and for displaying the Popes Banner against the Queen.

b St. Mary  
Wick.

1580.

The *Italians* and *Spaniards* who had landed at (b) *Swerwick* in *Kerry*, under the command of *San-Josepho* an *Italian*, build there, and strengthen themselves, and call it *Fort del Or*. Against them,

them, *Arthur Lord Grey*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Ormond*, and others, march, and by Trumpet sends to demand what they were, and what was their business: they return'd answer, That *they were sent from the Pope and the King of Spain, to whom the Pope had given Ireland, for that Elizabeth had justly forfeited her title to the Kingdom by her heresie; that they would keep what they had got, and get more if they could.* But a few days cool'd their courage, they being forced to yeild upon mercy: the Chieftains are saved, but the rest suffer death; which the Queen her self thought too severe, though the Lord *Grey* offer'd some reasons for it.

As for *Nicolas Sanders*, seeing that neither the Popes blessing, nor his consecrated Banner, nor his Legatine power, nor his foreign Associates, nor the Native Rebels, could prevail against the Queen and her Subjects, he rambled up and down for his own security in Mountains and Woods, loosing himself and his senses too (for some say he fell (*a*) mad) thus finding no comfort, dyed miserably. When he was dead, there was found in his Scrip some Prayers and Epistles written to confirm the Rebels, stuf't up with great promises of the Pope and *Spaniard*. (*b*) *Philip O'sullivan*, tells us of his death, and how it was suddain, and that he was privately buryed; and of one *Cornelius*, whom he calls a Bishop: to all which I shall object nothing, but that it is no honour for *Sanders* to be commended by *O'sullivan*; which *Irish* Story-teller, is as bold as ignorant, falls as impertinent a Scribler, as ever yet hath seriously troubled the world with the *Irish* Purgatory, or a defence of their Rebellions. To conclude with *Sanders*, (*c*) *Edward Rishon* the Priest will confess to you, what straits and poverty he was reduced to before his death; which methinks *O'sullivan's* Father and other men of note would not have permitted, had they fully known of his haunts.

As for Pope *Gregory XIII*, he was not wanting on his part to promote and patronize the Rebellion, as appears by his *Breves* to them, wherein he exhorts the *Fitz-Geralds*, and the rest of the *Irish Romanists*, to war stoutly against the Queen and her Subjects: and the better to encourage them in so doing, he grants them as plenary a pardon and remission of all their sins, as formerly used to be granted to those who fought against the *Turks*, or ventured in the recovery of the *Holy land*. One of the Papers takes as followeth, as I find it.

*Gregorius Papa XIII, Universis & singulis Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, cæterisque Prelatis, nec non Principibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Clero, Nobilibus & Populis Regni Iberniæ, Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem.*

*C*um proximis superioribus annis per nostras Litteras vos hortati fuerimus, ut ad vestram libertatem recuperandam, eamque adversus Hereticos tuendam, ac conservandam bonæ memoriæ Jacobo Geraldino, qui durum servitutis jugum vobis ab Anglis sanctæ Rom. Eccles. desertoribus impostum depellere summo animi ardore cogitabat, pro virili nostra adesse eumque contra Dei & nostras hostes

1500.

*a* Cambd. Antiquitates an. 1583. Bishop Charlton's thankful Remembrance, cap. 5. pag. 49. The execution of justice D. III. b Hist Carol. Iberniæ, Tom. 2. lib. 4. cap. 16.

*c* Epist. ad Lectorem before Sander's his book de Origine & progressu Schismatis Anglicani.

*Phil. O'sullivan. ib. cap. 17. fol. 100. 101.*



1500.

*hostes ire parantem prompte ac strenue adjuvare velletis, & quo id alacrius effeceretis, omnibus contritis & confessis, qui ipsum Jacobum Ducem ejusq; exercitum Catholica fidei assertorem & propugnatorem secuti fuissent, & se illi adjunxissent, aut concilio favore com meatibus, armis aliisq; bellicis rebus, seu quacunq; ratione in hac expeditione opem dedissent, Plenariam omnium Peccatorum suorum Veniam & Remissionem, & eandem qua proficiscentibus ad bellum contra Turcas, & ad recuperationem Terre Sanctæ, per Romanos Pontifices impertiri solita est, concessimus.*

*Nuper autem non sine gravi animi nostri dolore, per nos excepto ipsum Jacobum fortiter cum hostibus dimicando (sicut Domino placuit) occubuisse: Dilectum vero filium Johannem Geraldinum ejus Consobrinum in expeditione hujusmodi eximia pietate & animi magnitudine, authore Deo, cujus causa agitur, successisse, compluraq; egregia facinora de Catholica fide bene merendo jam edidisse: idcirco vos omnes & singulos majori quo possumus affectu hortamus, requirimus, & urgemus in Domino, ut eundem Johannem Ducem ejusq; exercitum omni ope, quemadmodum dictum Jacobum viventem ut faceretis, vos admonemus, contra dictos Hereticos adjuvare studeatis.*

*Nos enim vobis omnibus confessis & Communicatis & vestrum singulis in dictis litteris contenta pro ipso Johanne & ejus exercitu facientibus, & post ipsius obitum si forsitan contigerit, quod Deus avertere dignetur, Jacobo ejus fratri adherentibus atq; faventibus, Eandem Plenariam Peccatorum vestrorum Indulgentiam & Remissionem, quam adversus Turcas & pro recuperanda Terra Sancta bellentes consequuntur, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia, ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum, ejus autoritate confisistribuimus, & elargimur presentibus, quoad dicti Johannes & Jacobus fratres vixerint duraturis.*

*Quoniam autem difficile esset, has nostras Litteras ad omnium quorum interest, notitiam pervenire, volumus, ut earum exemplis etiam impressis manu Notarii Publici subscriptis, sigilloq; persone in dignitate Ecclesiastica constituta ob signatis, plena ac certa fides ubiq; habeatur, ac si presentes essent exhibita vel ostensa.*

*Datis Romæ apud Sanctum, Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris, die XIII Maii, MD LXXX, Pontificatis nostri anno VIII.*

*Cæs. Glorierius.*

*Vise per D. Generalem S. Cruciata Commissariorum Johannes de la Rumbide.*

1583.

*As for Desmond (the chief of the Fitz-Geralds) having run so far into Treason, and so resolved for his wicked cause, that he swore that ---- He would rather forsake God then forsake his men:--- And having no where to secure himself, he wandred from place to place, and was at last found out in a poor Cottage by a common Souldier, who there shew him, cut off his head, sent it*

it into *England*, where, as the Head of an Arch-Traytor, it was set on (a) *London-bridge*. 1500.  
a Decemb. 13.

Now was Sir *John Perot* sent over Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*: having received the Sword according to custom, he set himself to bring the Nation wholly unto the Queens obedience; he justly prosecuted a Fryar, for bringing Letters and Bulls from the Pope to encourage the Rebellion, and hunted him out of his Bishoprick, which the Fryar foolishly thought he had lawful right to, and possession of, because the Pope and such Forraign powers had given him a paper-Authority under their fists, to enter into and exercise the charge and jurisdiction of the said Bishoprick. MS. life of Sir John Perot.

He also summoned a Parliament at *Dublin* consisting of the *three Estates*, whither [to make them more affected with decency, and in time to wean them from their rudeness] he commanded all to appear in *English Habits*; for the better performance of which, he freely bestowed both Gowns and Cloaks of Velvet and Satten on *Turlough Leinigh*, call'd *O-Neal*, and others the chief of them; yet did the *Irish* think themselves more glorious in their beggerly Mantles or Ruggs, then in such Gentile and Civil Habits; custom weighing more with some men, then reason or convenience; as *Cooree*, and the rest of his Country-men in the Bay of *Souldania*, neer the Cape of *Good hope* in *Africa*, had rather adorn their heads with Cows-dung, their Necks with Guts and Garbage, and their bodies with filthy skins, then wear Hats, Jewels, and other comely Attire. 1585.  
Id. MS.

The Queen, to work more upon the *Irish*, wink'd at their Religion, and commanded that the Oath of Allegiance should not be offer'd or administrated to any of them; and farther, restored *Hugh O-Neal* Baron of *Dunganon* to the Title of *Tyr-Oen*, and those of his Ancestors: yet would not these favours gain them; the Chieftains still expecting assistance from *Spain*; to be better informed of which, Sir *John Perrot* kept several spies in that Kingdom; four of whom were once taken and put to the Rack by the Marquess *Santa la Cruisse*, whereof three of them dyed. Id. MS.

To name all the Tumults and Rebellions that hapned in the several parts of this Kingdom, would be tedious; the landings of the *Hebredian Scots*, *High-landers* or *Redbanks*; the rising up of the *a Bourghs*, the *Mahones*, of *Brien O-Kork*, of *Hugh O-Donnel*, of *Mac-Guire*, of *O-Madan*, of *Mac-Hugh*, and several others. Nor shall I mention the famous exploits acted against them by Sir *Richard Bingham* (of *Dorsetshire*) and several others, to bring them to obedience.

In short, the Arch-Rebel of all was *Tir-Oen*, one that had received both pardon and many favours from the Queen, and had several times vowed obedience to her. He had for some time kept himself outwardly pretty fair, but in the mean time perswaded all the rest to Rebellion. And at last himself fleeth out too, and boldly arrogates to himself the Title of *O-Neal* (a Title that the *Irish* have the highest Reverence for) though he had formerly sworn never to do any such thing, and by Act of Parliament at *Dublin* it was declared Treason to take up that Title. 1593.

The next year *Tir-Oen* submitteth himself on his Knees to Sir *William Russel* (youngest son to *Bedford*) then Lord Deputy of *Ireland*. 1594.

1500. *Ireland*, and so he was dismiss'd. But this good out-side lasted not long, presently flying out to open Rebellion, seising on what places he can; for which he was proclaimed Traytor, by the Name of *Hugh O-Neal*, Son of *Matthew* (a) *Fadareugh*, Bastard to *Con O-Neal*, &c. *Tir-Oen* with one hand begs assistance from *Spain*; with the other, with false Treaties, and a dissembling tongue, cheats *Sir John Norris* the famous (but in *Ireland* too credulous) Souldier, and the Lord Deputy, by which he got another pardon.

a i. e. The Blacksmith. *Matthew* being supposed to be the son of a Blacksmith of *Dundalke*: yet *Con* was acquainted with his wife.

1596.

1598.

But the same month that he got his pardon, he fleeth out again to his old trade, and carryed his business so cunningly, that he got many followers, several Provinces and places revolting to him; nor did there appear any able to oppose him. Thus in his pride he writes to the *Spaniards*, wherein he magnified his own Victories, and withal desired the King, that if any should inform him, as if he desired to make peace with the *English*, or submit to the Queen, not to believe such reports, for that he was resolved against all such Treaties or Submission, but would constantly keep his faith given to the *Spaniard*. And yet at the mean time, the more to amuse the *English*, he did both by Letters and Messengers interceded to be taken into pardon once again. But this was upon capitulations, where his extravagant demands shew'd the intention of the man.

1599.

b Protestants Plea and Petition for Priests and Papists, pag. 58.

The next year *Robert d'Euireux*, Earl of *Essex*, being Lord Deputy, he and *Tir-Oen* had too much discourse and familiarity together, and clapt up an odd Truce for some time; so *Essex* returns for *England*, is secured, tryed, condemn'd and executed. In which (b) conspiracie were also ingaged *M. Catesby*, *Tresham*, *Thomas Winter*, the two *Wrights*, and *Grant*, who afterwards suffer'd in the Gunpowder-Treason. In the mean time *Tir-Oen* takes opportunity to break the Cessation, falls to open war; to which he was encouraged by the promises of the *Spaniards*, and the Letter of the Pope: and thus puffed up, he looks upon himself as Monarch of all *Ireland*, and so makes *James Fitz-Thomas* Earl of *Desmond*, as one who was a profest enemy to the *English* Government, but slave enough to the *Spaniards*, though he hated his own Queen, as appears by his slanders against her, and his respect to *Philip*; both which these following Letters will testify.

MS. F. 97.  
Laud. in Bibl.  
Bodl. Oxon.  
fol. 180.

To the most Mighty Monarch of World, the Great King of *Spain*, give this at his Princely Palace of *Madril*.

Most Mighty Monarch,

I Humbly salute your Imperial Majesty, giving your Highness to understand of our great misery, and violent order wherewith we are of long time oppressed by the *English* Nation: Their Government is such, as *Pharaoh* himself never used the like; for they content not themselves with all Temporal Superiority, but by cruelty desire our blood, and perpetual destruction, to blot out the whole remembrance of our Posterity, as also our old Catholick Religion, and to swear that the Queen of *England* is Supreme of the Church.

I

I refer the consideration thereof to your Majesties high judgement, the rather, for that Nero in his time was far inferiour to this Queen in cruelty. Wherefore, and for the respects thereof, Right Mighty Potentate, my self, with my followers and retainers, and being also requested by the Bishops, Prelates and Religious men of my Country, have drawn my Sword, and proclaimed Wars against them for the recovery first of Christs Catholick Religion, and next for the maintenance of my own Right, which of long time hath been wrongfully detained from me and my Father, who by right succession was lawful heir to the Earldom of Desmond; for he was eldest son to James my Grandfather, also Earl of Desmond: and for that my Uncle Gerald (being the younger Brother) took part with the wicked proceedings of the Queen of England, to farther the unlawful claim of Supremacy, usurped the name of Earl of Desmond in my Fathers true Title; yet notwithstanding, he had not long enjoyed his name of Earl, when the wicked English annoyed him, and prosecuted Wars, that he with the most part of those that held of his side was slain, and his Country thereby planted with Englishmen. And now by the just judgement and providence of God, I have utterly rooted these Mal-part (a) bowse out of the Orchard of my Country, and have profited so much in my proceedings, that my dasterly Enemies dare not shew their faces in any part of my Country; but having taken my Towns and Cities for their refuge and strength, where they do remain, as it were Prisoner, for want of means to assail them, as Cannon and Powder, which my Country cannot yeild.

Having these wants, most noble Potentate, I have presumed with all humility, to address these my Letters to your High Majesty, craving the same of your gracious clemency and goodness, to assist me in this godly enterprise, with some help of such necessities for the Wars, as your Majesty shall think requisite; and (after the quiet of my Country) satisfaction shall be truly made for the same, and my self in person, with all my forces, shall be ready to serve your Highness, in any Country your Majesty shall command me.

And if your Majesty will vouchsafe to send me a competent number of Souldiers, I will place them in some of my Towns and Cities, to remain in your gracious disposition, till such time as my ability shall make good what your Majesty shall lend me in money and Munition: and also your Majesties high Commission under the Broad Seal for leading and conducting these Souldiers, according to the Prescript, Order and Articles of martial discipline, as your Majestie shall appoint me, and as the service of this Land shall require. I praise the Almighty God, I have done by his goodness, more then all my Predecessors; for I have reclaim'd all the Nobility of this part of Ireland, under the dutiful obedience of Christs Church, and mine own Authority; and accordingly have taken Pledges and Corporal Oaths, never to swerve from the same: and would have sent them to your Majestie by this Bearer, but that the Ship was not of sufficiencie nor strength to carrie so Noble Personages; and will send them whensoever your Highness please.

So there resteth nothing to quiet this part of the World, but your Majesties assistance, which I daily expect. Thus, most Mighty  
Ecc Mo-

1500. Monarch, I humbly take my leave, and do kiss your Royal hands, beseeching the Almighty of your Majesties health and happiness.

From my Camp the  
XIV. of March,  
MDXCIX.

Your Majesties most humble  
at all command,

*Copia vera concordans cum Originali, examinat.  
per Tho. White Mayor of Waterford.*

James Desmond.

Another Letter of the same date.

To the most mighty Monarch of the World, the Great King of Spain, give these at his most Princely Palace at Madrid.

M.S. F. 97.  
fol. 188.

**Y**our Majesty shall understand, that the Bearer hereof Captain Andrew Roche, hath been always in the service of the Queen of England, and hath performed her manifold services at sea: whereby he had great preferment and credit; and being of late time conversant with Catholicks, and Teachers of Divine Instructions, that were sorry for his lewd life, made known unto him the danger wherein his soul was. So that by their godly perswasions, he was at that time reclaimed and converted to be a good Catholick, and to spend the residue of his life in the defence and service of the Church. Since which time of reconciliation, he was to repair to your Majesty with his Ship and Goods, as 'tis well known to your Highnesss Council, who confiscated that Ship to your Majesties use; himself being at that time stricken with extreame sickness, that he was not able to proceed in the Voyage: and when his company return'd into Ireland, they reported that the (a) Lantado wished rather his Person then his Ship; which made him fearful ever since to repair thither, till he should deserve his freedom by some worthy service to your Majesty.

a Adelantado,  
or the Spanish  
Admiral.

b Let some  
Romanist tell  
us the mean-  
ing of this,  
for none was  
Heir but King  
James VI. of  
Scotland, and  
afterwards  
the first of  
England.

The (b) Heir Apparent to the Crown of England, had been carryed by him to your Highnesss, but that he was bewrayed by some of his own men, and thereby was intercepted, and himself taken prisoner, where he remain'd so long, till by the providence of God, and the help of good friends, he was convey'd into Ireland to me in a small boat; and having these occasions to your Majesty, and being assured of his trust, faith, and confidence towards me, have committed this charge into his hands; the rather, for that I understand your Royal Fleet is directed for England this year, to the end he may be a Leader and Conductor to them in the Coast of England and Ireland, being very expert in the knowledge thereof, and in the whole Art of Navigation. And thus with all humility I commit your Highnesss to the Almighty.

From my Camp the  
XIV. of March,  
MDLXXXIX.

Your Majesties most humble  
at all command,

*Copia vera concordans cum Originali, examinat.  
per Tho. White, Mayor of Waterford.*

James Desmond.

These

These two Letters you may see in the honourable (a) Sir George <sup>1500.</sup> Carew, afterwards Earl of Totnes; but with some mistakes by the <sup>pacata Hi-</sup> Printer; wherefore, I have followed the Authentick Manuscript <sup>bernia, lib. 2.</sup> Copies whence he took his. And thus much for the troubles in Ire- <sup>cap. 3. pag.</sup> land, till we come to the next Century. <sup>142, 143, 144, 145.</sup>

Though here it may not be amiss to add, that several of the Irish Nobility (either by the Queens or their own instigations) conveyed themselves over to be Instructed in our English Universities; as Richard Bourke, Baron of Dunkellyn, studies at Christ-Church; after this his Brother Thomas, Baron of Dunkellyn, at Magdalen Colledge: Bernard Orwoirk, a Knights son of Conaught, at New-Colledge; and Thadew Bryan, an Earls son, at Lincolne Colledge in Oxford: and in Cambridge I finde the Lord (b) Dunboy's son at Trinity Colledge, under the Tuition of the then Dr. Whitgift, afterwards the careful and worthy Archbishop of Canterbury. So at the beginning of King James his Raign, Henry O Brian, Baron of Bryken, and his younger Brother Brian O Brian, entred themselves together in Brazen-Nose Colledge in Oxford.

M S. Matricu-  
la An-iqua  
Univerf. Oxon.

b Sir George  
Paule's life of  
Archbishop  
Whitgift,  
p. 17. & 35.

Thus was the Kingdom of Ireland, by the well bringing up of their Nobility, designed to be well civiliz'd, that they might the more appear like men and Christians: which would the better oblige them to their Queen and her Government.

This makes it convenient to nurture up your very Enemies (the better to reclaim them) in Religion, Learning and Morality. But Sir John Perot was out in his Politicks, when he taught the Irish the use of Arms, whereby they afterwards became more formidable to the English, and put them to far greater troubles and straits to reduce them to obedience.

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*The end of the Sixth Book.*

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A CONTINUATION  
OF THE  
REBELLIONS  
AND  
Treasonable practices  
OF THE  
ROMANISTS  
IN  
ENGLAND:

From the year MD, to MDC.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

*The Supreme HEAD of the Church, King Henry VIII,  
declared deprived of his Dominions.*



Being now come to *England*, here we might finde matter enough of the Papal malice, to make up a large Volume: but herein we must studie brevity; and in so doing, leave the particular Relation of Fights and Tumults, to other Writers.

But first a word by the by concerning *Henry VIII*, who procured to himself a great deal of ill will, by declaring himself an absolute King over all his Subjects, by being *Supreme Head* under Christ, both of Church and State within his Dominions

At this many of his Subjects boyl, and grew scrupulous; would finde

1500.



1500. finde many faults which were neither made nor intended, and so cry down what was never set up. Queen Elizabeth willing to give them content, left out the word *Head*, (which was the main word they started at) and was call'd the--- (a) *Supream Governour of this Realm, and of all other her Highness Dominions and Countries, as well in Spiritual or Ecclesiastical things or causes, as Temporal.* And in the form for Bidding Prayers, thus--- (b) *Supreme Governour of this Realm, as well in Causes Ecclesiastical as Temporal.*

a Elizabetha  
cap. 1.

b Q. Eliz.  
Injunctions  
anno 1559.

c Adeo quidem, ut multi  
pucerint Elizabetham  
posse sibi ex  
hoc decreto omnem etiam in administrandis Sacramentis sacerdotalem potestatem arrogari. Sanders de  
schismate Anglicano, lib. 3. pag. 323. & vid. pag. 316, 317. Infomuch, as if He, (i. e. the King) pleaseth, he  
may himself exercise all these Functions personally. *Ref:itions upon the Oaths of Supremacie and Allegiance*, pag 11. Edit. 1661.

At this the *Romanists* not onely took exceptions, but falsely spread abroad, that by this Title, the Kings or Queens of *England* took upon them to be in (c) *Holy Orders*, might administer the *Sacraments*, and had *Sacerdotal Qualifications* and *Authority*.

To take away this Rub, and the better to satisfie the people, the Queen and her Convocation published this following Interpretation.

### An Admonition to simple men, deceived by Malitious.

Q. Eliz. In-  
junctions,  
1559.

**T**He Queens Majesty being informed, that in certain places of the Realm, sundry of her Native Subjects, being call'd Ecclesiastical Ministry of the Church, be by sinister perswasion, and perverse construction, induced to finde some scruple in the form of an Oath, which by an Act of the last Parliament is prescribed to be required of divers persons for the Recognition of their Allegiance to her Majesty, which certainly never was ever meant, nor by any equitie of words or good sence can be thereof gathered: would that all her loving Subjects should understand, that nothing was, is, or shall be meant, or intended by the same Oath, to have any other Duty, Allegiance, or Bond required by the same Oath, then was acknowledged to be due to the most Noble Kings of famous memorie, King Henry the VIII. her Majesties Father, or King Edward the VI. her Majesties Brother.

And farther her Majestie forbiddeth all manner her Subjects to give ear or credit to such perverse and malicious persons, which most sinisterlie and maliciouslie labour to notifie to her loving Subjects, how by words of the said Oath it may be collected, that the Kings or Queens of this Realm, Possessors of the Crown, may challenge Authoritie and Power of Ministrie of Divine Service in the Church; wherein her said Subjects be much abused by such evil disposed persons.

For certainlie her Majestie neither doth, nor ever will challenge any Authoritie, then that was challenged and latelie used by the said Noble Kings of famous Memorie, King Henry the VIII, and King Edward the VI, which is, and was of ancient time due to the Imperial Crown of this Reame, that is under God to have the Sovereaintie and Rule over all manner of persons born within these her Realms, Dominions and Countries, of what Estate, either Ecclesiastical or Temporal, soever they be; so as no other

For-

Forraign Power shall or ought to have any Superioritie over them. 1500.

And if any person that hath conceived any other sence of the form of the said Oath, shall accept the same Oath with this Interpretation, sence or meaning, her Majestie is well pleased to accept everie such in that behalf, as her good and obedient Subjects, and shall acquit them of all manner of Penalties contained in the said Act, against such as shall peremptorie or obstinate take the same Oath.

And as if this were not authentick enough, she took care that this interpretation of hers, should be confirm'd by Act of Parliament, in this following Proviso.

Provided also, that the Oath expressed in the said Act, made in the said first year, shall be taken and expounded in such form, as is set forth in an Admonition annexed to the Queens Majesties Injunctions, published in the first year of her Majesties Reign: that is to say, to confess and acknowledge in her Majestie, her Heirs and Successors, none other Authoritie then that was challenged, and lately used by the Noble King Henry the eighth, and King Edward the Sixth, as in the said Admonition more plainly may appear. v Elizabeth, cap. 1.

And as if this were not satisfactory, she provided to have the Interpretation of this Oath thus inserted amongst our Articles of Religion, thereby the better to demonstrate how far we are from giving any Priestly Function to our Sovereigns.

### XXXVII.

#### Of the Civil Magistrates.

**T**He Queens Majestie hath the chief power in this Realm of England, and other her Dominions, unto whom the Chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all Cases doth appertain; and is not, nor ought to be subject to any Forraign Jurisdiction. Articles of Religion, anno 1502. Art. 37.

Where we attribute to the Queens Majestie the Chief Government, by which Titles we understand the mindes of some dangerous folke to be offended: We give not our Princes the Ministring, either of Gods Word, or of the Sacraments; the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen, do most plainly testifie: But that onely Prerogative which we see to have been given always to all Godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself, that is, that they should Rule all Estates and Degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn and evil Doers. The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England. The Laws of the Realm may punish Christian men with death, for beinous and grievous offences. It is lawful for Christian men, at the Commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the Wars.

Taken out of King Edward VI. his Articles, anno 1552. of Civil Magistrates.

And

1500.

a Anno 1615.  
57, 58, 59,  
60, 61, 62.

And with these agree the Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops in (a) Convocation at *Dublin*, for the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

And because at the present, I cannot remember any Historian to have taken notice of it, I shall assure the Reader of one Passage concerning a Convocation of Divines.

In King *James* his time, the *Romanists* on the one hand were so busie and zealous to advance the Popedom over all Principalities and Powers, that the Crown it self must be disposed according to the pleasure of that *Myter*: And on the other hand, the *Presbyterian* Hot-spurs were so rigorously malepart, that they would advance their seditious and blockish *Assemblies*, or rather *Conventicles*, above all Law, Reason, Loyalty, Royalty, and Divinity it self; as appears by their continual countenancing of Rebellion and Schism against their Kings and Bishops.

b Jer. I. 10.  
Extra-Com.  
c. unam san-  
ctam. Greg.  
de Major &  
obed. c. solitz.  
c. Psal. 149. 8.  
d Extra. 16.

The first kept a great deal of clutter with St. *Peter* and his Successors; the latter despis'd both him and all Bishops. The first would prove out of the Prophet (b) *Jeremy*, that the Pope was set--- Over the Nations, and over the Kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant.--- The latter affirm'd that they were--- (c) To binde their Kings with chains, and their Nobles with fetters of Iron. The first would tell us that the Pope (d) had two swords, That all must be obedient to him upon pain of damnation; that he excels a King as much as the Sun doth the Moon, or (e) Gold doth Lead: That (f) God hath delivered to him, the Power and Rule, not onely of Earth, but of Heaven too. Nay, that (g) he was above all Power both of Heaven and Earth. The latter despis'd all these *Rodomontado's*, as coming from the Whore of *Babylon*, and the Horned Beast; but would fright the poor People out of their little wits, by bauling out a --- Curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly the Inhabitant thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the Mighty. And with this they would carry on their Cause and Presbytery.

e Dist. 96. c.  
duo sunt.  
f Extra. 7ob.  
XXII. Tit. 5.  
g. dist 22. c.  
omnes Gloss.  
h Concil. E-  
di. Regia  
Paris. Tom.  
34. pag. 440.

Judg. 5. 23.

Regal Authority being thus designed to be nois'd and push'd down, it wanted not many famous and Learned Champions, as well here as beyond Seas. Nor would King *James* himself be onely a Spectator in this Pen-Combat, but he also falls to work; and slighting the railing Rabble, and inferiour *Pickeerers*, he assaults and vindicates his Right against their greatest Cardinal; who at first durst not incounter his Royal Aversary in his own shape, but under the disguise of *Tortus*.

MS.

In the mean time, a *Synod* being held in the time of that vigilant and industrious Prelate Archbishop *Bancroft*, to the Reverend Divines there met, was presented a large Tract containing XXXVI Chapters, to prove the Sovereignty of Kings and Chief Civil Governours, above the High-Priests, from the Creation, to the end of the *Jewish* State; which being read in the Convocation, was wholly approved of by joynt consent. And then being sent down to *Tork*, it also pass'd the Convocation there, as appears by the Subscriptions to the said Treatise of Constitutions in vindication of Regal Supremacie.

'Tis said, that there was a second part of it, to prove the same Authority and Supremacie, from *Christ* to these times; but whether

ther there was any such second part, or whether it past the said *Convocation*, I shall leave to others inquiry. 1500

And by the way, the Reader, if he pleaseth for variety sake, may take our XXXVII Article, as it (with the rest) was turn'd into *Latine Verse*, neer threescore years ago by one Mr. *John Glanvil* of the University of *Oxford*.

*Obtinet Imperium Majestas Regia summum  
Anglicis ejus finibus, atq; aliis:  
Cujus in omnimodis sacrata potentia causis  
Omnibus (ut par est) imperat Ordinibus:  
Sive Sacerdotes sint, seu Civilia tractent  
Munia, nec peregrini est subjiicienda foro.  
Nos ubi Principibus primas damus, inde sinistris  
Mentibus ansa sui Schismatis esse solet.  
Non tamen eternum datur illis copia verbum,  
Sive ministrandi Pignora sacra Dei.  
Legibus hoc patuit quas Elizabetha beati  
Nominis, auspicio condidit ante suo.  
Tale sed Imperium nostris concedimus, olim  
Quale piis tribuit Regibus ipse Deus:  
Nempe gradus hominum soli dominantur in omnes,  
Quos Dominus proprio subdidit Imperio,  
Quos vel publica res capit, aut Ecclesia cunctos  
Civilique queant ense donare malos.  
Non habet Imperium Romanus Episcopus ullum,  
Finibus (O felix terra Britanne) tuis.  
Jura Potestatem Civilia gentis in omnes  
Impia patrantur Crimina mortis habent.  
Ferre (Magistratus si jusserit) arma vel ipsi  
Christicolis, etiam bella ciere licet.*

To which the Poet afterwards subjoyns these following Verses.

*Subditus in proprium miser ut ferat arma Monarcham  
Quem feriet bruto fulmine Papa jubet;  
Non ita (a) Cæsareas abruptit Christus (b) habenas,  
Papa tamen Christi gestit habere vices,  
Falso, nam pedibus tenebrarum (c) Principis instat  
(d) Omnia qui mendax se dare Regna refert.  
India magniloquo dives sic cessit (e) Ibero  
Hoc tulit invisum jure Navarra jugum.  
Barbarus insulsum sed Rex (f) Atabaliba Papam  
Risit, & Insanit Papa superbus ait.  
Regna dat ignotis qui sic aliena Dynastis,  
Excidit Imperio sed tamen ille suo.  
Heu quantas peperit Papa Donatio strages!  
Millia (g) nudorum quot cecidere virum!  
Exiit humanum crudeli ex pectore mentem,  
Qui legit & falsis temporat à lacrimis,  
Qualiter innocuos affixit Celtiber Indos,  
Sed penes Historicos sint ea Lecta suos.*

a Mat. 12. 14.  
b Marc. 17. 27.

c Ephes. 6. 21.  
d Luc. 4. 6.

e Ex donati-  
one Alexan-  
dri VI. Guic-  
card. lib. 11  
f Lop. Gomara  
cap. 113.

g Joseph A-  
costa, lib. 4.  
cap. 3. Bar.  
de Casao, E-  
pisc. This last,  
viz. Barthoma-  
us Casao a  
Godly Spani-  
ard, and a Do-

minican, and Confessor to the Emperor Charles V, went into the West-Indies to preach the Christian Religion amongst those people. And did write (anno 1542) a particular Treatise to shew the barbarous cruelty, and a-  
dominable Inhumanity of his Countrymen against those poor, naked and simple Americans. The which bloody  
Butcheries are scarce to be parallel'd in all Histories.

F f f

Thus

1500. Thus we see, that by the foresaid Articles, neither our Kings, nor the Church, never intended any Spiritual Power (and yet I know no reason, but that a King or Queen may enjoy as much as some Female *Romanists*, viz. their *Lady Abbesses*) but onely a Civil jurisdiction, and a coercive Power, for the better Regulating their Dominions against home-bred Traytors and Forraign Enemies, as you have seen it here interpreted: and not onely our (a) *Thomas Rogers* and (b) *Chr. Cartwright* will inform you farther of it, but also some *Romanists* themselves, as one lately in his (c) *Reflections upon the Oaths of Supremacie and Allegiance*. Another more ancient, designedly written in *Latine* against the Book call'd *God and the King*: the *Romanist* book is also call'd (d) *Deus & Rex*. And Father *Caron*, a true son to the Papal Chair, is unwilling to boggle at this (e) *Supreme Title*, as people have formerly done. And it is not the Sex that spoils the business; (f) *Queens* being capable of, and do enjoy all jurisdictions and Qualifications that Kings do.

a His Notes upon the 37 Article.

b Certamen Religiosum, p.

159.

c Cap 6. pag. 25, 26, 27, 28, &c.

d Edit. Colon.

1519. pag. 48.

e Nos enim

Regem solum,

nostrum &

Ecclesie Britannia &

Hibernia caput esse Civile;

Supremumq;

Gubernatorem agnoscimus,

nec aliud Rex

ipse prætendit, aut

Protestantes reipsa volunt.

Redmund. Caron. Remonstrancia

Hibernorum, part V. pag.

64. ~ 4.

f 1 Mar. 2 Parl.

g — Post Di-

vortium, nisi

quod Pontifi-

ciam Potesta-

tem exercita-

tus, se Caput Ecclesie constituit,

nihil in Religione mutavit.

Jac. Aug. Thuan. Hist. lib. 3.

—— In which

Religion [i.e. the Roman] the King dyed.

Tho. Bailly's life of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, cap. 21. pag.

164. ——— Hæc es pæn omnes, præter illam quæ Romani Pontificis Primatum, & Monasticas Religiones op-

pugnabat, cohibuit. & repressit. Nic. Sander. de Schism. Angl. lib. 2. pag. 228. Parsons conversions of Engl. part

1. p. 170, 235, 238, 241, 242, 244, 246. part 2. p. 541. part 3. vol. 2. p. 408.

But let the King think as well as he pleaseth of his own Authority, the Pope will have as good opinion of his own; and to let King Henry see how far his jurisdiction reacheth, Paul III (b) draws up a thundering Bull against his Majesty, in which he deprives him of his Dominions: this for some time he keeps by him, but at last sent it roaring (i) abroad; and what a notable thing it was, Father Paul, (one of the most judicious Fryars that ever set Pen to Paper) shall tell you. ---- (k) A terrible thundering Bull, such as never was used by his Predecessors; nor imitated by his Successors.

b 30 Aug.

1535.

i It was

published

Decemb. 17.

1538.

k Hist. Concil.

of Trent. lib. 1.

pag. 85.

The thing it self being very long, and as tedious as idle, I shall refer you for it to their Bullaria; but the substance of it take as followeth.

It begins with a Canting or Quaking Preface, (as most other Bulls do) edly misapplying of the Holy scripture to fob up the Papal power.

Rants dapperly against the King, and his Subjects that obey him. Interdicts all Cities, Churches, Places, which favour or adhere to him.

Declares Him, his Friends, and their Children deprived of all benefits and priviledges, and incapable to obtain any.

Ab-

*Absolves all his Subjects from their Oaths of Obedience or Allegiance to him their King.*

*Pronounceth that he and his adherents shall be held as infamous; their Wills, Testimonies, Credits and Authorities not to be of any validity.*

*Prohibits under Papal punishment, to Deal, Trade or have any meddling with such wicked people.*

*Injoynes all Ecclesiasticks forthwith to avoid the Kings Dominions, nor to return thither but by a Papal License, upon sure Certificate of the said Kings repentance and submission.*

*Commands the Nobility, Gentry, and others to make it their care and business to expel and depose the said Henry from his Dominions.*

*Declares all Leagues, Treaties or Agreements made by the said King, with other Christian Princes, to be null; which if the said Kings and Potentates do not forthwith submit to as void and of none effect, that then their respective Territories to lye under Interdiction, and so to remain till the said Princes shall renounce all Amity and Alliance with the said Henry.*

*Exhorts and commands all the said Princes and others, by vertue of their obedience, to invade, spoil, take Arms and fight against the said King, and all those who are subject to him. And as for the Goods, Ships and whatsoever else they take from the said English, He by his Infallible and Papal Authority, giveth to the said takers all right and propriety.*

*Willeth all Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops and all other Ecclesiasticks, under pain of the severest Censures, publickly to declare by Bell, Book and Candle, the said Henry and all his Adherents Excommunicated.*

*Requireth that none under the guilt of the same Censures any way binder the publication of this Bull against the King.*

*And if any do withstand, contradict or gainsay by any means, signes or tokens whatever this Bull, that then he or they so opposing shall incur the wrath of Almighty God, and the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.*

*Dated at Rome at St. Marks,  
anno 1535. III d. Kal.  
Septemb. In the first year  
of our Popedom.*

*And that neither King Henry, nor any else should plead ignorance of these things, it was therein provided and commanded that the said Bull should be affixed to the doors of the Neighbouring to England, or the Kings Dominions; and should be publickly read in the said Churches, especially at Tornay, Bruges and Dunkirk; from which place it was boldly taken down by one William Locke a Mercer of London.*

*They were also posted up at Bolloigne and Diepe in France, and St. Andrews in Scotland: And so liberal was his Holyness, that by a Breve he freely offers England to James V King of*

1500. the *Scots*, promising to assist him in the gaining of it; and for a further encouragement, by his Legat *Giovanni-Antonio Compeggio* presented him with many Ceremonies, and Apostolical Benediction, a *Cap* and a *Sword* newly before Consecrated on *Christmas*-night.

But for all this, sturdy King *Harry* (who above all things hated a baffle) kept his Crown, Kingdom and Authority; the *Paper* not putting him to the tenth part of trouble (if it were any at all to him) as some *Northern* Rebels did, who being fob'd up, that Christ and his Religion were now a throwing down, fell to Arm themselves with what Weapons they could get. In *Lincolnshire* their number was supposed to be about twenty thousand, who at last growing jealous one of another, dispers'd themselves; some being after taken and executed, amongst whom was their Ring-reader, being a sturdie Monk, call'd Doctor *Makerel*, though in this expedition he nominated himself Captain *Cobler*.

Yet no sooner is this stilled, when another, and that more terrible, began in *Yorkshire*, and the other *Northern* Counties; their strength supposed to be about forty thousand, formed into a complete Army, not wanting a Train of Artillery. They call'd their March,--- *The holy and blessed Pilgrimage*--- and the --- *Pilgrimage of Grace*. On the one side of their Banners was painted *Christ* hanging on the Cross: On the other, a *Chalice* with the *Wafer* in it. The Souldiers upon their sleeves had represented the five Wounds of *Christ*, and in the midst the name of *Jesus*. And thus are they thought to be brave *Roman* Blades (by [a] *Nicholas Sanders*) who would thus take up Arms for their Religion. But for all this; their designs came to nothing, being perswaded upon better advice to creep home again; which troubled *Sanders* so much, that he cannot think on this opportunity, without accusing the King of *Perjury* and *Knavery*.

a De Schism.  
lib. 1. p. 46.  
155.

As for King *Henry VIII*, it fareth with him as with other Princes, most speaking of him as their interest lay; being honour'd by some with as great Commendations as Fancie or Flattery could reach, whilst by others he was look'd upon as the worst of Tyrants, and loaded with all the Reproaches and Infamies that Satyr or Malice could invent: for as the worst of Kings and Actions will never want Flatterers and admirers, so the best will never escape the slanders of the envious.

The truth is, though he was Learned above the custom of Princes; yet if ever any man had his faults, our *Henry* had his share to the purpose: his *Will* being both *Law* and *Reason*, as far as his Dominions reacht; and to contradict his humour, was little less than to be next door to another world; and which might make him worse, was, that amongst all his Favourites and Courtiers, there was scarce any, but either Knave or Flatterer, if not both, since 'tis hard to separate them. So that in many things where that King did amiss, whether he acted them by his own inclinations and judgement, or by the suggestions and instigations of his griping and base-soul'd Courtiers and Minions, shall be left to every ones opinion; nor is it much material where the fault should be laid, being both so guilty.

Yet this is certain, that when he followed his own proper *Genius*, viz. *Martial exploits*, none came off with greater glory than himself for his personal Acts and Valour. And the whole  
King-

Kingdom is beholden unto him for the great Fame and Renown she gain'd abroad by her Victories and Warlike Achievements under his conduct. And what cannot *Englishmen* do, under an Active and Martial Prince? But in brief, I shall not undertake to quit him from that short but comprehensive Character given him of old, viz.--- That he never spared man in his Anger, nor woman in his Lust. 1500.

As Henry VIII was no sooner set in the Throne, but (a) Alexander Barklay endeavoured to declare his Renown and Vertues; so no sooner was he dead, but one William Thomas undertook his Apology. This Thomas (as himself words it) being constrain'd by misfortune to abandon the place of his Nativity, meets (after the said Kings death) several Gentlemen at Bologna in Italy, against whom he enters into discourse [in the Month of (b) February, in which Month the King was buryed at Windsor] in Defence of that Noble Prince, whose honour had been wrongfully toucht, as he expresth it; which he draweth up into a Treatise by way of a Dialogue, which he directed to Pietro Aretino the well known Tuscan Poet, as famous for his Satyrical Wit, as infamous for his life and death. <sup>a In his English Translation on of Dr. Sebastian Brant's Stultifera Navis, fol 205, 206. b 1545.</sup>

This he did, he saith, the better to inform the said Aretine of the Kings worth; telling him also, that the King,--- Hath remembered thee with an honourable Legacie by his Testament; the which his Enemies pretend, proceeded of the fear that he had, lest thou shouldst after his death defame him.---

But certain I am, that the King in his Will and Testament maketh no mention of this Poet: so in this Mr. Thomas was misinformed; a thing of no great wonder. And that the King stood in any fear of Aretines writing against him, or that Aretine intended to write of him, I cannot say: but true it is, that though this Florentine was no great Clerk, yet in his Mothers Tongue he laid so about him, and with that rage and fury, that he was stil'd the Scourge of Princes; and his Epitaph in St. Lukes Church in Venice will further tell the Temper of the Fellow; in Italian I meet with it thus:

*Qui giace l' Aretin Poeta Tosco  
Chi disse mal d'Ognun, fuor che di Dio,  
Scusandosi, dicendo, n'il conobbi.*

But I think it is more true and Authentick thus in Latine.

*Condit Aretini cineres lapis iste sepultos,  
Mortales atro qui sale perfricuit:  
Intaenus Deus est illi, causamq; rogatus,  
Hanc dedit, Ille (inquit) non mihi notus erat.*

*Phil. Labbe  
Thesaurus Epigraph.  
Fran. Sweetser  
select. delit.  
pag. 156.*

Here th' Poet Aretine Intomb'd doth lye,  
Who 'gainst all let his spiteful Pasquins fly:  
But God escap'd him, and why? being ask'd fro' him;  
Thus clear'd himself, 'Twas cause I did not know him.

But (d) Joachimus Perionius will assure us, that he neither spared the Apostles, Christ, or God himself. As some call'd him the Scourge of Princes, so others intitled him the Divine; both which <sup>d Orat. contra Aretinum.</sup>



1500. which (a) *Sanseovino* tells us, *Ariosto* thus mentioneth in his *Orlando Furioso*.  
 a *Venetia*  
*descritta.*

*Ecco il Flagello* —————  
*De Principi, il Divin Pietro Aretino.*

But as for the Title of *Divine* or *Penitent*, I see little reason he should have them, although there be some *Meditations* on the *Penitential Psalms* carryed about under his name: yet a wicked man may make a good Book, as the greatest Rebels pretend the most Religion; but that he did ever really repent, I am not convinced, because then they would have given him a better *Epitaph*: besides, the story of his death maketh him then as bad as ever. But enough, if not too much of this.

As concerning the foresaid *William Thomas*, take as followeth.

1544. He got into *Italy*.

1547. He wrote the foresaid Dialogue at *Bologna la Grossa*; 'tis call'd (b) *le Pelegrine*, and never printed that I know of.

b MS. B.2.7.  
 in Bible, Bodl.  
 Oxon.

1548. He finish'd his *Italian Dictionary* and *Grammar* at *Padua*, undertook at the desire, and for the instruction of Mr. *John Tamworth*, then living at *Venice*; and was afterwards (*viz.* 1567) printed by the appointment of Sir *William Mildmay*.

1549. I meet with him return'd to *London*, when and where he Printed his short but methodical History of *Italy*, which was Reprinted 1561.

He was made Clerk of the Council to King *Edward VI*.

c Jo. Bal. de  
 Scriptoribus,  
 Appendix, p.  
 100.

1553. He designed the Murther of Queen *Mary*, or (c) *Steven Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*.

1554. February 20. He was sent to the Tower of *London*.

February 26. He had almost kill'd himself by thrusting a Knife under his Paps.

1554. May 9. He was arraigned and condemn'd at *Guild-hall*.

May 18. He was drawn from the Tower to *Tyborn*, and there hang'd, headed, and quarter'd.

d Parsons  
 three Conver-  
 sions of Engl.  
 part 3. pag.  
 220, 221.

'Tis said that he was an intimate with (d) *Christopher Goodman*, that enemy to the Rule of Women, and a fiery Puritan; and no doubt that *Thomas* was too much warp'd that way, and one of more misguided zeal, then true Religion or Wisdom. He translated some Books out of *Italian*; and besides those Printed, wrote a Tract call'd *The Common Place of State*, for the use of King *Edward VI*, discoursing whether it be expedient to vary with the time: which, with several other of his Writings, may be seen in Sir *Robert Cotton's* (e) Library. And so much of King *Henry* and his Champion *William Thomas*.

e Sub Effigie  
 Vespasiani.  
 D.18.

To this King succeeded *Edward VI*, a most vertuous and hopeful Prince, but too young to correct the villanies of the Grandees about him, who loved the Churches better then they loved God: yet a Reformation of Religion was carryed on, which so vexed some in the North, that they took up Arms to restore Popery, though to no purpose. But those in the West were more stubborn, especially

especially the *Devonshire* and *Cornish-men*, who form'd themselves into an Army, besieged *Exeter*, which bravely defended itself against all their power and spight. 1500.

Nor would their Holy Zeal render them victorious, though as a means to be so, they march'd into the Field with a *Crucifix* under a Canopy, which instead of an *Altar*, was set in a Cart, accompanied with Crosses and Candlesticks, Banners, Holy-Bread and Holy Water, to drive away the Devils, and dull their Enemies Swords, as *Speed* wordeth it. And though they fought fiercely against the King, his Commission and good Subjects, yet they could conclude their demands, or rather commands, with an

Item, *We pray God save King Edward : for  
we be his, both body and goods.*

And this way of canting, is always used by all other Traytors, who the higher they run into Rebellion, declare themselves the better Subjects. In short, though these peoples cause was bad enough (and were soon quell'd) yet (a) *Sanders* will not let them pass without some Papal holy Water, being true *Romanists*; and Father (b) *Parsons* will not allow them to be faulty, because (forsooth) they fought for the *Roman* Religion; as if to take up Arms for any Religion against their true and lawful Sovereign were warrantable; for if so, every Opinion and Phanatick will be its own judge and carver, so that there will be no end of Wars and Bloudshed, yet every man in the right, at least the strongest can do no wrong, however not commit Treason; according to the too-much-practis'd Rule, thus wittily condemn'd by Sir *John Harrington* :

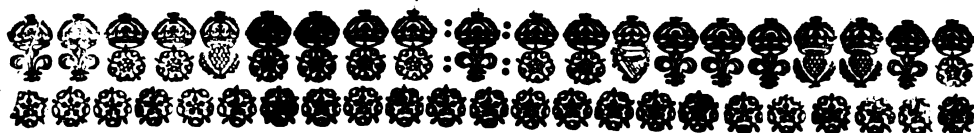
*Treason doth never prosper, what's the reason?  
For if it prosper, none dare call it Treason.*

Epigram,  
5.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. II.

*A Vindication of Queen Elizabeth.*

**A**Nd now we come to the prosperous Reign of the so much-famed *Elizabeth*, in whose time *England* was in the height of its Glory and Repute; being as an Umpire to the whole World, flourishing at home, and victorious abroad: but prudent *Cecil*s and vigilant *Walsingham*s are not always to be had; and so we must be content with our decaying Lawrels.

*a* De Schism.  
Angl. lib. 3.  
pag. 319.

And here (by the by) because (*a*) *Sanders* and other *Romanists* are pleas'd to render her as the worst of all women-kinde, I shall take the boldness to say something in her Vindication, the better to confute her former Revilers, and to satisfie the more ignorant somewhat in her behalf.

*b* Anglorum  
Prælia, ~  
*Elizabetha*.

Her Piety and Religion have been celebrated by many Pens; her Learning and skill in variety of Languages was admired by her greatest Enemies. Besides her *English*, (*b*) *Christopher Ocklande* (whose Books were once order'd to be read in all Grammar-Schools) will tell you of six other Languages she was perfect in.

*Elizabetha pitis primos imbuta per annos  
Moribus, & sophiæ studiis instructa sacrata  
Doctrina, & linguæ Latine Graecæq; perita.  
Linguas Europæ celebres intelliget omnes,  
Quid Teuto, Hispanus, Gallusve, Italusve loquatur.*

*c* His nine  
Worthies, pag.  
282.

Mr. (*c*) *Thomas Heywood*, one who loved to write concerning Women, concludes thus of our *Elizabeth*.

*Chaste Virgin, Royal Queen, belov'd and fear'd;  
Much on the Earth admir'd, to Heaven indear'd;  
Single and singular (without another)  
A Nurse to Belgia, and to France a Mother;  
Potent by Land, sole Sovereign of the Main,  
Antagonist to Rome, the scourge of Spain.*

Though she was excellently skill'd in all manner of Needle-work, was admired for her neat Dancing, was very skilful and knowing in Musick, playing well upon divers sorts of Instruments; yet these and suchlike little pleasures, could never call her thoughts from her Subjects good, and the care of Government.

*d* L. 1. Epist.  
Sturmis.

(*d*) *Roger Ascham* speaks wonders of her ingenuity and knowledge; and he had as much reason to know her as any: but these  
you

you may say were *English-men*, and so bribed by their birth-right; though this with some of her Enemies is no Rule. 1500.

But should we run to all her Commendations beyond Seas, we might be endless. (a) *Cornelius Amaltheus*, a zealous *Italian* a Poet. Ital. vol. 1. pag 79. *Romanist*, cannot withhold his Muse from her Encomiums (b). *Laurentius Rhodomanus* is as earnest in his Anagrammatical mode. b Poet. Germ. vol 5 pag. 827. And his Countryman *Paulus Melissus* seems, as it were, to bestow his whole time in her (c) praises; and at last endeavours to go as high as his wit could reach, so far will he have her above all other Goddesses. c Poet. Germ. vol. 4. pag 342, 418, 425, 428, 440, 441, 442, 452, 462, 468, 478, 482, 492; d Id. pag. 475.

(d) *Te Venerem, te Junonem, te Pallade quisquis  
Dixerit, baud abs re dixerit ille puto.*

*Quin idem Charin & Musam te dixerit: imo  
Musa es Musarum tu, Charitumq; Charis.*

*Iguoscas Regina minus quam par sit & equum  
Dicenti laudis copia quanta tui est!*

*Divitiis Juno, forma Venus, Indole Pallas,  
Dote Charis, cedit nomine Musa tibi.*

*Junones, Veneres, Charitas, Musasq; Minervasq;  
Omnes una simul tu superare potis.*

*Cui culper, si te Divis ex omnibus unam  
Natam Pantheiam virgo Britannia, loquar?*

Amongst the *Belgians*, (e) *Janus Gruterus*, so famous for his Learning, is her great admirer. And of later days, (f) *Adolphus van Dans* hath wrote a whole book in her Commendations. Nay, *Johannes Bochius* of *Bruxels*, who was so inveterate against her Government and Religion, that he assisted *Richard Verstegan* in the composing of his lying and bloody *Theatre*, yet cannot let her pass without this grand applause. e Poet Belg. vol. 2 pag. 681, 718, 719, 721, f De laudibus & vici Elizabeta.

(g) *Pallas, Juno, Venus, nemorosa in frondibus Idæ  
Discrimen formæ cum subiere suæ,*

*Inter formosas, si tu Dea quarta fuisses,*

*Vicisses reliquas, O Dea pulchra, Deas;*

*Quam Juno jejuna foret! quam pallida Pallas!*

*Quam Dea vana Venus! quam Dea sola fores!*

g Poet. Belg. vol. 1 pag 800.

How ready she was to answer Ambassadors and other people in several Languages, on the sudden, Historians do (h) testify at large. But one thing I finde Recorded of her which is not usual, that when three Ambassadors, viz. the *Imperial*, *French* and *Swedish*, addrest themselves to her; at the same time, she on the sudden (i) answer'd each of them in different Languages: the first of them in *Italian*, the second in *French*, and the third in *Latine*. h Edm. Howes enlargement of Str. pag. 813, 814, 815. i Reg. A. Cham, Epist. Sturmi.

(k) *Vossius*, (l) *Meteranus*, (m) *Thuanus*, and a world of other Learned Writers, have wielded their Pens in her Commendations: and though some Popes have endeavoured as far as in them lay to over-cloud her Reputation, by commanding the Commendatory expressions in her behalf to be dashed out of (n) *Cambden* and some other Writers; yet I finde Pope *Sixtus V* (a very Zealous Assertor of his Pontifical Chair) to bestow upon her and *Henry the Fourth of France*, this following noble Character; k Epist. dedicat. ad arcem. Gram. l Hist. Belg. l. 1. m Lib 82 l. 119. n Index librorum Prohibitorum.

G g g

racter;

1500. *rafter,-- (a) That amongst all the Princes of the world, he could finde but two, viz. Queen Elizabeth and Navar (setting aside their opinions in Religion) who were worthy to Rule, and with whom he could most fittingly consult and take advice.---*

*a—* Persæpe audicus est, cum dicerat, toto orbe, se unum virum & foeminam videre dignos (nisi labe sectaria infecti essent) qui Regnarent, & quibus cum ipse de ingentibus rebus consilia, quæ animo agitabar, communi caret; *Navarrum & Elizabetham* Reginam intelligens. *Aug. Thuan. Hist. lib. 82, and Perefixe Hist. Henry le Grand, part 1.*

Having thus somewhat hinted on her Commendations, and at last brought the Pope himself to be an Advocate for her Discretion, Prudence and good Government, we may now the more exactly perceive where the Shoe pincheth, and what is the cause of the ill will against her. Not denying but that she, as well as the best of Monarchs, might have some miscarriages and oversights, in such a long Reign as she continued; especially since the Earl of *Leicester*, and some others, had the Fortune to sway in her time; it being granted, that *Robert Dudley* was as great an Oppressor, as ever breath'd for a Favourite, and so let him and all such never be mentioned but with ignominy.

As for her Religion, *whether Heretical or not?* As the Question is too large to be here discuss'd; so is it nothing to the purpose, seeing Religion doth not intitle one to Kingdoms, nor is Dominion founded in Grace; a Pagan having as much right to his Goods and Territories, as the best of Christians to what is his.

As to her personal concerns, no question but she thought her self in the best and surest way to her Salvation. And as she was a Princess of great Ingenuity and Parts, understood many Languages, read many Books, and was so studious as to translate some her self out of *Greek, Latine and French*; so we need not doubt but thus furnish'd and industrious in Learning, she was able to give a good account of her Religion, and to vindicate it and her self.

And as for Religion, as it related to the publick, it hath had famous Champions and Martyrs to justify it, and to wipe off all the pretended blots of Schism and Heresie, which malice or ignorance could throw upon it; for a farther proof of which [it being not material to my History in hand] I shall refer the Reader to Bishop *Bramhal*, Bishop *Morton*, Dr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Hooker*, Mr. *Mason*, and suchlike Learned Defenders of our Church. Certain it is, that every Kingdom is supream within it self; and 'tis as true, that the Religion in *England* was reform'd in a peaceable and legal manner, by the greatest Authority in it, viz. the Prince, Parliament, and Convocation of Divines: Regulation here did not begin at the wrong end, it was not carryed on by any (b) Rebellious Leagues or Covenants: The Sovereign was free, and not fought to a compliance; and as we may suppose the reasons to be just, so are we certain that it was acted by the highest Authority in the Kingdom, which is according to the Laws of God and Man, and the practice of other *Potentates* both ancient and modern.

As for the alteration it self, we may suppose it was done with due consideration, being acted by such a considerable Body and Authority, and not on a sudden, but by degrees, as they found just occasion to reject and admit.

And

*a Vid Chr. Carlow Cetta. men Relig. pag. 11.*

And as on the one hand we may suppose it was agreeable to the Majority of the *Laity*, considering it past their Representatives the Parliament, nor opposed by any considerable number after: so may we justly conclude it conformable to the sentiments of the *Clergy*, seeing that the Parishes, Headships of Colledges and Halls in the Universities, with the Prebendships, Bishopricks, and the other Dignities of the Church in *England and Wales*, did then amount to the number of very neer *ten thousand*. 1500.  
1559.

Yet of all that number of *Preferments*, adding to them the Lord Abbots, Priors and Lady Abbeesses, and the whole number of these *Roman-Nonconformists* would not amount to 200.

But waving her Religion, I finde the greatest crime objected to her, is her cruelty against others for their opinions in Religion; and with this her Adversaries have made no little noise in the world.

To this I shall return some satisfaction, with as much brevity as can be; all this being but a digression, and by the by.

As for several years of her Reign, not one Priest had suffered death; so when they did (as afterwards) I fear many of them are yet held for blessed Martyrs, who justly dyed as wicked Traytors. And in this I would have the unbiass'd *Romanists* but to consider,

### That even long before the Reformation,

- (a) **I** *It was Treason to compass or imagine the death of the King, the Queen, or their eldest Son and Heir.* a 25 Edw. 3. cap. 2.
  - (b) *It was Treason to Leavie war against the King, or to adhere to the Kings enemies, or to give to the said Enemies aid or comfort.* b 1b.
  - (c) *It was Felony to bring or send into the Kingdom any Summons, Sentence, or Excommunication against any person of what condition soever.* c Cokes Institut. part 3. chap. 35.  
13 Rich. 2. Stat. 2. cap. 2.  
d 16 Rich. 2. cap. 5.
  - (d) *He incur'd a Præmunire that got such Bulls or Excommunications from the Pope.* e Coke. part 3. chap. 84.
  - (e) *None was to go out of the Realm or beyond seas without the Kings leave or license.*
  - (f) *It was of old expressly against the Law of the Land, to procure or bring in any Bull of Excommunication against any Subject [much more in all reason against the Sovereign] in respect it gave way to Forreign Authority; the Popes Excommunications, according to our old Laws, being of no force in England.* f Of these things see more at large in Cokes Institut. part 3. cap. 35. and his Reports, part 5. fol. 12, 15, 17, 21, 22.
- a 3, 27, 28. and Bishop Bramhall's just vindication of the Church of England from Schism, cap. 4.
- (g) *It was not lawful for any Subject of England, to take a Pension, &c. of any forreign King, Prince, or State (without the Kings license) although the said Princes or States be in Peace or League with England.* g Coke Institut. part 3. cap. 67.

1500.

Let the honest *Romanist* farther consider, that before any Priest did suffer death, it was Enacted, that

a 28 Hen. 8.  
cap. 10. and  
5 Eliz. c. 1.

(a) **T**hey should incur a *Præmunire* who did any ways assert or teach the Pope to have jurisdiction over, or in this Kingdom.

b 25 Hen. 8.  
c. 13.

(b) It was Treason for any to write or affirm the King to be an Heretick, Infidel, Schismatick, Tyrant or Usurper.

c 13 Eliz. c. 2.

(c) It was Treason to bring, procure or publish any Bull from Rome.

d 13 Eliz. c. 2.

(d) It was a *Præmunire* so to acknowledge the Popes jurisdiction, as to bring or procure from him any *Agnus Dei*, *Crosses*, *Beads* or *Pardons*; being trinkets and trifles of themselves not worth a *Rulh*, but as they are held *privy Tokens* of *Pa-*  
*pal* Obedience or Allegiance.

Here we see a fair way of Caution; and he is a madman, and no Martyr, who will needs hasten his own death, when neither God nor man requires any such indiscreet Zeal at his hands; Christianity and Salvation being not destroy'd by these Laws, the substance of them being in force, when the *Romanists* themselves confess *England* was of their side: and the Law-givers declare (as appears by the Prefaces to the Acts) that these Regalities and Laws tended for the better Government, Constitution, Peace, and happiness of the Kingdom; of which we are to suppose them to be best Judges, seeing no Article of Faith confirm'd either by the Holy Scriptures or the Primitive Church, were null'd or made void by these Statutes.

Yet the better to expose the Queen, and render her actions odious all the world over, they were very careful to publish what lyes they could, of her pretended cruelties; amongst whom we may account *John Gibbins*, *Robert Parsons* Jesuits, and *John Fen* Priest, who were the chief Authors of that Pamphlet call'd *Concertatio Ecclesiæ in Anglia*. Add to them the Book call'd *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Trophæa*, drawn in Pictures in the English Colledge at *Rome* by *Nicholao Circini*, ingraven by *Jo. Bapt. de Caverneriis*, and publish'd by *Gregory XIII* his Approbation, anno 1584. where people are said to be worried in Bears skins, &c. and printed by *Bartolomeo Grassò*. To vindicate the *English-Romanists* from the false Aspersions and falsities against their Sovereign and Country mention'd in this Book, I finde a (e) *Romanist* [*I. R.* whether *May* the Priest I know not, though I am (f) told that such an one wrote against *Mr. Crashaw*, as this also did] to offer something, by affirming, that there was never any such Book printed in the *English* Colledge at *Rome*. But nothing is got by this, since it cannot be deny'd but that the foresaid Book was printed at *Rome*, and publish'd by the Popes express Authority, as appears by his *Breve* prefixt. And farther, the foresaid supposed cruelties were painted upon the Colledge Walls by *Nich. Circini*, by order and appointment of the *English* there. Nor need we trouble our selves to shew the disaffection of the *English* of that Colledge to their Queen and Country, seeing  
Histories

e Overthrow  
of the Prote-  
stants Pulpit-  
Babels, against  
*Mr. Crashaw*,  
pag. 16.  
f *Tho. James*  
corrupt. of  
Fathers in the  
Appendix to  
the Reader.

Histories do testifie their Actions, and (a) Travelers their railing and bitter words.

1500.

a A. Mundy,  
the English  
Roman lites,

To these we may add *Richard Verstegan*, who put forth a Book call'd *Theatrum Crudelitatum Hereticorum Nostri Temporis*: where, in his Pictures he offers to view the former lying Bear-skin Tales. Of this man (because he afterwards afforded some light to Antiquities, and our Historians are silent of his life and extraction) a word or two by the by.

His Grand-father was call'd *Theodore Rowland Verstegan*, born in *Gelder-landt*; came into *England* about the latter end of King *Henry VII*; marryed here, and presently after dyed, leaving a Son nine months old, who afterwards, to get a livelihood, took upon him the profession of a *Cooper* in *London*. Nor is this any discredit, *Wolfgangus Musculus* his Father being of that Trade.

This *Cooper* was Father to our *Richard Verstegan*; which *Richard* was born in the Parish of *St. Catherines* in *London*; he gave himself to the study of good Letters, and imployed himself in Painting; which makes me think that he engraved the Cuts in his own Books, as the Learned *Hevelius* doth now. Being a Zealous *Romanist*, he left *England*, went into the *Spanish Netherlands*, where he compos'd the foresaid *Theatrum Crudelitatum*: the Verses were made by (b) *Johannes Bochius*, born at *Bruxels*; but if I mistake not, Register to *Antwerp*.

b Vid. Delic.  
Poet. Belg.  
vol 1. pag.  
760, 761, 762,  
etc.

Afterwards the *Rebellious League* now beginning, he conveys himself and Books to *Paris*, where the *English* Ambassador complains of him to King *Henry III*, and desires that, being born a Subject to the Queen, now a Fugitive, and one that had so abused her, he might be delivered into his hands, to be sent to *England*, there to receive his reward. And the Ambassador had reason for his request, if that be true which is (c) reported, viz. that *Henry III* was so much posses'd with those cruel Pictures, and put so much credit in them, that he accused Queen *Elizabeth* of great Cruelty, calling her a wicked and cruel woman.

c Guil. Bar-  
cla. contra  
Monarchom-  
achos, lib 6.  
cap. 7. pag.  
439.

Yet at the Ambassadors desire *Verstegan* was imprison'd; at which (d) *Jean Bouchier*, that active fire-brand of the *League*, is not a little troubled, and layeth it as one heretical fault to *Henry*. At last *Verstegan* is releas'd; who quits *France*, and returns to *Antwerp*, where he reprints his Book, and lives after an handsome fashion. The *Jesuits* and the *Secular-priests* falling out in *England*, each party defends itself by Pen; in this quarrel *Verstegan* concerns himself, joyning with the *Jesuits*, and writing in their behalf, shewing himself as zealous a Railer as the best of them; and indeed never was there quarrel compos'd of so many bad words, either side consider'd.

d De justa ab-  
dicatione  
Henrici III.  
pag. 123.

Thus he continued till after the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, where he (e) published his --- *Restitution of decayed Intelligence* in *Antiquities of England*, --- Dedicating of it to King *James*, expecting better fortune and; favour which (f) *Justus Lipsius* claps to the Nation a good luck in Verse. What he got by it I know not, nor when he dyed: onely towards the latter end of King *James* his Raign, amongst the rest of the *English* Fugitives, who lived in *Antwerp* under the Notion of *Spanish* Stipendiaries, I meet with these words ----- (g) *There is also one Mr. Verstegan, who, did not his wife keep up his credit, might be goakt with the rest, --- That*

e 1605.  
f — Et Rege  
cum novo no-  
vum assume-  
factum. —  
Poet. Belg.  
Vol. 3. p. 364.  
g James  
Wadsworth,  
the English-  
Spanish Pil-  
grime, cap. 7.  
is pag. 67.



15 CO.  
a Quodli-  
bets, pag.  
257.

is (as I suppose) in a mean condition. And thus much for *Verstegan*, of whom (a) *Watson* the Priest will give you a sharper Character.

But why must Queen *Elizabeth* (of all other Sovereigns) be deprived of this Prerogative of life and death? Must *Campo Flori* in *Rome* smother by the burnt bodies of people by the Authority of the Pope, in this acting onely as a Secular Prince, (for Ecclesiasticks excuse themselves from such severities) and may not Queen *Elizabeth* be as great a Monarch in her Dominions?

Must the King of *Spain* glory in his *Inquisition*, thereby destroying multitudes of Strangers and Natives, and that with such severity and cruelty, that their stories either *American* or *Domestic* cannot be read without tears; and had not Queen *Elizabeth* as much right to, and Authority in *England*, as the intitled *Most Catholick* hath in his Dominions?

Hath the *French* King a Prerogative to burn *Anne du Burg*, and many others of his Subjects, for Opinions in Religion and may not Queen *Elizabeth*, having as much right of Government, use her Authority as well as the former? Not that I vindicate any such severities, but use these comparatives to shew that Queen *Elizabeth* did no more then the Romanists themselves.

But to shew what a great thing interest is, take this following observation: but the bloody narrative of the story is so long and mournful, that the Reader must pardon me, if I refer him to o-  
ther (b) Historians for it.

b Thuanus.

c Cambden,  
Eliz. an. 1572.  
Euseb. Phi-  
ladelph. Cos-  
mopol. Dialog.  
1. pag. 30.

d Aug. 24.  
1572.

e Thuan. lib.  
52.

*Charles IX*, King of *France*, under the pretence of the Grand Solemnities of the King of *Navar*'s Marriage, invited all the *Grandees* of the *Hugonots* of *France*, with (c) *Leicester* and *Burghley* out of *England*, and the Sons of the *Palatine* Elector out of *Germany*, intending by this means to ruin the Protestant Religion. The *French* obey'd and appear'd, where they were entertain'd with all manner of Gayeties and Triumphs: but for all this Court-holy-Water, they were, by order of the King, in (d) one day, as many as could be met withal, (which came to several thousands) slain without respect to Sex, age or quality; the chief of whom was old Admiral *Coligny*, whose (e) head was sent as a grateful present to *Rome*. Nor did this Massacre end here, but by the Kings Order was also acted all *France* over, to the unthought-of slaughter of many thousand Protestants.

f Ulmar 1573.  
10 40.

g Id. pag. 20.

h Poet. Gall.  
vol. 1. p. 314.

This Carnage, though it made such an impression upon some, that several set themselves to work, and (f) publish'd a Book of Verses in Detestation of it; yet others imploy'd their wits as much in its Commendation, amongst whom I finde (g) accused *Johannes Auratus*, Regius Professor of the *Greek* Tongue in *Paris*, and one of the chiefest Poets in his time: if so, it seems he could weep and bewail more the killing of one (h) Sparrow by his Cat, then of so many thousand *Christians*.

i Thuan. lib.  
53.  
Cambden, Eliz.  
anno 1572.  
k Thuan. lib.  
62.

As for the *Romanists* in *France*, they celebrated these slaughters as one of the most glorious actions in the world; great rejoycings at Court for it, publick thanks render'd to God; and as a farther memorial of its Gallantry, the King had (i) new Medals or Coyns made with Inscriptions to perpetuate the Fame of that bloody day. And to compleat the triumph, a Miracle must be wrought to testifie Gods approbation of it, which you must finde in (k) *St. Innocents* Church-yard at *Paris*. So here this Church-yard may  
boast

boast of another Miracle, besides its (a) consuming the buried Carcasses in less then ten days. But as for this new flourishing *White-thorne-Tree*, the famous *Thuanus* doth somewhat mitigate the wonder, by affirming that the thing might be as well (b) Natural or artificial.

1500

a André du Chesne les Antiquitez des villes de France, chap. pag 63.7.

b Sive sponte, quod aliquando contingit, cum natura deficiente in eo planta est, ut penitus exareat, sive aqua tepida ab impostoribus infusa. Ang. Thuan. Hist. lib. 52.

But the greatest joy of all, for this slaughter, was at *Rome*, Cardinal *Lorraine* giving the Messenger that brought the first news of it, a thousand Crowns; the Letter was read in the *Conclave*, publick thanks were given in their Churches, the Cannons discharged, Bonfires made, a *Jubilee* publish'd throughout Christendom. And a grand Procession was made to the Church of St. *Lewis* [*Lewis IX* King of *France*, canoniz'd by Pope *Boniface VIII*, his festival day is the XXV of *August*] where was the Nobility, Bishops, Cardinals, the several Ambassadors, the Pope under a Canopy, his Train being held up by the Emperours Ambassador. And the better to retain in Memory this Massacre, the Pope had it (c) painted about his great Hall in the *Lateran*, and there Recorded in (d) Marble.

Thuan. lib. 53. Spondan. anno 1572. 20.

And what must be the cause of all these (e) Joies, Gaities and Triumphs in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and where not amongst the *Romanists*? but that thirty thousand *Protestants* were in a small time destroyed by divers sorts of deaths; some drown'd, some hang'd, some starv'd, some Pistol'd, others had their throats cut, their bodies drag'd about streets, denyed Christian buryal, &c. without any consideration of Age, Sex, Quality or Relations: And all this in a supposed time of security and tranquillity, a peace being made, and the King passing his word and promise for their safety.

c George Whetston's English Mirror, pag 175. d Jo. Nichol's Pilgrimage B. 8 e Catholico-rum Apologus propugnata, quæ in Roma, atq; in Hispania in mensis laudibus celebrata. Jo. de Bussiers Hist. Fran. Vol. 4.

pag. 120. — De ea, Lætitia ob vindictas Hæreticos piorum animis concepta non parum est. — Summar: ad Hist. Hispan. Jo. Mariana. anno 1572.

Now here would I ask the *Romanists* whether ever Queen *Elizabeth* did such a cruel Action as this? If not, then why must *Charles IX* go away with all these Glories and Trophies, and our Queen laden with nothing but black accusations of cruelty? As if Religion intitled one to more authority over his Vassals then the other.

The year (*viz.* 1572.) of this Massacre, some have troubled themselves to lay down in these *Numeral Letters*.

Upon *Gaspar Coligny* the Admiral.

gVIsano oCCUbUIt pIVs ab CoLLIgnIVs aſtV :  
LUX qVater aVgVſtI ſena DoLenDa VenIt.

Or thus :

barithoLoMaUs fLet, qVIA FranCICUs oCCUbat atLat.

And upon the City of *Paris* this.

LVtella Mater sVos natos DeVoraVIt.

And

1500.

And here I cannot but take notice of one pretty cheat the Pope makes use of, to shew to the world his great liking of this Massacre, viz. that whensoever the famous Catholick *Thuanus* in his Narrative of this Butchery, hints (as he doth several times) of the cruelty of these Throat-cuttings,

These expressions sound so harsh in the ears of his good *Romanists*, that in the *Index Expurgatorius* they are all order'd to be dash'd out, and to appear no more in print, lest good people should be corrupted by them; so woe be to them, who dare think amiss of this *Parisian* slaughter. But it is not here alone, but in many other places, that they have endeavour'd to falsifie and corrupt this Learned *Thuanus*, though one of their own Church, yet one that hated lying. For which *Jacobus Gretser*, *Johannes Baptista de Machud*, or *Macaldus*, under the false name of *Jo. Baptista Gallus I. C.* with *Adam Contzen*, and other *Jesuits*, cannot pass him by without throwing some dirt upon him.

a Adam Contzen, Disceptario de Secretis Societat. Jesu, pag. 40.

But though *de Thou's* book were (a) burnt at *Rome*, yet will it remain as an instructive Monument to future Ages, though endeavour'd to be corrupted, as appears by the *Index Expurgatorius*; and possibly hath been, as is manifest by the late little *Thuanus Restitutus*.

But leaving these forraign comparisons, let us return home, and take a short view of our two Sister-Queens of different persuasions in Religion.

Queen *Mary*, whose Piety and Mercie is much commended by *Sanders* and other *Romanists*, Reigned about five years; yet in that short time were put to death for Religion above 260, without any regard to Sex, Quality or Age, Rich and Poor, Learned and Ignorant, Old and little Children that knew not the right-hand from the left; one springing out of its Mothers Womb, whilst burning at the Stake, and unhumanely the little infant thrown into the fire, to burn with its Heretical Mother, as they term'd it.

In twice this time, viz. for the first ten years of *Elizabeth*, not one *Romanist* suffer'd death for Religion; and though she Reigned above 44 years, yet in that long Rule, there were not so many put to death of the *Romanists* for Treason, or what else the *Romanist* pleaseth, almost by an hundred, as there were in the short time of Queen *Mary*. To which we may add, as is confess'd by (b) *Bzovius* their Papal Champion, that there was not any that suffer'd in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, but did teach the dangerous Doctrine, That the Pope could depose Kings.

b Innumera- biles Angli- cani Martyres Ducem Ed- mundum Cam- pianum secuti

docuerunt — Pontificem Rom. — posse quemcumq; etiam Regem — dig- nitate Regia exuere. Abr. Bzovius de Rom. Pont. cap. 46. pag. 621.

This were enough to testifie, that Queen *Elizabeth* was as happy and merciful to her Subjects, as her Sister Queen *Mary*: And to perswade those who throw so many commendations on the latter, not to rob the former of her due praise.

1570.

The first that the *Romanists* pretended *Martyrologist* puts down to have suffer'd in Queen *Elizabeth's* days, is one *John Felton*; and yet this was not till the XII year of her Reign: so that they can pretend to no blood for so many years. And what small reason they have to glory in this mans Martyrdom, let us judge by

by the Cause : in short thus ; for I shall have occasion to speak more of him hereafter. 1500.

Queen *Elizabeth* having triumphantly Raigned above X years in the Nation, to the great joy and comfort of her Subjects ; at last Pope *Pius V* takes a humour in his head, and he, forsooth, must declare her to be no Queen ; to which purpose he thunders out a *Bull*, declaring her *Heretick, Excommunicated, Deprived and Deposed from her Dominions : Absolves all her Subjects from Allegiance, and interdicts any that shall obey her, &c.*

*Felton* gets this *Bull*, hangs it upon the Bishop of *Londons* Palace-gates, scorns to seek an escape, boldly vindicates the Pope and himself in what was done, defying the Queen and her Authority ; for which he was arraigned, condemn'd and hang'd, August 8. near the same place in *St. Pauls Church-yard*.

Now for any thus to contemn and vilifie his Sovereign, null her Authority, renounce his Allegiance, and so far to submit himself to a Forreign jurisdiction even in Temporalities, as to declare his own Sovereign deprived and depos'd from her Kingdom ; I say, what punishment this man incur'd, let the Reader judge ; provided he will also consider, that had a Protestant thus renounced his Obedience in Queen *Mary's* days (not but that there were some *Calvinistical* fire-brands then) the party should have dyed for it ; and those who commend *Felton*, would have call'd the other Traytor. And yet *Felton* did it to procure a National Rebellion.

This and some other Disturbances, occasioned the next *Parliament* to put forth some (a) *Acts* for the preservation of the Queens person, and the better quieting and securing her Subjects and Dominions ; all people having time given them to consult either their own safety, or a compliance. So that who suffer'd afterwards, was for their disobedience to these *Acts*, and the other Laws of the Realm. And the several designs and plots against her to take away both her Kingdoms and Life, might not onely oblige her to look to her self, but also move her to a greater severity then she was naturally addicted to. a 13 Eliz. cap. 1. 2. 3.

Yet hitherto it was not death for *Priests* or *Jesuits* to be in *England*, if they did nothing else. But some XIV years after this, the Queen and Parliament supposed they had Reason to (b) En- a 27 Eliz. cap. 2. act it *Treason* and *Death* onely for being found here ; yet they were so far from catching any one in a Trap, or without warning, that by the said *Act* they all had time given to transport themselves freely without any Attachment, with liberty to take Ship at what *Port* they pleas'd, the time allotted them being forty days after the ending of that present *Session* of *Parliament*. Nay farther, that if any were sick, then upon security they might remain in the Kingdom six Months longer, and then to depart. And all this was more favourable then the Protestants received from Queen *Mary*.

Let us also add, that those, whom she had in prison, she sent over upon her own charges, and with kinde usage (so far was she from thirsting after bloud, as some would have her :) for confirmation thereof, take one Certificate of twenty *Jesuits* and *Priests* ; and one Gentleman, sent from the *Tower of London, Marshalsee* and *Kings-bench*.

1500

a One of the  
Yemen U-  
shers to the  
Queens  
Chamber.  
b A Skinner  
of London.

c Matthew  
Smith.  
d Call'd the  
Mary Martin  
of Colchester.

**T**O all Magistrates, Officers and Ministers within the Realm of England, or elsewhere, to whom it may any wise appertain. This may be to give certification, that we whose names are here under-written, who were imbarcked at the Tower-wharfe of London, the 21 of January 1584, and there received into the charge of Mr. (a) William Bolles, and Mr. (b) Antony Hall, by Commission from their Lordships, and other her Majesties most honourable Privy-Council, Have been by them the said William Bolles and Antony Hall, very friendly and honestly intreated, and with careful diligence safely conducted, transported and conveyed to the Province of Normandy, and by them left this third day of February, according to the English Computation in the year of Christ 1584.

Which said Bolles and Hall have in Our presence, paid the (c) Master of the (d) Bark which Transported us, for the whole Fraught and Victuals in the Ship, for the time of our remaining aboard: And generally so well us'd us in all respects, that we cannot but acknowledge our selves much beholden to them, and fully satisfied in having been committed to the charge of so courteous Officers, sith the case standeth so with us, that we are banished our Country, contrary to our desires, wherein we take no little grief of minde.

For Testimony whereof, we have hereto set our several hands, this present third of February 1584.

a The first Jesuite that came into England; he was son to the Epigrammatist.

b Disputed with Dr. Jo. Rainolds.

c Return'd into England, call'd Bishop of Calcedon, and wrote.

d A Jesuit, return'd into England, and wrote some Books.

e Continued Sanders de Schismate, ungrateful to the Queen.

f Return'd into England, wrote for the Oath of Allegiance.

g Return'd, and executed at Mile-end Green. 1588.

h Return'd, executed at Lancaster, 1560.

i Return'd, wrote in behalf of the Secular-Priests.

k Return'd, wrote several Books, was the chief man in putting out the Doway Notes on the Old Test.

(a) Jasper Heiwood

(b) John Hart

William Tedder

Arthur Pitts

Richard Slake

Richard Norris

(c) William Bishop

(d) Thomas Stephanson

Christopher Tomson

John Barnes

(e) Edward Rishton

James Bosgrave

Samuel Coniers

(f) William Warming-  
ton

William Hartlie

(g) William Dean

(h) Robert Nutter

(i) John Colleton

(k) Thomas Worthing-  
ton

William Smith

Henry Orton Gentle-  
man

The next year also, the Queen sent over XXXII more Priests and Jesuits; and with what civility and kinde usage they were Transported, I shall refer you to (l) Stow or Howes for their own Certificate.

But to proceed: we might shew at large, even by the Confession of Romanists themselves, that the Queen did nothing against the said Romanists, but even what she was necessitated to do, for the

the preservation of her self and Kingdom: of which two or three instances will not be amiss. 1500.

*William Watson*, a zealous Roman Priest, and one who afterwards suffer'd for Treason, confesseth how the (a) Pope plotted her destruction, and that (as he hinteth) by the Instigation of some English; before which ----- Her Majestie used us kindly for the space of the first ten years of her Highness's Raig; the State of the Catholicks in England that while was tolerable, and after a sort in some good quiet. Such as for their conscience were imprisoned or in durance, were very mercifully dealt withal (the state and change of things then considered) some being appointed to remain with such their friends as they themselves made choice of; others were placed with Bishops, and others with Deans; and had their Dyets at their Tables, with such convenient Walks and Lodgings, as did well content them. They that were in ordinary Prisons, had all such liberty and commodities, as the place and their Estate could afford them. Tea even thus much, and more, doth Parsons confess in his *Philopater*: as also Father Creswell in his *Scribe to the like effect*. ----- (b) How great quiet the State and Court was in for twelve years space I no talk of Treasons or Conspiracies, no Jealousies nor Suspicions, no Envie nor Supplications, no fear of Murtherings nor Massacrings, no question of Conscience nor Religion; all lived in quiet content, and right good fellowship was amongst them, &c. and then he confesseth, that the Jesuits were the cause of the Laws against them, *Agnus Dei*, Medals, Holy-grains, &c. He goeth on thus ----- (c) I held directly that both her Majesties Laws and Proceedings against all sorts of Catholicks have been milde and merciful; the opinion and judgement of her Highness in Religion one way, and their foresaid practices against her another way, duly consider'd. a Quodlibets pag. 265. b Id. pag. 266. c Pag. 267. 268.

The same Romanist having almost above measure commended the Queens (d) Wisdom and Government, seems to wonder why the Priests should be molested: and though he saith their Afflictions have been extraordinary, yet he also acknowledgeth so also hath the cause thereof been extraordinary; and so far beyond the accustomed occasions of persecution given to any Prince in Christendom, or Monarchie that is, or ever was in the world to this hour (unless the PURITANS of Scotland, which may in some sort equal the offence here to be set down) as rather it is to be wondred at (all things duly considered) that any one Catholick is left on life in England, then that our persecution hath been so great. d Id. pag. 274. 276. P. 277.

For name one Nation (I know none can) under Heaven, where the Subject (especially if they were Catholicks) ever sought the death of their Sovereign, (though of a different Religion from them:) The conquest of their Native Land; the subversion of the State; the depopulation of the Weal publick; the alteration and change of all Laws, Customs and Orders; and in few, the utter Devastation, Desolation, and Destruction of all the Ancient Inhabitants of their Land, in so unnatural, unchristian, uncatholick a manner, as the Spanish Faction have sought it in our own flesh and blood against this Realm, &c. ----- (e) which seeing her Princely heart hath forbore, as no Sovereign on Earth would ever have suffer'd the like to have past unpunished as she hath; I must conclude and end as we began, THAT HER LAWS AND e Id. pag. 278.

1500. AND PROCEEDINGS HAVE BEEN BOTH  
MILDE AND MERCIFUL. — And at (a) last  
doth confess that she was even bound to do as she did, such was  
their Treasonable Practices and Opinions for deposing of  
Princes.

To him we might add *Clark* the Priest, who also suffer'd  
death with *Watson* for Treason against King *James*: he  
(b) confessing and declaring that the Queens Laws and Go-  
vernment were not to be defamed, traduced, and cryed out a-  
gainst so much for tyranny, seeing their Treasonable Actions  
were the occasion of them. And to them we might add Fa-  
ther (c) *Parsons* himself, when he writes his minde freely to his  
friend.

c Concert. Ec-  
cles. Angl.  
part 2. fol.  
39. b.

d The Prote-  
station it self  
you may see  
at large in Ro-  
ger Wadling-  
tons Theologi-  
cal Dispute  
concerning  
the Oath of  
Allegiance,  
part 2. Sect. 1.  
pag. 346, 347,  
348, 349.

But leaving these single Testimonies, take these following, con-  
firm'd and subscrib'd by above a Jury of true Sons of the Papal  
Religion. — (d) Having first thank'd the Queen for her Cle-  
mencie, and testified that she desired nothing of them but a true  
Profession of their Allegiance. — We whose names  
are under-written, in most humble wise prostrate at her Majesties  
feet, do acknowledge our selves infinitely bound unto her Maje-  
sty therefore. — Whereas for these many years past di-  
vers conspiracies against her Majesties Person and Estate, and  
sundry forcible attempts for invading and conquering her Domi-  
nions have been made under we know not what pretences and in-  
tentments of restoring Catholick Religion with the Sword [a  
course most strange in this world, and undertaken peculiarly and  
solely against her Majestie and her Kingdoms, among other Princes  
departed from the Religion and Obedience of the See Aposto-  
lick, no less then she] by reason of which violent Enterprises, her  
Majesty otherwise of singular Clemencie toward her Subjects,  
bath been greatly moved to ordain and execute severer Laws a-  
gainst Catholicks [which by reason of their Union with the See  
Apostolick in Faith and Religion, were easily supposed to favour  
these Conspiracies and Invasions] then perhaps had ever been En-  
acted or thought upon, if such Hostility and Wars had never  
been undertaken.

#### All Secular-Priests.

a Concern'd in the Quarrels at  
*Wisbich*, wrote in behalf of the  
Priests.

b Such an one preach'd and dy-  
ed by the fall of the Chamber at  
*Blackfriars*, 1623.

c Wrote against Mr. *Mason*.

d I finde two Brothers of that  
name at the latter end of King  
*James* his Reign.

e Translated *Theodorets* History in-  
to English.

*William Bishop*

*John Colleton*

(a) *John Mush*

*Robert Charnock*

*John Bosseville*

*Antony Hebborne*

(b) *Robert Drury*

(c) *Antony Champney*

(d) *John Jackson*

*Francis Barneby*

*Oswald Needham*

(e) *Roger Cadwalla-  
der*

*Robert Button*

November 5. 1602.

In

In short, we have it from good (a) Authority, that the Queen used to complain with grief, that she was driven by necessity to prosecute such Laws, for the preservation of her self and Subjects. And an honest (b) *Benedictine* Monk doth assure us, that the Queen designed a mitigation, upon security of their Allegiance, but that this toleration was both talk'd and written against at *Rome*, as very disadvantageous to the Papal Cause.

If they thus oppose her Favours, 'tis not her fault : If they be angry with her for banishing the Priests, she did no more then *France* and *Venice* once did with the *Jesuits* : If she did amiss in taking their lives away, yet was she not so cruel as the *Spanish* Inquisition, or the *French* Massacre ; nor so fiery as her Sister *Mary* : If she be blameable, why should the others be commended ? Her Prudence may be shown by her prosperous Reign ; Her Courage, by overcoming all difficulties and assaults ; Her Clemencie, by her often pardoning her Enemies ; Her good Government, by the Love and Honour her Subjects bare her, and the esteem which *England* yet hath for her. And as she was beloved at home, so was she indear'd and fear'd abroad ; and as she was blest'd and happy in all her undertakings here, so let her not be vilified and bespattered now she is gone to another world honour'd with many years and triumphs.

1500.

a *Cambden*,  
*Eliz.* anno  
1581.b *Roger Wid-*  
*drington's*  
Confutation  
of the intem-  
perate Reply  
of *Tho. Fitz-*  
*Herbert*, Pre-  
face, pag. 66.  
81.

CHAP.



1500.



## CHAP. III.

*The Pope undertook to depose Queen Elizabeth, which occasioned some troubles in England, to the ruine of the undertakers.*

**Q**ueen *Mary* being dead, her Sister *Elizabeth* succeeded in the Throne, though *White* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Watson* Bishop of *Lincoln*, were very forward and eager to have her Excommunicated; which they would have undertaken to perform, but that others more wary advised them against such rashness.

<sup>a</sup> De Schism.  
lib-3 pag 342.  
343.

For some years of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, we hear of no great troubles, the *Papists* themselves privately within their own Houses exercising their own Religion quietly enough without any disturbance, and others of them without any scruple [but deeply herein charged by (<sup>a</sup>) *Sanders* for their dissimulation] going to the Reformed Churches, there to hear and enjoy Divine-Service. Nor could they perceive any thing in the *English-Liturgie*, that might any way offend a wisemans conscience, it being judiciously composed of Godly Prayers, waving all Disputes, and the nicer Points of Controversie. And in this peaceable condition they might have long continued, if Father *Parsons*, and some such Zealots, had not baul'd against such a security, and got a beyond-Sea Order against their joyning with the *Reformed*, in any of their Pious Devotions.

<sup>b</sup> Peter Hey-  
lin's Ecclesia  
Restaurata,  
pag. 102, 103.

No sooner is *Elizabeth* acknowledged Queen, but we are (<sup>b</sup>) told that she sent to the *English* Agent at *Rome*, viz. Sir *Edward Karm* (sent thither by Queen *Mary*) to acquaint the Pope, *Paul IV*, of her Sisters death, of her own Succession, desiring that all good Offices might be reciprocally exchanged between them. But the Pope Answer'd that the Kingdom of *England* was held in Fee of the Apostolick See; that she being Illegitimate, could not succeed, and therefore it was great boldness to assume the Name and Government of it without him. Yet if she will renounce her Title, and refer her self wholly to him, he would do what would stand with the honour of the Apostolick See.

<sup>d</sup> 1561.

As for the Queen, she never troubled her thoughts to satisfy his Holiness in his demands; and for Sir *Edward Karm*, he dyed some (<sup>c</sup>) years afterwards at *Rome*, being the last Ambassador that went from the *English* Crown to the Pope.

This angry Pope dying, another succeeded of a milder temper, who, though he was earnestly prest to thunder out his Bulls against the Queen, yet, now knowing that Princes were too wise to

to deliver up their Kingdoms at the noise of such Paper-claps, he goeth another way to work. He sends *Vincentio Parpalia*, Abbot of *St. Saviors*, with a civil pen'd Letter for the Queen: His Instructions are said to be, That if she would joyn her self to the *Romish Church*, and acknowledge the *Primacie* of that Chair, that he would *disanul the sentence against her Mothers Marriage as unjust*, confirm the English Common-prayer-book by his Authority, and grant the use of the Sacraments under both kinds to the English. Add farther, that several thousand Crowns were promis'd to those who would procure her compliance. But this *Parpalia* went no farther then *Bruxels*, being not suffer'd to enter *England*.

1500.

1560.

Yet the said Pope would not desist here, but resolveth to try again, and send another *Nuncio*, viz. Abbot *Martinego*; but he also is deny'd, the Council suspecting he might make some troubles by his presence in *England*: the very noise of his coming having already sob'd up some indiscreet *Romanists* to vent themselves more boldly then formerly, to spread abroad false News of the Queens conversion, some by *Astrology*, and other ways to consult the length of her Reign and Lite; and the Popes *Nuncio* then in *Ireland*, did not onely joyn himself with the Rebels against her, but also by his pretended Authority deprived her of all Right and Title to that Kingdom.

1561.

That which they call the *General Council of Trent* now sitting, the Queen is desired to send some thither: but this she thought would be to little purpose, seeing the designe of that *Conventi-*  
*on* (as the Emperour and the *French King* (*b*) call'd it) was more of Interest then real honesty: Besides, it had now continued about XV years, and so improbable to alter any thing upon her desire. Nor was the Council it self free, as appears by the several (*c*) complaints put in there against such forcible abuses; some things, as the (*d*) Institution of Bishops, not being permitted to be discussed, the Pope fearing to be the looser: Nor was the (*e*) Secretary just in taking and setting down the suffrages; whereby he turn'd the Votes as he pleas'd. Nor would they allow any thing to be concluded on, but as they received (*f*) Instructions from the Pope; which occasioned the Proverb, That the *Holy Ghost was sent from Rome to Trent in a Cloak bag*.

*Sanders de Schism. l. 3. pag. 360.*

*b Hist. Council of Trent, pag. 279, 318.*

*c Id. pag. 167, 168, 507, 508, 530, 551, 556, 569, 635, 644, 659, 661, 683. d Id. pag. 589. e Id. pag. 660. f Id. pag. 497, 703.*

Besides, *Ambrose Coligna*, a *Dominican*, publickly (*g*) preach'd against the *Protestants*, affirming that Faith and safe-conduct is not to be kept with them. And when some of the Reformed Divines went thither, the (*h*) Legat brake off the Debates, not letting the Council proceed; and suspended the Council for two years, pretending fear of Wars: against which action the *Spanish Bishops* (*i*) protested. And when the Legats party fears to be out-voted, then do they send to the Pope to make more Bishops, and convey them to (*k*) *Trent*: which Legats undertook not onely to direct, but command the whole Council; which spoil'd its Freedom.

*g Id. pag. 374.*

*h Id. pag. 374, 375.*

*i Id. pag. 356, 367.*

*k Id. pag. 254, 255, 256, 257.*

To these may be added the tricks used to carry on their designs, and prevent a baffle, either by new making of Bishops, the better to out-vote, or suspending of all from acting or voting; or by removing them to other places, so to divide the Council; as when they were adjourn'd to (*l*) *Bologna*, whither those that depended on the Pope went, the rest refusing, afraid still

*l Id. pag. 267, 268, 279, 277, 278, 279, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 300, 301, 302, &c.*

at

1500. at *Trent*, not submitting to this removal or division.  
 And little might here be expected but partiality, seeing the *Italians* were almost three to one of the number there; all the Subscribers amounting to no more than 255, of which 187 were *Italians*; so that bating the interested *Italians*, there remains but a poor Catalogue of Bishops, in respect of the great number that are in the Christian World; yet must this be look'd upon as one of the most famous General Councils in the whole World: yet the *Romanists* cannot agree about its Jurisdiction or Authority; for though the (a) *French* hold the Council to be above the Pope, yet his Holiness looks upon himself as no wise (b) bound to observe the Canons of *Trent*.

a Id. pag. 661.  
 719.  
 b Pag. 818.

In short, should the *English* Clergy have appear'd in this Council, they must either have been there as Free-men, frankly to Dispute and Debate as others did: But thus they could not, having been before condemn'd as Hereticks by *Julius III.* And at *Trent* here they were so Zealous, as to Excommunicate the Archbishop and Elector of (c) *Colem* for Heresie, before they had determin'd what was Heresie. If they could not appear as Free-men, then they must under the capacity of *Offenders*, as it were to receive sentence of condemnation: but to this they thought they had no reason to submit themselves; and we need not doubt how things would have gone with them. For we finde those of *Trent* so busie and zealous, that they were going to throw their (d) *Censures* against the Queen, but that the Emperour *Ferdinand I.* used his Interest to dissuade them from it, thinking by this to ingratiate himself with her, hoping to marry his Son to her. But no more of this, seeing that the Learned Bishop *Jewel* wrote an *Apologie* for our *English* Bishops not going to that Council; which may be seen at the latter end of Father *Paul's* History.

c Id. pag. 165,  
 189, 259, 260.

d Sanders de  
 Schism. lib. 3.  
 pag. 351.

But leaving these Disputes, and passing by the designe of *Arthur Pool*, *Antony Fortiscue*, and some others, who contrived to joyn themselves with the Duke of *Guise*, so from *France* to land an Army in *Wales*, to Proclaim the Queen of *Scots*, and make her Queen of *England*; we shall proceed, and finde the Pope himself to be the greatest Stickler in the troubles against *Elizabeth*.

1562.

Pope *Pius* the Fifth being strongly bent not onely to get Queen *Elizabeth* deposed, but to have her (e) *Murder'd*; and in this humour, he was pleas'd to throw his charity upon her by calling of her (f) filthy and base names.

e — De medio tollere  
 cogitabat.  
 Anton. Gaburius vita Pii  
 V. l. 3 c. 9.

f Malorum omnium servitiam, flagitiorum servam, ib. — La sentina di tanti mali. Girol. Catena, vita del Papa Pio V. pag. 113.

1568.

Thus resolved, he procures one *Roberto Rodolfo*, a Rich *Florentine* Gentleman, to reside in *England* under the colour of Merchandise; and thus disguis'd, to stir up the people against the Queen. Then for more strength, he works under-hand with the *French* and *Spaniard* to assist in the action; nor was the *Portugal* left unsolicited, all promising fair. But the *Spaniard* was most vigorous, sending *Chapine Vitelli*, Marquess of *Cetona*, under the Vizard of an idle Ambassie, but the truth was, to countenance the Rebellion, and command the Forces which the Duke of *Alva* was to send over on that designe from the *Netherlands*: for more surety

1569.

surety of which, *La Motte* the Governour of *Dunkirk* had come privately in the habit of a common Saylor to sound the Ports. 1500.

In the meantime *Rodolpho* having his Pockets full of the Popes money, spread it abroad by his discretion, gaining thereby many Profelytes. They endeavour'd to make *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Head of their Plot; promising him in Marriage *Mary* the unfortunate Queen of *Scots*, now secured in *England*: And at last, they over-perswaded the good-meaning Duke to engage farther then was fitting for a Subject, being cheated thereto by some false friends. And into the same designe was drawn *Thomas Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *Charles Nevil*, Earl of *Westmerland*, with several others of Quality; who at last perceiving the Queen to have discover'd their plot, submitted and beg'd pardon.

Nor was the Pope himself idle, but so zealous for this Rebellion, that he assured the *Spaniards*, if need be, he would go himself in person to assist them, and in that service engage all the goods of the Apostolick See, as Crosses, Chalice, and holy Vestments. And the better to encourage the *English*, and make them more ready for such Treason, he falls to the old trick, dapperly undertaking not onely to vilifie, but to deprive her of her Dominions, and absolve her Subjects of their Allegiance. Before which time, (as the famous (a) *Thuanus* tells us) he had craftily and treacherously, though in vain, conspired and attempted against her. Which accusation doth so offend the Pope, that those words are order'd by the *Index Expurgatorius* to be dasht out. The *Bull* it self take as followeth.

*Girolamo Catenena* vita del Papa Pio V. pag. 116.

a—Frostra astu & per Insidias Anglorum Regnam adortus esset. *Thn.* lib. 44.

S. D. N. Pii Papæ V. Sententia Declaratoria contra *Elizabetham* prætentam *Angliæ* Reginam, & ei ad hærentes Hæreticos. Quæ etiam declarantur Absoluti omnes Subditi à Jramento Fidelitatis, & quocunq; alio debito; & deinceps obedientes Anathemate illaqueantur.

Pius Episcopus servus servorum Dei, ad futuram rei Memoriam.

*The Sentence declaratory of our Holy Lord Pope Pius V. against Elizabeth the pretended Queen of England, and the Hereticks adhering to her: Wherein also all her Subjects are declared Absolved from the Oath of Allegiance, and whatever else due unto her; and those who hereafter obey her are hereby Anathematiz'd.*

*Pius Bishop, servant of the servants of God, for a future Memorial of the matter.*

**R**egnans in excelsis, cui data est omnis in Cælo & in terra Potestas, unam sanctam Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam,

**H**E who Raigneth in the Highest, to whom is given all power in Heaven and in Earth, hath committed one holy

I ii

Ca-

1500. *extra quam nulla est salus, nisi soli in terris, videlicet, Apostolorum Principi Petro, Petriq; Successori Romano Pontifici, in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam.*

*Hunc unum super omnes Gentes & omnia Regna Principem constituit, Qui (a) Evellat, destruat, dissipet, disperdat, plantet & ædificet; ut fidelem populum mutue Charitatis nexu confectum, in unitate Spiritus contineat, saluumq; & incolumem suo exhibeat Salvatori.*

a Jer. I. 10.

*Quo quidem munere obeundo, Nos ad prædictæ Ecclesiæ Gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus, omni opere contendentes, ut ipsa unitas & Catholica Religio (quam illius Author ad probandam suorum fidem & correctionem nostram tantis procellis consistare permisit) integra conservetur.*

*Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentia invaluit, ut nullus jam in Orbe locus sit reliquus, quem illi pessimis doctrinis corrumpere non tentarint: Adnitente inter ceteros, Flagitiorum Serva Elizabetha prætenfa Angliæ Regina, ad quam veluti ad Asylum omnium infestissimis profugium invenerunt. Hæc eadem Regina Regno occupato Supremi Ecclesiæ Capitis locum in omni Anglia, ejusq; præcipuam authoritatem atq; jurisdictionem monstroscè sibi usurpans, Regnum ipsum jam tum ad fidem Catholicam & bonam frugem reductum, rursus in miserum exitium revocavit.*

Catholick and Apostolick Church (out of which there is no Salvation) to one alone upon Earth, namely to *Peter* the chief of the Apostles, and to *Peters* Successor the Bishop of *Rome*, to be govern'd in fulness of power.

Him alone he made Prince over all People and all Kingdoms, with power (a) *To pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant and to build*; that he may continue the Faithful, who are knit together with the bond of Charity, in the Unity of the Spirit, and present them safe and unblameable to their Saviour.

In discharge of which Function, we who are by the goodness of God call'd to the Government of the foresaid Church, do spare no pains, labouring with all earnestness, that Unity and Catholick Religion (which the Author thereof hath, for the tryal of his Childrens Faith, and for our amendment, suffer'd to be punish'd with so great afflictions) might be preserv'd whole and uncorrupt.

But the number of the ungodly have gotten such power, that there is no place left in the whole World, which they have not endeavour'd to corrupt with their most wicked Doctrines. Amongst others, *Elizabeth* the Pretended Queen of England, and the servant of wickedness, hath assisted thereunto; in whom as in a Sanctuary the most pernicious of all have found a refuge. This very woman having seiz'd on the Kingdom, and monstiously usurping the place of Supreme Head of the Church of all England, and the chief Authority and jurisdiction thereof, hath again brought back the said Kingdom into miserable distraction, which was but even then newly reduced to the Catholick faith, and an hopeful condition.

For

*Uſu namq; vere Religionis quam ab illius defertore Henrico VIII, olim everſam, clara memoria Maria Regina Legitima hujus ſedis præſidio reperaverat, potenti manu inhibito, ſecutiſq; & amplexis hereticorum erroribus Regium Conſilium ex Anglia Nobilitate conſectum diremit, illudq; obſcuris hominibus Hereticis complevit, Catholica fidei cultores oppreſſit, improbas Concionatores atq; Impietatum adminiſtros reſpoſuit; Miſſe, Sacrificium, Preces, Jejunia, Ciborum Delectum, Cælibatum, Ritufq; Catholicos abolevit: Libros manifeſtam Hæreſim continentes toto Regno proponi, impia Myſteria & Inſtituta ad Calvin præſcripta & obſervata, etiam à Subditis ſervari mandavit. Episcopos, Eccleſiarum Rectores & Sacerdotes Catholicos ſuis Eccleſiis & Beneficiis ejicere, ac de illis & aliis rebus Eccleſiaſticis in Hæreticos homines diſponere, deq; Eccleſiæ cauſis decernere auſa, Prælatiſ, Clero & Populo ne Romanam Eccleſ. agnoſcerent, neve ejus Præceptis Sanctionibusq; Canonicis obtemperarent, interdixit: Plerofq; in nefarias leges ſuas venire & Romani Pont. Authoritatem atq; Obſedientiam abjurare; ſeq; ſolam in Temporalibus & Spiritualibus Dominam agnoſcere, jurejurando coegit; Penas & ſupplicia in eos, qui dicto non eſſent audientes, impoſuit, eaſdemq; ab iis qui in unitate fidei & Prædicta Obſedientia perſeverarunt, exegit: Catholicos Antiſtites & Eccleſiarum Rectores in vincula conſecit; ubi multi diuturno languore & triſtitia conſecti, extremum vitæ diem miſerè finierunt.*

For having by ſtrong hand forbidden the Exerciſe of the true Religion, which *Mary* a lawful Queen of famous Memory had by the aſſiſtance of this See reſtored, after it had been overthrowed by *Henry VIII*, a Revolver from the Truth; She following and imbracing the errors of Hereticks, hath removed the Royal Council, conſiſting of the Nobility of *England*, and fill'd it with obſcure Heretical fellows; hath ſuppreſſed the embracers of the Catholick Faith; ſetled diſhoneſt Preachers and wicked Miniſters; aboliſh'd the Sacrifice of the *Maſs*, Prayers, Faſtings, choice of Meats, unmarried life, and the Catholick Ceremonies; commanded all the Kingdom over, Books manifeſtly Heretical to be read, and impious Myſteries and Inſtitutions, according to the Rules of *Calvin*, which ſhe her ſelf entertains and receiveth, to be likewiſe obſerved by her Subjects. She hath preſumed to throw Biſhops, Parsons, and other Catholick Priests out of their Churches and Benefices, and to beſtow their and other Church-...vings upon Hereticks, and to determine of Eccleſiaſtical matters; to forbid the Biſhops, Clergy and People to acknowledge the Church of *Rome*, or to obey the Precepts or Canonical Sanctions thereof: Hath compell'd moſt of them to obey her wicked Laws, and to abjure the Authority and Obſedience of the Biſhop of *Rome*; and by Oath to acknowledge her to be ſole Governers, as well in Spiritual as Temporal Affairs. Hath impoſ'd penalties and puniſhments upon thoſe who obey'd not the ſame; hath exacted them of thoſe who perſevered in the Unity of Faith and their foreſaid Obſedience; and hath caſt the Catholick Prelates and Parsons into Priſon, where, many of them being

1500.

1500.

*Quæ omnia cum apud omnes Nationes perspicua & notoria sint, & gravissimo quamplurimorum Testimonio ita comprobata, ut nullus omnino locus excusationis, defensionis aut tergiversationis relinquatur: Nos multiplicantibus aliis atq; aliis super aliis impietatibus & facinoribus & præterea Fidelium persecutione, Religionisq; afflictione impulsu & opera dictæ Elizabethæ quotidie magis ingravescentes, quoniam illius animum ita obfirmatum atq; induratum intelligimus, ut non modo pias Catholicorum Principum de sanitate & conversione præces monitionesq; contempserit, sed ne hujus quidem sedis ad ipsam hac de causa Nuncios in Angliam trajicere permiserit, ad armæ Justitiæ contra eam de necessitate conversi, dolorem lenire non possumus, quod adducamur in unam animadvertere, cujus Majores de Republica Christiana tantopere meruerunt.*

a Abbot Palia and Martiningo, 1560, 1561.

*Illius itaq; Authoritate suffulti, qui nos in hoc supremo Justitiæ Throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de Apostolica potestatis plenitudine Declaramus prædictam Elizabetham Hereticam & Hereticorum Fantricem, eiq; adherentes in prædictis, Anathematis sententiam incurrisse, esseq; a Christi Corporis unitate præcisos.*

*Quin etiam ipsam prætenso Regni prædicti jure, necnon omni & quocunq; Dominio, Dignitate, Privilegioq; privatam.*

spent with long languishing and sorrow, miserably ended their lives.

All which things seeing they are manifest and notorious to all men, and by the clearest Testimony of very many so sufficiently proved, that there is no place at all left, either for excuse, defence or evasion: We seeing that impieties and wicked actions are multiplied one upon another, and moreover that the Persecution of the Faithful, and Affliction for Religion, groweth every day heavier and heavier, through the instigation and means of the said Elizabeth: We therefore understanding her minde to be so hardened and obdurate, that she hath not onely contemn'd the Godly requests and admonitions of Catholick Princes, concerning her amendment and conversion, but also hath not so much as permitted the (a) Nuncio's of this See to pass into England; are necessitated to betake our selves to the weapons of Justice against her, not being able to mitigate our sorrow, that we are drawn to take Punishment of one, to whose Ancestors all Christendom hath been so much beholden.

Being therefore supported by his Authority, who hath placed Us (though unable for so great a burthen) in the Supreme Throne of Justice; We do out of the fulness of our Apostolical power declare the 'foresaid heretical Elizabeth, being the favourer of Hereticks, with all her adherents in the matters aforesaid, to have incur'd the sentence of Anathema, and to be cut off from the unity of Christs body.

And we also declare her to be deprived of her pretended Title to the Kingdom aforesaid, and of all Dominion, Dignity and Priviledge whatsoever.

And

*Et etiam Proceres, Subditos & Populos dicti Regni, ac ceteros omnes qui illi quomodocumque juraverunt, a juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus Domini fidelitatis & obsequii debito, perpetuo absolutos; prout Nos illos presentium Authoritate Absolvimus, & Privamus eandem Elizabetham pretense jure Regni, aliisque omnibus supra dictis.*

*Præcipimusque & Interdicimus universis & singulis Proceribus, Subditis, Populi, & aliis prædictis, ne illi ejusve monitis, Mandatis & legibus audeant obedire, qui secus egerint, eos simili Anathematis sententia innodamus.*

*Quia vero difficile nimis esset, Præsentis quocumque illis opus erit perferre; Volumus, ut eorum Exemplis, Notarii Publici manu, & Prelati Ecclesiastici, ejusve Curie Sigillo obsignata, eandem illam prorsus fidem in judicio & extra illud ubique Gentium faciant, quam ipsæ præsentis facerent, si essent exhibitæ.*

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo Quingentesimo Sexagesimo Nono. Quinto Kalend. (b) Martii: Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

Cæ. Glorierius.

H. Cumyn.

And also declare the Nobility, Subjects and People of that Kingdom, and all others who have in any sort sworn unto her, to be for ever absolved from any such Oath, and from all manner of Duty of Dominion, Allegiance, and Obedience to her. *As We* also do by the Authority of these presents *Absolve them, and Deprive the same Elizabeth of her pretended Title to the Kingdom, and all other things abovesaid.*

And We command and forbid all and every the Noblemen, Subjects, People, and others aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her, or her Monitions, Mandats or Laws; and those who shall do otherwise then here commanded, we do involve them in the same sentence of Anathema.

And because it would be a matter of too much difficulty to convey these presents to all places wheresoever it should be needful: *Our will is, that the Copies thereof, under a publick Notaries hand, and seal'd with the Seal of an Ecclesiastical Prelate or of his Court, shall carry altogether the same credit with all people judicially and extrajudicially, as the (a) presents should do, if they were exhibited or shew'd.*

Dated at Rome at S. Peters, in the year of Christ 1569. 24 of February, in the Fifth year of Our Popedom.

Cæ. Glorierius.

H. Cumyn.

1500.

<sup>a</sup> The Original.

<sup>b</sup> Their Bullaria Edit. Rom. 1638. by a mistake hath VK al. Maii, but the former Edit. viz. Rom. 1617. in this is right enough.

As I shall not trouble the Reader with the divers Readings and Words (though the sence be the same) which happens some times in several Copies and Editions of this *Bull*; neither shall I concern my self with the true *Date* of it, as how the fifth year of this



1500. this mans Popedom cometh to be 1569, which rather falls out 1570, in which year some also Date it : but in what I have done, I follow the Lord (a) *Coke*, Mr. (b) *Cambden*, (c) *David Camerarius*, (d) *Peter Matthews*, (e) *Nicolas Sanders*, with some others : Though all is not Gospel which drops from the last mans pen, his tongue being no slander; yet out of his inventions will *Spondanus* and suchlike Forreigners spoil their Church-stories of England.

a Reports, part 5.  
b *Eliz. anno* 1570.  
c *De Scotorum fortitud lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 265.*  
d *Summa Constituto-*  
*rum. pag. 624, 625.*  
e *De Schismate Anglicano, lib. 3. pag 368, 359, &c.*

Mr. *Cambden* saith, that the Pope did secretly *Anathematize* the Queen in 1569, but did not publish it till the year after. But let it be as it will, the Learned *Juel*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, writ a Tract (a little after Printed) against it, as coming into England, and to his hands 1569. And they themselves confess, that this year, the Pope sent Dr. *Nicolas Morton*, a Priest, from Rome into England, to (f) declare in his name that the Queen was an Heretick, and so had no right to rule; and that she ought to be looked upon no otherwise then an Infidel Pagan, nor in any thing to be obey'd.

f — Anno Domini 1569.  
R. D. Nic.  
*Morton S.T.D.*  
— In Angliam misit ut certis illustribus & Catholicis viris, Autoritate Apostolica. Denunciaret, *Elizabetham*, quæ tunc rerum potiebatur, Hæreticam esse; ob eamq; causam omni Dominio & potestate, quam in Catholicos usurpabat, jure ipso excidisse, impuneq; ab illis velut *Ethnicam & Publicanam* haberi posse, nec eos illius legibus aut Mandatis deinceps obedire cogi. *Nic. Sanders de visibili Monarch. lib. 7. pag. 730.* — 2036, 2037.

Accordingly *Morton* gets into England, shews the Papal Curse or Censure, Argument enough to authorize a Rebellion: the designe is laid every where; many are prepared and in a readiness, the Plot being thought glorious and (g) praise-worthy: but the main let it seemeth was, that the Queens deprivation by the Bull was not spread carefully enough about, to let all *Romanists* know of it. But in the North remain'd the greatest resolution. Upon which, the Queen especially suspecting the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, sent to them to appear before her; but they jealous of their own guilt, in this neither obey her, nor her Lord-Lieutenant of the North, *Thomas Radclyffe*, Earl of *Sussex*, Resident at *Tork*.

g Illorum Nobilium laudanda Confilia. *Sanders ib.*

So being pulst on by their followers, hoping not to want friends and partakers in England, to have some help from Scotland, and that Succors would not be wanting them from *Alva* in the Netherlands in behalf of Spain, which were appointed to land at *Hartlepool* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*; the great contriver and carrier on of all these designs, being *Pius V.* as Bishop (h) *Goodman* himself doth confess. Thus encourag'd, they flee to Arms, tear and trample under feet the English Bibles and Common prayer-Books, command all people to joyn with them; by Proclamation declaring now this, now that; in some of their Colours being painted the five wounds of Christ, in others the Chalice: at last they get to *Clifford-Moor*, not far from *Wetherby* in the West-Riding of *Torkshire*, where they Muster, and found their strength to consist of betwixt four and five thousand.

h Answer to Sir Anthony Weldon's Count of King James, p. 55. a M S.

*Sussex* and others making head against (i) them, they retreat Northwards; and at last perceiving their weakness, divide, flee, every man thifing for himself. The two Earls get into Scotland; thence

i You may see some of their names in the *AB* 13 Eliz. cap. 15.

thence *Westmerland* slips into the *Netherlands*, and lived at *Lo-vaine*, very poorly, under the *Spanish* Pension. But *Northumber-land* was delivered up to the *English*, and beheaded at *Tork* 1572, and was look'd upon by the *Romanists* as a glorious and holy (a) Martyr, and the drops of his blood as Sanctified Relicks. And in many other places of the North several were executed (the better to terrifie Posterity) who also are reckon'd as renowned Martyrs. But here passing by the Insurrections of the *Dacres's*, as coming to no great head, I shall return to the foresaid Papal Bull.

1500.

<sup>a</sup> Concertat. Eccles. Cathol. in Anglia, part 2. fol. 46, 49. Sand. de Schism. Angl. l. 3. p. 363. de visib. Monarch. pag. 733

This Bull being Printed at *Rome*, was by some (b) Heavenly means (for so they word it) convey'd into the hands of one *John Felton*, who (that the good *Romanists* might have cognizance of such their Rebelling Priviledges) boldly sticks it up, on the Bishop of *Londons* Palace-gates in *Pauls* Church-yard [May 25. 1570.] and so stout he was, that he scorn'd to withdraw himself, or flee for his own security; upon which he is seiz'd on, clapt up in the *Tower*; confesseth what he had done, and vindicates the fact; being so far from acknowledging the Queen to be his Prince or Sovereign, that he only called her the *Pretended Queen*, affirming he had done her no wrong, she, forsooth, having nothing to do in the *Throne*, being justly deprived by the Pope. For which he is condemn'd, and suffer'd as a Traytor in the said Church-yard (*August* 8) And though he thus denyed his Allegiance and obedience, renounced his Sovereign and her Authority, and by this action, as much as in him lay, deprived her of Title, Rights and Dominions; yet we shall finde no man more commended by the *Romanists* for this deed, then this *Felton*.

<sup>b</sup> Ita divinitus comparatum est. Sand. de visib. Mon. pag. 374.

If the Learned (c) *Thuanus* say, that it was a very bold or a rash action, the *Index Expurgatorius* will not have those words to stand, as if they derogated from the glory of the action; and so orders them to be blotted out of his History. Father (d) *Parsons* will assure us, that he was a glorious Martyr; of which Title (e) *Sanders* and others declare him abundantly worthy: And in this opinion, joyns with them, no less man then (f) *Spondanus*, Bishop of *Pamiers*, who shews his partiality, by his willingness to trust too much to lying *Sanders*,

<sup>c</sup> Lib. 44. Ingenti five audacia five timerritate. d Respons. ad Edit. Reginz 352.

<sup>e</sup> De visib. Mon. pag. 734. Concertat. Eccles. Cathol. in Anglia, part 2. fol. 42. f Anno 1570.

But above all, well fare *Hilarion de Coste*, a zealous Fryar, as you may suppose; for he will have him to out-do all the Worthies and Heroes in the world; calls him — (g) *The valiant Souldier and brave Champion of Jesus Christ*; commends his invincible courage and zeal for the Faith, which was so wonderful, Noble and Heroick, that England doth place his Martyrdom amongst her most glorious Trophees, and most signal Victories, having thus bravely triumph'd over Hereſe, whereby his fame is renown'd in all Writers, who for his valour and courage do praise and equal him with *Mutius*, *Horatius*, and *Clodia*, who ventured their lives for the safety of their Country.

<sup>g</sup> Ce Va-leureux Sol-dat & brave Champion de Jesus Christ, avec une force d'Esprit invincible, & l'Ardeur de la foy qui le pouffoit, eut bien le courage & l'assurance d'at-

racher en plein ville de Londres — Certainement cette action fut merveilleusement genereuse & Heroique. — Aussi l'Eglise d'Angleterre met son Martyre parmy les plus glorieux Trophees & au range de ses Victoires plus signales, comme celuy par lequel ainsi que j'ay desie dir, elle semble avoir triumphe plus glorieusement de l'Hereſie: aussi ce coup genereux fait par ce brave Gentilhomme Anglois est chanté & rechanté par tous les Ecrivains qui ont traité de Schisme de la persecution d'Angleterre, lesquels universellement le louent & extolent comme un acte courageux & comparable à ces miracles de valeur & ces Prouesses que firent jadis un *Mutius*, un *Horace*, & une *Clodia* vierge Romaine, qui mirent leur vie au hazard pour salut de la Patrie & de la Republique, & qui pour cela sont & seront eternellement renommez dans l'Histoire. *Hil. de Coste* Histoire Catholique, l. 3 pag. 566.

Thus

1500. Thus much for the honour of *Felton*; yet when the same Pen cometh to tell us of *Elizabeth*, it will allow her no other commendation then (a) *The impious and wicked Queen, the true Jezabel of our Days*. Thus our late *Puritans* or *Presbyterians*, and this man, seem to have the same School-master, who can commend an *Oliver*, and suchlike Rebels, but throw all the filth and slanders imaginable upon their Sovereign King *Charles* the Martyr.

a— Cette impie & maudite Reine Elizabeth, vraye Jezabel de nostre temps. ib.

Another remark there is concerning this *Bull*, the determination whereof shall be left to the judgement of the Reader; and for his greater light, let him take this following Narrative.

One *John Nichols* born in *Wales*, thence went to *Oxford*, staying one year in *White-hall*, since call'd *Jesus Colledge*, then removed to *Brazenose Colledge*, so to his own Country, where he taught a Gentlemans Children; is Ordain'd, turns Curate in *Somersetshire*; at last gets to *London*, whence he ships himself for *Antwerp*; goeth to *Rheims*, and at length to *Rome*, where he is admitted into the *English Colledge*. Here he staid about a year, returns again into *England*, is seiz'd on at *Islington*, and sent to the *Tower of London*, where he makes a publick Recantation, and in a little time publisheth these following Books, for no more are come to my knowledge.

1579.

1581.

*His Pilgrimage,*

*A declaration of his Recantation.*

*His Oration and Sermon made at Rome, with his Answer to an infamous Libel.*

b Declaration of the Recantation, K. VIII c 1580. d Gregory XIII.

In one of his (b) Books he hath these words:

About (c) *Midsomer* last was *Twelvemonth*, they renewed these Bulls of Excommunication, granted by this Pope (d) *Gregory*, under the colour and name of *Pius Quintus* published. There were five hundred Copies printed at *Rome*, as two of you (my Brethren) can verifie the same; and how they were publish'd (as I heard at *Rome*) in the *English Seminary* at *Rheims*, and were put fast to Pillars in the City. These Bulls of Excommunication were scatter'd throughout all *Italy*, *Spain*, and part of *Germany*.

Then a little after he proceedeth thus—One of your Readers in Divinity-positive, I am certain before two hundred Scholars, and not so few, (as one of you may testifie the same) most impudently and devilishly spake, that it was lawful for any man of Worship in *England*, to give Authority to the vilest wretch that is, to seek the death of our Sovereign Queen.

1582.

e Sanders de Schism. lib. 3. pag. 415, 416.

f De Schism. pag. 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, &c.

Card. Allens Answ. to the English Jurists, p. 30, 3

But this *Nichols* stayeth not long in *England*, but slips again beyond Seas, upon what account I know not, though I am not apt to think upon any designe of turning *Mahometan*, as (e) one would hint to us: however it was, being got as far as *Rome*, he is seiz'd on, clapt up in prison, and like to pay for his old Tales he had vented against the *Romanists*. In this perplexity and restraint, they tell us how he (f) recanted all he had formerly utter'd against them, protesting that what he had formerly divulged, was either through vain-glory, envy, fear, or hopes of Reward.

That

That he did recant, we onely have from themselves; and I can trace him no farther then his imprisonment at *Rome*: for what they did with him, or what became of him afterwards, I know not; this I am certain, that after they say he went out of *England*, that *Dudley Fenner* (an old *Puritan*) publish'd a (a) Book in his behalf: and it is as true, that *Nichols* himself doth several times protest and call God to witness, that he hath publish'd nothing but truth; to which purpose, he himself did in print answer the objections and imputations laid against him by *Father Parsons*. But however it be, I think no great stress is to be laid upon it or him; and so shall not conclude that *Gregory XIII* renewed this *Bull*, but rather think that *Nichols* might mistake the reinforcing of it for the Popes interpretation or qualification of it: Yet might not they forge and falsifie *Nichols* his Letters, as they did afterwards *Anthony Tyrrel's* (b) Recantion, and that in Print?

1500.

a Call'd An  
Answer to the  
Confutation of  
John Nichols  
his Recantion;  
London,  
1583. In  
quarto.

b Vid. Con-  
certat. Ecclef.  
Angl. part 3.  
at the end.

For so it was, that *Pius V* in the *Bull* Anathematizing all people whatever (without any distinction) that did any way obey the Queen, the *English-Romanists* look'd upon themselves as under that Curse and Censure, seeing they were forced to obey her, till they had strength enough to Oppose or Depose her. Upon this, *Parsons* and *Campion*, then at *Rome*, Petition *Gregory XIII*, (who succeeded *Pius V*) in the name of the *English*, to free the *Romanists* from that Curse by his Papal Authority, and a favourable interpretation: Which is granted thus:

Facultates Concessæ P P. Roberto Parsonio & Edmundo Campiano, Pro Anglia, die 14 Aprilis, 1580.

Faculties granted to the two Fathers, Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion, for England, the 14 day of April, 1580.

**P**Etatur à Summo Domino Nostro, Explicatio Bullæ Declaratoriæ per Pium Quintum contra Elizabetham & ei adherentes, quam Catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo, ut obliget semper illam & Hereticos, Catholicos vero nullo modo obliget rebus sic stantibus, sed tum demum quando publica ejusdem Bullæ executio fieri poterit. &c.

**L**Et it be desired of our most holy Lord the Explication of the *Bull Declaratory* made by *Pius* the Fifth against *Elizabeth*, and such as do adhere to or obey her; which *Bull* the *Romanists* desire to be understood in this manner, viz, that the same *Bull* shall always oblige her and the Hereticks, but the *Romanists* it shall by no means binde as affairs now stand, but hereafter when the publick execution of the said *Bull* may be had or made, &c.

Has prædictas Gratias concessit Summus Pontifex Patri Roberto Parsonio & Edmundo Campiano in Angliam profecturis, die 14 Aprilis, 1580. Presente Patre Oliverio Manarco assistente.

The Pope granted these foresaid Graces to Father *Robert Parsons* and *Edmund Campion*, now to go for *England*, the 14 day of *April*, 1580. being present, the Father *Oliverius Manarcus* assistant.

K k k

And

1500.

And that the *Bull* it self was thus qualified, or better timed, as we commonly say, appears by the Testimony of Mr. *John Hart* (one of the most Learned of their Priests then in *England*) in these following words.

Lord Burgh-  
ley's execu-  
tion of Justice.

*The Bull of Pius Quintus (for so much as it is against the Queen) is holden amongst the English Catholics for a lawful Sentence, and a sufficient discharge of her Subjects Fidelity, and so remaineth in force; but in some points touching the Subjects, it is alter'd by the present Pope.*

*For where in that Bull, all her Subjects are commanded not to obey her; and she being Excommunicate and Deposed, all that do obey her, are likewise Innodate and Accursed; which point is perilous to the Catholics. For if they obey her, they be in the Popes Curse; and if they disobey her, they are in the Queens danger.*

*Therefore the present Pope, to relieve them, hath alter'd that part of the Bull, and dispensed with them to obey and serve her without peril of Excommunication; which Dispensation is to endure but till it please the Pope otherwise to determine.*

Thus the *Romanists* conclude themselves free and quit of the Papal Curse for their not Rebelling against their Sovereign; though this interpretation or qualification doth no way lessen their Treachery, seeing it was not so much their loyalty, as her strength and prosperity that secured her in her Throne; their Obedience being onely a compulsion; the want of a sufficient force and opportunity being their onely let and hindrance, whilst their prayers, hearts, and resolutions were for her Deposition: such powerful and direful effects have such Papal *Bulls* over some mens souls and consciences, to the annulling of Oaths and Allegiance, and the distraction of Kingdoms. But enough, and it may be too much concerning this *Bull*.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. IV.

## William Parry his divers attempts and Treasons against the Queen.

Not to trouble the Reader with every small attempt, I shall pass by the mad fury of Mr. *John Sommervil*, of *Elstow* in *Warwickshire*, whose hot brain took such fire by their treasonable Doctrines, that he resolved to kill the Queen; but in this raging intent, was seiz'd on, carryed to prison, where he laid violent hands of himself. Nor shall I here trouble my self with *Throcmortons* tampering with *Mendoza*.

1583.

It seems all their spight laid at the Queen; and the better to procure her ruine, there was a little Book composed, and call'd *A Treatise of Schism*, which amongst other things exhorted the women at Court, to act the same against the Queen, as *Judith* had done with commendations against *Holofernes*. The Author of this pernicious Pamphlet, was one *Gregory Martin*, formerly of *St. Johns Colledge* in *Oxford*, and contemporary with *Campion*. The Duke of *Norfolk* made him Tutor to his eldest Son: and indeed his Learning was noted, being a good Linguist, and one who had read much; but in his Writings was very passionate, and so sometimes inconsiderate: he dyed at *Reimes*, 1582.

1584.

In *London* now lived one *William Carter*, who had formerly been *Amanuensis* to Dr. *Harpfeld*, and now the chief Printer for the *Romanists*, keeping two Presses at their devotion: he gets this Book, commended by *Allen*, and prints above a thousand; for which he is tryed, confesseth his printing it, vindicates all contain'd in it, is condemn'd and executed, and hath the honour to be Register'd amongst their (a) Martyrs.

But let us go to a more settled contrived Treason, and this acted by *William Parry* (for so he call'd himself) a Doctor of Law, and a sworn servant to the Queen: Which take as I gather it out of his own confession, letters, tryal, and examination.

a Concerat.  
Eccles. Ca-  
thol. Angl.  
part 2. fol.  
127. &c. Ra-  
tion de Schism.  
Angl. l. 3.

In the year 1580, having out-lived his incomes, he became much indebted to one Mr. *Hugh Hare* of the *Temple*, who suing him for his debt, so incensed *Parry*, that meditating a revenge, one night he went to *Hares Chamber* in the *Temple*, broke open the door, assaulted him, and left him there for dead (though he afterwards recover'd); for which offence he was committed to *New-gate*, indicted of Burglary, tryed, found guilty, and condemn'd to be hang'd; and so had suffer'd, if the Queen through her mercy had not pardon'd him, and given him his life.

But now let us see how he requites the Queens grace and favour.

K k k 2

In

1500.

In 1582, he gets a License for travel, and so passeth beyond Seas: goeth to *Paris*, thence to *Lyons*, to *Milan*, and so to *Venice*, where he fell acquainted with *Benediſto Palmio*, a great Jesuit, and one received into that Order in the Founders days. *Parry* to him opens his bosome, telling him that he had some desire to relieve the oppressed *Romanists* in *England*; which he would resolutely undertake, if the Pope and other learned Divines would warrant the lawfulness of the Action.

a—By him it was resolved, that he might lay violent hands upon her Majesty; and commended in that resolution, and encouraged thereunto.

These are the words of W.C. that is, Clarke the Priest, in his Reply to a Libel of Fa. Parsons, fol. 60. b.

Old (a) *Palmio* assures him of the lawfulness of the Enterprize, commends his Zeal, and encourageth him in it. This done, he commends him to *Campeggio* the Popes Nuntio at *Venice*; by whose means he wrote to the Pope *Gregory XIII*, declaring to his Holiness his designe, and desiring of him a Pass-port, or Safe-conduct to go to *Rome*, to confer with him about it. The Safe-conduct is sent him, but not ample enough; and so desires one more full, which is promis'd.

In the mean time he falls acquainted with *Christofero de Salazar*, Secretary to the *Spanish* King in *Venice*, to whom he had also open'd somewhat of his intent. For the better carrying on of the journey and good will, he gets the said Secretary to commend him to the Duke of *Nova Terra*, Governour of *Milan*, and to *Conde Olivaris*, then *Spanish* Ambassador at *Rome*; which is promis'd.

*Parry* having staid at *Venice* some time, returns to *Lyons*, whither was sent to him a sufficient Safe-conduct from *Rome*, assuring him that he might go and come in the (b) word of a Pope, through all the Church-Dominions, without any let or hindrance. But this came too late, he being obliged to go to *Paris*, where he meets with (c) *Thomas Morgan*, who told him, that it was now expected that he should do some notable service to God and the Catholick Church. In short, *Parry* there undertook to kill the Queen, if it were warranted to him by some Learned Divines; and if his Holiness would grant him a full pardon.

b—In verbo Pontificis per omnes jurisdictiones Ecclesiasticas, absq; impedimento.

c One that solicited the Queen of Scots affairs: of him, see more in a Book call'd, *The Estate of the English Fugitives*, pag. 51, 52, 53, printed 1596.

d *Thomas Kar*, a faithful friend to the Queen of Scots, and so at this time forced to secure himself in France. He was Father to Rob. Car Earl of Somerset.

1583.

*Aniball à Codretto*, a noted Jesuit then in *Paris*, and Provincial of *Guienne*, lovingly receives him, commends and confesseth him. *Morgan* recommends him to *Ragazzoni*, the Popes Nuncio then at *Paris*, who received him kindly, sent his Letters to the Pope, promised to remember him in his Prayers, and wished him good success. And the better to encourage him, *Morgan* assured him that the Laird (b) *Ferneburſt* then in *Paris*, should presently go into *Scotland*, and be ready upon the first news of the Queens fall, to enter *England* with 20 or 30000 men, in behalf of the Queen of Scots (then in *England*.)

*Parry* thus encouraged, leaves *France*, lands at *Rye*, so goeth to *London*: where he contrives, the better to get access to the Queen, and credit with her, to discover how he had been perswaded to kill her; which he doth at *White-Hall* as cunningly as he can: the Queen gave him hearing, and began to put some confidence in him.

In the mean time the Masterſhip of *St. Catherines* falls void, which, thinking he had gain'd the Queens favour, he endeavours by Petition to get for himself. Whilst he was following this suit, Letters came to him from *Rome*, from Cardinal *Como*, wherein he found his enterprize commended and allowed: the Paper it self take as followeth.

Mon

1500.

Mon Signore,

Sir,

**L**A Santità di N. S. ha veduto le lettere di V. S. del primo, con la fede inclusa, & non può se non laudare la buona dispositione & resolutione che scrive di tenere verso il servizio & beneficio publico; nel che la Santità sua efforta di perseverare, con ferme rinscire li effetti che V. S. promette.

Et acciò che tanto maggiormente V. S. sia ajutata da quel buon Spirito che l'ha mosso, le concede sua Benedictione, plenaria Indulgenza, & Remission di tutti li peccati, secondo che V. S. ha Chiesto: Assicurandosi che oltre il merito, che n' ha vera in cielo, vuole anco sua Santità costituirsi debitore a ricomoscere li meriti di V. S. in ogni miglior modo che potrà; & ciò tanto più, quanto che V. S. usa maggior modestia in non pretendere niente.

Metta dunque ad effetto li suoi Santi & honorati pensieri, & attenda a star sano. Che per fine io me le offero di cuore, & le desidero ogni buono & felice successo.

Di Roma il  
30 di Gennaio Alpiacerdi U.S.  
MDLXXXIV.

N. Cardinale di Como.

**H**is Holiness hath seen your Letter of the first, with the Certificate inclosed: And cannot but commend the good disposition and resolution which you write to hold towards the service and common good; wherein his Holiness doth exhort you to persevere, and to bring to effect that which you have promised.

And that you may be the more assisted by that good spirit which hath moved you thereunto; His Holiness granteth unto you his Blessing, Plenary Indulgence, and Remission of all your sins, according as you have desired: Assuring you, that besides the Merit which you shall receive for so doing in Heaven, His Holiness will farther make himself debtor to acknowledge your deservings in the best manner that he can: And the more, because you use the greater modesty, in not pretending any thing or reward.

Put therefore to effect your Holy and Honourable purposes, and regard your health. And to conclude, I offer myself unto you heartily, and desire you all good and happy success.

Rome January 30.  
1584.

At your service,

N. Card. di Como.

What was the meaning of this Letter, Parry himself shall tell you; of which in his Confession thus:

In March last, while I was at Greenwich (as I remember) suing for S. Katherines, came Letters to me from Cardinal



1500.

*at Como, dated at Rome the last of January before, whereby I found*

*The Enterprife commended and allowed, and my self absolved (in his Holiness name) of all my sins, and willed to go forward in the name of God.----- It confirm'd my Resolution to KILL her, and made it clear in my Conscience, that it was LAWFUL AND MERITORIOUS.*

*And Bishop Goodman in his answer to Sir Ant. Weldons Court of King James, saith that Car. Como encouraged Parry to kill the Queen, pag. 85, 86. a Manuscript.*

Here we have him (a) confirm'd in his wickedness; and it was no small addition to this, the denial he had of St. *Catherines* Mastership.

In this passion he address'd himself to Mr. *Edmund Nevil* [who claimed the Inheritance of the *Nevils*, Earls of *Westmerland*, and the Title of Lord *Latimer*, as next Heir-male] which *Nevil Parry* offer'd to call cozen; in him he endeavours to foment a discontent; and having, as he thought, fully brought over, discourseth more openly with him. At last he opens to him about killing the Queen, which he call'd — *An Act honourable and meritorious to God and the world.* --- At several times they consult about it, either of killing of her in *White-hall* Garden, and so to escape by water, or by St. *James's* on horse-back. But at all this *Nevil* seem'd staggering.

*It was call'd — A Defence of English Catholics, against the Book call'd, The Execution of Justice; which Book was made by the Lord Burleigh.*

*Parry*, to take away all doubts from him, lent him a (b) Book made by Dr. *Allen* (afterwards for his Treasons made Cardinal) which had been sent him out of *France*. And how this Book wrought with *Parry* himself, you shall see by his own confession, thus:

*It redoubled my former Conceits; every word in it was a warrant to a prepared minde: it taught that Kings may be Excommunicated, Deprived, and violently handled: It proveth that all Wars Civil or Forreign undertaken for Religion is honourable.*

*Nevil* also declares himself convinced of the lawfulness and braveness of the action: and so they both swear in *Parry's* lodging secrecie, and to kill her; of which thus *Parry* in his Confession.

— He came to me the next morning to my lodging in London; offer'd to joyn with me; and took his Oath upon a Bible, to conceal, and constantly to pursue the enterprife, for the advancement of Religion; which I also did, and meant to perform: **THE KILLING OF THE QUEEN WAS THE MATTER.**

*The manner and place to be on Horse-back, with eight or ten Horses, when she should ride abroad about S. James, or some other like place.*

All

All this while, *Parry* carryed himself pretty fair with the Queen, several times conferring with her, telling her of Cardinal *Como's* Letter : by which discoveries [though he did it onely the better to gain opportunity and credit] he obtained so much favour of the Queen, that she not onely thought him a trusty loyal Subject; but intended him a liberal Pension or Allowance. 1500.

Whilst he thus gets esteem with the Queen, and at the same time contrives her death, *Nevil* resolves to discover all; doth so, and is examined by *Leycester*, and Sir *Christopher Hatton*. The Queen wonders at the juggle and contrivance, but had it kept secret; and the better to finde out the Plot, *Parry* is sent for by the (a) Secretary to his house; there to see (according as the Plot was laid) if he would any way confesse this, who had shew'd himself so ready on his own head, to discover the Forraign designs against her Majesty. <sup>a Sir Fran. Walsingham.</sup>

The Secretary entertains him kindly, telling him, that the Queen had appointed him to deal with him in a matter that highly concerned her Majesty, knowing him to be one, who bare an extraordinary Devotion to her. Having thus begun, the Secretary told him, that the Queen had been advertiz'd, that there was some plot in hand against her own person; wherewith she thought, he could not but be made acquainted, considering the great trust that some of her greatest Enemies reposed in him. Of this she desired to understand his knowledge; and whether he himself might not some time have let slip some suspicious words, not with any real designe against her, but to discover the intention of others.

*Parry* (strongly confiding in *Nevil*) earnestly denied it again and again, with several protestations, that he was neither party nor privy to any such motion or enterprise. *Walsingham* dealt fairly with him, telling him that there was a Gentleman, and his friend, who would prove the contrary to his face. Yet *Parry* denyeth all; though probably had he confest (and these were hints enough) and accused *Nevil* at this first asking, he might have saved himself: and in this his great cunning was overseen.

*Parry* thus obstinate in denyals, is not permitted to go home, but lodged that night at Mr. Secretaries house within London. This puts him in a peck of troubles, fills his head full of suspicions; and having consulted with his pillow, the next morning he desired to speak with the Secretary: which granted, he confesseth, that now he had call'd to remembrance, that he once had speech with one *Nevil* concerning a point of Doctrine contain'd in one of *Dr. Allens* books, where it was maintain'd, that it was lawful to take away the life of a Prince, to benefit the *Roman* Religion: but protested that he talked nothing of the Queen.

That night he was examin'd at *Leycester-house* before several; but still he denied all: whereupon *Nevil* was brought before him, who punctually justified every circumstance before his face; yet the other, as formerly, denied all. However, he is sent to the Tower, where perceiving the exactness of the proof against him, he freely, and of his own head, confests'd all, and sent his humble Letter to the Queen, which take as followeth.

**Y**our Majesty may see by my voluntary confession, the dangerous fruits of a discontented minde; and how constantly I pursued

1500. *pursued my first conceived purpose in Venice, for the relief of the afflicted Catholicks, continued it in Lyons, and resolved in Paris to put it in adventure, for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the Sea Apostolick.*

You may see withal how it is commended, allowed, and warranted in Conscience, Divinity and Policie by the POPE, and some great Divines; though it be true or likely, that most of our English Divines (less practised in matters of this weight) do utterly mislike and condemn it.

*The enterprize is prevented, and conspiracie discover'd, by an honourable Gentleman, my kinsman, and late familiar friend, Mr. Edmond Nevil, privy, and by solemn Oath (taken upon the Bible) party to the matter; whereof I am hardly glad, but more sorry (in my very soul) that ever I conceived or intended it, how commendable or meritorious soever I thought it. God thank him, and forgive me, who would not now (before God) attempt it (if I had liberty and opportunity to do it) to gain your Kingdom. I beseech Christ that my death and example may as well satisfy your Majesty and the world, as it shall glad and content me.*

*The Queen of Scotland is your prisoner, let her be honourably intreated, but get surely guarded.*

*The French King is French, you know it well enough; you will finde him occupied, when he should do you good; he will not lose a Pilgrimage to save you a Crown.*

*I have no more to say at this time, but that with my heart and soul I do now honour and love you, am inwardly sorry for mine offence, and ready to make you amends by my death and patience. Discharge me a Culpa, but not a Pœna, good Lady.*

*And so fare well, most gracious, and the best natured and qualified Queen that ever lived in England.*

From the Tower the  
14 of February,  
1584.

W. Parry.

In short, Parry is Arraigned and Tryed at *Westminster*, where at first, he confesseth all, and that he had a designe to kill the Queen; but at last, falls into a rage, denyeth it, layeth his blood upon the Queen and the Judges, and summons the Queen to answer for his blood before God. However, he is condemn'd, and afterwards (b) executed in the *Palace yard*.

a 2 March  
1584.

And here it will not be amiss to tell what this flaunting and boasting Parry was, seeing his impudence pretended great kindred, worth, and no small favour abroad.

His Father was call'd *Harry ap David*, who kept an Ale-house in a little Village, *Northop*, not far from the River *Dee* in *Flintshire* in *North-Wales*; his Mother was a Bastard, begot by one *Comway*, the Priest of *Haulkin*, a poor Parish close by. Upon the death of his Father, his Elder Brother kept the Ale-house, and did so after our Parry was executed.

The Traytor now in hand was one of the younger Sons, and was call'd *William ap Harry*, (according to the custom of *Wales*).

When

When young, he learned a little to write and read, went and served one *John Fisher* of *Chester*, who pretended to the Law; with him he continued some years, serving as his Clerk; in which time he learned the *English* Tongue, and at some spare hours went to the Grammar-School; where he got some skill in *Latin*. 1500.

About the year 1560, he ran away from his Master, got up to *London*, where for some time he lived after a shirking fashion, all his study being to fill his belly and cover his back: at last he found a good Master, and by degrees, with him and other Masters; he got some money in his purse. He scorns his old name *ap Harry*, but call'd himself *Parry*, pretending a kin to all of that name: and from his Mother, Daughter to one *Conway* a Priest, he pretends a kindred to the Family of *Sir John Conway*, and so allyed to the foresaid *Edmund Nevil*. Thus having voted himself a Gentleman, he marryeth a rich Widow in *South-Wales*; she dyeth; he lives bravely, wastes all, and runs into debt: His chiefest care is for some time to avoid the Serjeants: at last he falls in with a rich Widow, *Mrs. Heywood*, old enough to be his Mother; and her at last he marryeth, but lyeth with her Daughter; ruins the Estate, and runs far in debt to *Mr. Hugh Hare* of the *Temple* (aforesaid) whom in his Chamber he endeavour'd to assassinate, and is himself executed for Treason.

Of this *ap Harry* or *Parry*, several Couplets were made in those times; some of which for diversion take as followeth, where you may see his life and Qualities also Epitomized.

William Parry,  
Was ap Harrie,  
By his name;  
From the Ale-house  
To the Gallows  
Grew his fame.

Gotten Westward  
On a Bastard,  
As is thought;  
Wherefore one way  
Kin to Conway  
Hath he sought.

Like a Beast  
With Incest  
He begun;  
Mother married,  
Daughter carryed  
him a Son.

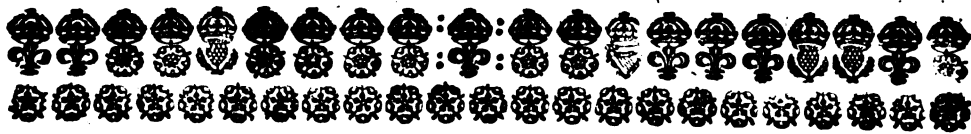
1500.

Wales *did bear him,*  
France *did swear him*  
                  *To the Pope :*  
Venice *wrought him,*  
London *brought him*  
                  *To the Rope ;*

*Wherewith strangled,*  
*And then mangled*  
                  *Being dead ;*  
*Poles supporters*  
*Of his quarters*  
                  *And his head.*

And thus much for *Parry* and his Treasons ; which stuck so close upon the Papal Reputation, that their *Index Expurgatorius* commands the whole story to be dashed out of *Thunners*.

CHAP.



## CHAP. V.

1. Babington, &c.'s Treasons against the Queen.
2. The Romanists endeavour to inveigle the more ignorant People to them by their false and cheating Exorcisms.

## SECT. I.

## Babington, &amp;c.'s Treasons against the Queen.

**T**He former Treason was scarce ended, when another begun; which was briefly thus:

In the *English Seminary at Rheimes in France*, there were some who pin'd their faith so much upon the Popes sleeve, that they thought his Authority could do any thing; and that the Deposing Bull of Pius V against Queen Elizabeth was dictated by the *Holy Ghost*: thus wickedly perswaded, they thought it meritorious to take away her life; and to dye in the attempt, would be a glorious Martyrdom.

*Cambd. Annals, an. 1585.*

Amongst the rest, Dr. *William Gifford*, Rector of the Students there, and the smiter of the Book call'd *Calvino-Turcismus* (*William Reinolds*, of whom formerly, was its first Author.) He and one *Gilbert Gifford*, and one *Hodgson* Priests, so inculcated this treasonable Doctrine into one *John Savage* (said to be a Bastard) that he willingly and solemnly vowed to kill the Queen.

To make the day more sure, *John Ballard*, an *English Priest* of *Rheimes*, plyeth it about *England* and *Scotland*, to carry on the Cause, and to prepare his Disciples; then goeth into *France* to treat with *Don Bernardin de Mendoza* the *Spanish Ambassador* there, and some others, about the invading of *England*. Having done his errand, he returns to *England*; to forward the designe, gets to *London*, where in a Souldiers habit, under the false name of Captain *Foscue*, he agitates his plots.

At *London* he opens the business to one Mr. *Anthony Babington* of *Detbick* in *Derbyshire*, a young Gentleman, rich, well bred, and somewhat learned; he had a little before gone to *France*, (without License) and fallen in acquaintance with the Archbishop of *Glasgow* Ambassador for the Queen of *Scots*, and *Thomas Morgan* an *English Fugitive*, but a great stickler for her.

1500.

*Babington* is against an Invasion, as fearing it would not take effect as long as the Queen lived. *Ballard* tells him that that need not trouble him, because *Savage* had sworn to kill her. *Babington* likes the murder, but moves that five other resolute Gentlemen might be joynd to *Savage*. This agreed on, they carry on the designe for the Invasion. In the mean time *Babington* giveth notice to the Queen of Scots of the designed Murder, and desires her that—*The Heroical Actors in this business might be rewarded, or else their Posterities, if they perish in the attempt;* for so he worded it. And in this conspiracie, several Gentlemen of Quality were assistants.

Sir *Francis Walsingham*, that faithful and cunning Secretary, by his Spies discovers all, and informs the Queen: and in this, *Gilbert Gifford*, Priest (who lurk'd in *England* under the name of *Lafon*, to minde *Savage* of his Oath) was somewhat assistant to *Walsingham*, who had such a liberal hand to intelligence, that though he left himself poor, yet so trusty he was to his Sovereign, that there was scarce a plot against her, but some of his Spies were intimate and Actors with the chiefest of them.

This Plot having run on for some time, the Queen thought it dangerous to go too far: so *Ballard* is apprehended. *Babington* jealous of a discovery, he with some of the Confederates hide themselves in *St. Johns Wood* near the City. Notice being given of their withdrawing, they are proclaimed Traytors; at last are found and seized on, and the rest of their Fellow-rebels. Fourteen of whom were (a) executed in *St. Giles's Fields*, where they used to meet and consult about the Murder and Invasion.

September,  
1586.

## SECT. 2.

*The Romanists indeavour to inveagle the more ignorant people to them by their false and cheating Exorcisms.*

See a Book call'd, *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures in casting out of Devils*. The Author of it was Dr. Sam. Farwel, after Bishop of Norwich, and at last Archbishop of York.

THE *English* Romanists about this time had great hopes of their deliverance from their Queen, by reason of the great helps and forces they expected from beyond Seas. And the better to strengthen their own party, and gain Profelytes in *England*, they fell a conjuring, and playing the fool with the Devil, perswading some simple people that they were posselt; and then, forsooth, they must be Exorcised: and to carry on the designe, what abominable cheating and ridiculous tricks they used, may be seen by the (b) *Examinations* of the parties themselves. And yet to this day, do we finde many fond people deluded by these Exorcising Stage-plays, by which cheats these Gypsies in Divinity gain to themselves the favour of good lodging and dyet, and the disposal and impoverishing sometimes of the Estates of their too credulous Patrons.

And to these Hobgoblin-Mountebanks, we may add such Miracle-Mongers, as the simple *Irish* Priest, who in 1663, pretended

so

to do pretty feats in *England*; and in the latter end of *July*, the same year, was so confident as to appear at *Oxford*, where several Diseases crouded to him, all which he undertook to cure, with half a dozen words of false *Latine*; but to little purpose God-wot; yet had he the formality of a Scribe, to write down the names, places of abode, Trades, and Diseases of the Patients; which for ought that I know, may hereafter, (when the storie's forgot, and the parties dead) be publish'd as an excellent preservative against Heresie, and a confirmation of their Cause. 1500.

That in these sort of *Exorcisms*, there lurks also a *Rebellious Devil*, may appear by the Confession of one of their own Priests, *Anthony Tyrrel*, written with his own hand, and avouched upon his Oath 25 of *June* 1602; part of which take as followeth.

—In the year 1584, I and *John Ballard Priest* (since executed with *Mr. Babington* and the rest) coming together from *Rome* through *Burgundy*, found there a great press of *Souldiers*, and were advertised, that they were to serve under the *Duke of Guise*. When we came to *Roan*, we heard then directly, that the said Preparations were against *England*.

The same year (as I remember) *Mr. Creighton*, a *Scotish Jesuit*, was taken at the Sea, and after brought into *England*; who by the occasion of certain (a) *Writings* which he had, was driven to confess at large (as I have been informed) what the whole Plot was, and how far both the *Pope* and the *King of Spain* had engaged themselves in it. Here of I doubt not but that sundrie *Catholicks* in *England* had sufficient notice from beyond the Seas, and especiallie *Mr. Edmunds*, alias *Weston* the *Jesuit*, who was then the chief, as *Mr. (b) Garnet* (as I take it) is at this present, and therefore could not be ignorant of such important matters, wherein principal men of his own Societie was engaged.

a This *William Creighton* is the same who acted in *Spain* for the Invasion of *Scotland*; and at his return into *Scotland*, was taken by the *Dutch*: the Papers which he had, he tore

and threw over-board, but the winde blew them back again into the Ship: *Sir William Wade*, with a great deal of pains laid them together again; whereby he found out the designe of the *Pope*, *Spaniard*, and the *Guise* to invade *England*.

b He was afterwards executed as a *Traitor* in the *Gun-powder-urason*.

Not long after my coming into *England*, in the year 1585, *Mr. Martin Aray*, a *Priest*, meeting me at the end of *Cheapside*, as I was turning to enter into *Pauls Churchyard*, took me by the hand, and whispering me in the ear, bad me—“Be of good cheer, for that all things went now very well forward: The *King of Spain* (quoth he) is now almost ready with his Forces to come into *England*, and we shall be sure to hear some good news thereof very shortly: Wherefore it standeth us now in hand, that be Priests, to further the *Catholick Cause*, as much as possibly in us lyeth—or to this effect. And this was the State of that time, nourished (as I well perceived) with great hope of some great alteration, by the means before express'd.

About the time of *Mr. Arayes* aforesaid Communication with me, *Mr. Edmunds*, alias *Weston*, had lately (as it was reported) cast a Devil out of one *Marwood*: Whereupon he the said *Mr. Aray*, at the time before mentioned, did highlie commend unto me the *Exorcisms* of *Fr. Edmunds*, saying that he (the said *Edmunds*)—“would make the Devils themselves now confess, that their Kingdom

was



1500. " was neer at an end. Upon the pretended dispossession of the said Marwood, sundry other Priests, moved thereunto (I am perswaded) by the instigation of Mr. Edmunds, or for that they meant to shew their zeal in imitating of him, did take upon them to Exorcise, and cast Devils out of divers persons, viz. (a) Sara and (a) Friswood Williams, William Trayford, (a) Anne Smith, (a) Richard Mainy, and Elizabeth Calthrop, whose Neck was found broken at the bottom of a pair of Stairs (as the brute went then amongst us.)

a These, viz. Sara and Friswood Williams, Anne Smith, and Richard Mainy confess'd all the Priests leger-de-main with them.

When I saw this Course, I liked it well, and was my self an Actor in it; and did well perceive, that it was the matter whereat Mr. Aray had aim'd, when he told me, that ---- It stood us Priests in hand to further the Catholick Cause, as much as possibly we could---- And indeed our proceedings therein, had for a time wonderful success. I cannot in my Conscience esteem the number fewer, that in the compass of half a year were by that means reconciled to the Church of Rome, then five hundred persons; some have said three or four thousand.

As touching the several manners of dispossessing the said Parties, and of their fits, trances and visions, divers discourses were penned, amongst the which I my self did pen one. Mr. Edmunds likewise writ (I am perswaded) a quire of paper of Mr. (b) Mainy's pretended Visions; for he thought, as it seemed, to have wrought some great matter by him, but was disappointed very ridiculously, &c.---- We omitted not the Relicks and Bones of Mr. Campian, Mr. Sherwin, Mr. Brian, and Mr. Cottam, to have some little Testimony by implication from the Devil, to prove them holy Martyrs.

b This Mr. Richard Mainy did under his own hand, and upon Oath, confess'd all their juggling and cheating tricks with him.

---- We that were Priests, were thereby greatly magnified by Catholics, Schismaticks, and weak Protestants; the two former being confirmed in the Roman Catholick faith; and the third sort thereunto reconciled, as hath been before mentioned. And that cannot be denyed, but that in the Course which we held with the said pretended Demoniacks, many occasions were given, and aptly taken, to scorn and deride the Orders and Service now established by her Majesties Laws in the Church of England.

Likewise I must confess, that the Course we held was so pleasing to such as saw it, or were informed of it by those that they trusted, as it proved very gainful unto us all that were Priests. We had, out of Question, procured unto our selves very great Favour, Credit and Reputation: So as it was no marvel, if some young Gentlemen as Mr. Babington, and the rest, were allured to those strange attempts which they took in hand, by Mr. Ballard, who was an Agent amongst us. They saw, as they supposed, (for both Mr. Babington, and divers of his Company were oftentimes at the Exorcisings) that we had a great commandment over Devils, which prevail'd greatly with them, as I think. It would have been a very strange thing (I am perswaded) that we could not have wrought men at that time to attempt: which was prudently foreseen by Father Edmunds of purpose (as I am resolved in my conscience) to prepare the hearts and mindes of Catholics by those practices, that when such forces as were intended should have come into England, they might have been more readily drawn by him, and us, to have joyned their forces with them. And this is that I can say concerning the occa-

occasions, or inducements, that such matters were taken in hand at the time articulated. 1500.

Now as touching the substance of the general Interrogatory it self, I have perused the several Examinations and Confessions of Sara Williams and Friswood her Sister, of Anne Smith, and of Richard Mainy Gentleman; and am fully perswaded, that they have deposed the truth, in such points whereof they were examined, belonging to their pretended Possession and Dispossession.

The effect whereof is, that they were drawn by our cunning carriage of matters, to seem as though they had been possess'd, when as in truth they were not, neither were there any of the Priests ignorant, in my conscience, of their dissimulation; nor the parties themselves (as now it appeareth) of our dissembled proceeding with them.

After I had been my self first at one of their Exorcisings, it was my chance to lye that night with Mr. Thomson, a Priest, and a great Actor in those matters, at his chamber by the Spittle; and falling into some conference about it, I used some such words, as though I doubted whether the party were actually and really possessed. For I my self being not acquainted with any plot devised by Fa. Edmunds, or any other, spake my minde somewhat more plainlie then I perceive Mr. Thomson well liked of.

His answer to me was in effect, that—“He being my friend; did earnestly wish me to cast forth no such speeches, whatsoever I did think: For (quoth he) the matter is judged to be so by Father Edmunds, and some others that are Priests. Besides, such Catholicks as have been present at such fits, have received it for a truth, that the parties are possess'd. And although I for my part will not make it an Article of my Creed, yet I think that Godly credulity doth much good, for the farthering of the Catholick Cause, and for the defacing of our common Enemies, and their proceedings: Or so this effect.”

Not long after also talking with Mr. Stamp, at the Lord Vaux his house in Hackney, concerning these matters; and demanding of him seriously his opinion what he thought of them; his answer was,—“That they were things of such importance, as would farther the Catholick Cause, more then all the Books, that had been written of late years, about the controversies in Religion with the Protestants. — With which answer I seemed to rest contented, because I saw thereby he was not willing to enter into any plainer course with me.

— For although both my self (as I said before) and so I think of the rest, did know that all was but counterfeit; yet for as much as we perceived, that thereby great credit did grow to the Catholick Cause, and great discredit to the Protestants, we held it lawful to do as we did, &c.—

June 25. 1602.

Anth. Tyrrell.

Mr. (a) Gee will afford you more hints of their cheats and jugglings; whither I refer the Reader: and the (b) Author of Father

a Foot out of the snare. New shreds to the old snare. Hold fast.

Pauls b Pag. 64. F.

1500. *Pauls* life, writes against such Stage-play-Exorcisms, or Puppy-Devils.

But to prosecute our History: the Queen was seldom without dishonourable attempts against her: *Don Bernardin de Mendoza*, the *Spanish* Ambassador in *England*, and afterwards a busie blade for the *Covenanters* in *France*; here he disingeniously forgetting his place, falls a plotting against the Queen, and encourageth others to it; for which he was forbid the Kingdom, and so sneak'd into *France*.

But we shall presently meet with another Ambassador more unworthy then the former, and this is *l'Aubespine* the *French* Ambassador, then lying in *England*; one wholly given up to the *Guisean* faction. Nothing will serve him but the murther of the Queen; to effect which, he tampers with one *Mr. William Stafford*, a Gentleman of good Relations. And at last, by his Secretary *Trappie*, deals more openly and plainly with him; promiseth him, not onely Riches, but great Honour, and special favour with the Pope, the Duke of *Guise*, and with all Catholicks whatever.

*Stafford* refuseth so bloody an enterprize; but tells him of one *Moody* then in Prison, as one desperate enough for any designe. *Moody* is talk'd with; gladly undertakes it, provided he might be freed out of Prison. They consult of the manner. *Moody* poundeth Poyson, or a bag of Gun-powder laid under her bed, and secretly fired. But neither of these pleas'd *Trappie*, who better discover'd his meaning, by wishing that such another bold fellow might be found, as was that (a) *Burgundian*, who had kill'd the

a *Baltazer Gerard*, who

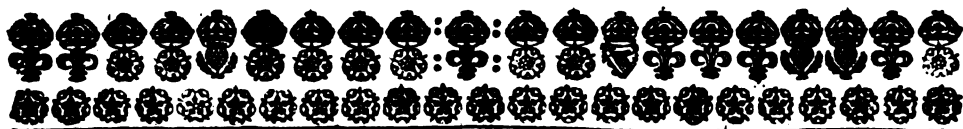
pistol'd *William Prince of Orange* in *Delfe*, anno 1584. 10 of *July*. Some say that he was instigated by some Jesuits to perpetrate this murther. However, *Orange* deserved better at *Gerards* hands, having shew'd him some friendship and favour. *Gerard* was taken, and suffer'd death, without any repentance or signe of grief for his fault.

*Mr. Stafford* having consider'd with himself the heinousness of this Treason, goeth and reveals it to the Queens Council: whereupon *Trappie* is seiz'd on, just as he thought to have pass'd into *France*; and upon examination confesseth all.

Upon this the Council sends to speak with the Ambassador; he (b) waits upon them; they tell him the reasons wherefore they secured his Secretary: *l'Aubespine* rants against the Council, and pleads the priviledge of his place: *Stafford* and *Moody* are brought in, confess the Treason, and positively accuse the Ambassador as the Instigator. He on the other hand at first denyeth it, then pleads that had he known it, yet being an Ambassador, he ought not to discover it, unless it be to his own Master. After some discourse, *Cecil Lord Burgbley* gravely admonish'd him, to beware how he committed Treason any more, or forgot the Duty of an Ambassador, and the Queens Clemencie; and that he was not exempted from the guilt of the offence, although he escaped the punishment.

But let others dispute the Priviledge of Ambassadors: and so I leave him as I finde him.

CHAP.



## CHAP. VI.

*The Spanish Invasion.*

**T**He greatest Enemies the Queen had, were those whose births oblig'd them to obedience; but whether their Religion, its interest, or some bad Principles of the Parties, prompted them to such Treasons, let others judge. 'Tis certain the *Jesuits*, and other *English* Priests, were the occasion of the Queen of *Scots* her ruine; they still thrusting her on to so many inconveniences against the Queen and Kingdom, that *Elizabeth* was the sooner perswaded to consult her own safety, by taking away that which sought her overthrow.

As for these people, when they saw no hope of restoring the *Roman* Religion, either by *Mary* of *Scotland*, nor her Son; they began to finde out new Masters; and none more fit for them then the *Spaniard*, whom they vapour'd to be Heir to the *English* Crown. And concerning this, (a) *Ruggerius Tritonius*, Abbot of *Piware*, in his life of Cardinal *Vincentius Laurens*, tells us an odd passage, viz. that *Mary* the Queen of *Scots*, the day before she suffer'd death, did under her own hand in the *French* Tongue declare, that her Son *James* should not Inherit *England*, if he remain'd a Protestant, but that the right of the Kingdom should be translated to *Philip* of *Spain*. And these Papers were sent to the said Cardinal *Laurens*, being by *Sixtus V.* made Protector of *Scotland*; who gave them to *Conde Olivares*, then Ambassador for the King of *Spain* at *Rome*, with order to send them to his Master *Philip*: and this did *Robertus Titius* publish [though without *Tritonius* the Authors knowledge, and then living] in *Italy* 1599. dedicating it to Cardinal *Montalto*.

*Camden, an-  
no 1586*

*a Vita Vin-  
cent Laurei  
Card. pag. 72.*

And this is somewhat agreeable to one of the charges laid against her at her tryal, that she sent a Letter to *Mendoza* the *Spanish* Ambassador, wherein she promis'd to give her right of *England* to the King of *Spain*, if her Son *James* would not be of the *Romish* persuasion.

The first of these Stories (b) Mr. *Sanderson* looks upon as a meer trick and fable; and whether she was really so concern'd for her Sons Religion, as to use any means for his conversion to Popery, King *James* can tell best himself: and thus he saith,

— (c) In all her Letters (whereof I received many) she never made mention of Religion, nor labour'd to perswade me in it; so at her last words, she commanded her (d) Master-household, a *Scottish* Gentleman my servant, and yet alive; she commanded him (I say)

*b History of  
Queen Mary  
& James VI,  
pag. 120.*

*c Monitory  
Preface to the  
Apology, pag.  
34.  
d Viz. Melvyn.*

M m m

to

1500. to tell me, that although she was of another Religion then that wherein I was brought up, yet she would not press me to change, except my conscience forced me to it. For so that I led a good life, and were careful to do Justice, and govern well, she doubted not but that I would be in a good case with the Profession of my own Religion.

a Jesuitica  
per veritas  
Belgi pro-  
vincias Nego-  
tatio. E 4.

b Dessein per-  
petuel des E-  
spagnols à la  
Monarchie U-  
niverselle,  
Printed 1624.  
in quarto.

c Ephemer-  
idum Novum,  
Ec. 10.

But whether she undertook to give away the Title of England from her Son, was no great matter, it being against all Law, Justice and Reason, she having no power to dispose of the Inheritance of England: yet the *Romanists*, when all other endeavours fail'd, to rob King *James* of his Kingdoms and life, had the confidence about the year 1613. to (a) publish a book, affirming King *James* to be but a meer cheat or counterfeit, and a mock-King; denying him to be the Son of the aforesaid Queen *Mary*.

But laying aside such Forgeries; that the *Spaniard* hath had a designe not onely to rule these Islands, but to be the Universal Monarch, hath been the opinion of many men: amongst others, I finde (b) one hath made an Extract from their Original Papers, whither I shall refer the Reader. But whatever his former attempts have been, of late he hath rather lost then gain'd. And though *Napies*, *Flanders*, *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, &c. might do him some injury, if they were in the possession of others; yet as they stand divided, and in a posture of defence, he can never grow rich by their Coyn. But to return home,

1588. Where we happen in the year, which above an hundred years before, the famous German Astronomer, *Johannes Regiomontanus*, had affirm'd would be most wonderful. The Prophecie it self Originally in the German Language, went about by Tradition; and *Johannes Schœnerus* repeated them to the noted Bohemian Mathematician (c) *Cyprianus Leovitius*, who first publish'd them 1577; which because they have made a great noise in the world, [though I finde no great matter in them, seeing such general predictions may serve almost for any year] take thus in the Original.

*Tausent sunff hundert achtsig acht,  
Das ist das Jar das ich betracht;  
Gebt in dem die Welt nicht under,  
So gschicht doch sunst grofs mercklich wunder.*

*Often have I been troubled at the fate  
Of the year fifteen hundred eightie eight;  
And (if the world it self don't end) you'll see,  
For its events, most wonderful 'twill be.*

In this year I think *France* was the greatest sufferer, the *Covenanters* or *Leaguers* there by their *Barracado's* forcing the King *Henry III* out of *Paris*; and he to prevent his greater danger, cut off the Cardinal and Duke of *Guise*, which occasion'd so much war, and his own Murther. And besides these two, the third party in that Kingdom, viz. the *Hugonots*, received a great loss by the Death of the Prince of *Conde*, suppos'd by some to be poysoned. *England* was in some fear, and at some charges by the noise of the *Invincible Armada*: but *Spains* loss was inestimable by

by its overthrow. The Lord Maitland Chancellor of Scotland, 1500. undertook in short thus to give us the year.

(a) *Papa Dei, petit Orbis Iber, Dux Guisus Orci  
Regna, annus mirus, si potentur, erit.*

a Poet. Scot.  
vol. 2. pag.  
138.

And (b) *Andrew Melvyn* hath a Copy of Verses somewhat to the same purpose. Upon this great Navy, (c) *Simon Stenius*, (d) *Adeodatus*, *Seba*, *Beza*, and several other Forreigners bestow'd their Poetry, to the no small trouble of the *Index Expurgatorius*, which was forced to take the pains to censure some of them.

b Id. pag. 133.

c Poet. Germ.

vol. 6. p. 310.

d Poet. Gall.

vol. 3. p. 655.

For some years had this great Fleet been in preparing from several parts in the world : but the History of the preparations, fight and victory, I shall leave to other Writers, and follow mine own designe. Certain it is, the *Spaniard* scarce doubted of a Conquest ; which made one thus to despise the Queen.

*Tu qui Romanos voluisti spernere leges,  
Hispano disces subdere colla iugo.*

*Thou who the Pope dost scorn, his Laws revoke,  
Shalt yeild thy neck unto the Spanish Toak.*

And in this hight of idle fancie, *Mendoza* the *Spanish* Ambassador at *Paris*, in the great Church of *Noſtre Dame*, flourish'd his Rapier, crying out *Victoria* ; but when the contrary News was known, the very waggish Pages in the Streets would beg some small Gifts or Preferments in *England* from his Lordship, as such little Villages as *London*, *Tork*, &c. Thus would they jeer the haughtinels of the *Spaniard*, who aim'd at the Government of the whole world ; and it may be *Alexander*-like, not content with it neither : to which purpose I remember this *Distich*.

*Præda licet non sit mundus satis ampla Philippo,  
Ampla satis mundo præda Philippuserit.*

But though the *Spaniard* thought his Fleet and Forces invincible ; yet to make all Cock-sure, he would have the Royal-Standard belonging to them to be blest and sanctified ; and that with as great Ceremony and Devotion as heart could invent.

There was then in *Portugal* one *Maria de la Visitation*, Prioress of the Monastery *De la Anunciada* at *Lisbone* ; She for some years had so cunningly carryed her self as a great Saint, pretending to be so well acquainted with *Christ*, that she used to call him Husband ; had (St. *Francis*-like) his Wounds or Marks imprinted on her ; undertook to Propheſie and do Miracles ; insomuch as Pope, King, and Bishops, as well as other credulous *Romanists*, put no small trust and confidence in her Sanctity.

vid. *Cyprian  
Valera* at the  
end.

This is the good wench they pitch'd on, to bless the Royal Standard with Victory. It was carryed in Proceſſion by *Don Francisco de Cordova*, the tallest blade amongst them ; there being present, the better to honour this grand Ceremony, *Albert* the Arch-duke, and then Cardinal and Governour of *Portugal* ;

M m m 2

the

1500. the Papal *Nuncio*, the Archbishop Prime Inquisitor, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* Commander of the great *Fleet*, with many Nobles, Prelates, Gentry and others; that such a concourse of people had scarce been seen.

*Maria* the gifted *Nun*, with many Ceremonies giveth it her grave and pretty blessing; presents it to the *Conde Medina Sidonia*, pronouncing good success, with Victory to him and his Fleet, and that he should return a Conqueror. At this good and sure *Token*, we may suppose the people mad with joy; but the bad Event cool'd their courage; and, which was to them as great a wonder, the latter end of this same year, this their Holy *Maria* proved a meer Cheat and Imposture: yet in her predictions concerning the good endeavours of Pope *Sixtus V.*, our (a) *English-Romanists* put no small confidence.

a Sed supra omnes alias presumptiones

lataeque hominum praesagiones de hac Pontifice, illud unum maxime omnium animis inhaere ac spe quadam certa replet futurorum bonorum, quod FORMINA ILLA SANCTISSIMA *Ulisiponenfis*, cujus hodie tam evidenter cernuntur evidenter miracula, ac per Universum mundum Testimonis certissimis confirmantur, multis diebus priusquam moreretur, aut agrotaret *Gregorius XIII* praedixit illius mortem revolutam sibi à Domino, alteriusque successionem, in cujus Pontificatu, sua Divina Potestas constituisse dicebat magna quaedam facere ad sui honorem Ecclesiaeque utilitatem, &c. *Cruelitatibus Calvinianae* Exemplo duo recentissima ex Anglia. Printed in *Octavo* 1585.

b Ant. Cicarella in vita Sexti V.

And the truth is, *Sixtus V* was as furious against *Elizabeth* as their hearts could wish, and very active in this *Spanish Invasion*; for the carrying on of which, he had not onely promised the assistance of his (b) *Treasure*, but his Papal Curse to boot, whereby he undertook to deprive the Queen of her Kingdoms and Dominions; Absolving her Subjects from their Allegiance, publishing his *Crusado*, against *Turks* and *Infidels*, whereby out of his kinde-heartedness to Rebellion, he gave Plenary Indulgences and Pardon of all sins, to all who gave their helping hand.

With this goodly stuff *William Allen*, a little before made a Cardinal, is sent into the *Netherlands*, the better to encourage the *English Romanists* to Rebellion. *Allen* pulls out his Papal Tool, which he forgeth into a Pamphlet in the *English Language*, which he prints at *Antwerp*, calling it,

### *The Declaration of the Sentence of Sixtus Quintus.*

And as a farther interpretation of the Papal intent, and the better to ingage the *English* to Rebellion, he joynes a second Part to it, call'd,

### *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England.*

And that the Reader may better understand the honesty of the Paper; take the sum of it thus:

Em. Meteram. Hist. Belg. lib. 15 p. 473, 474. Sam. Purchas Pilgrimes, vol. 4. lib. 10. cap. 11. pag. 1895, 1895.

IT begins with calling the *Queens Government* impious and unjust; her self an *Usurper*, obstinate and impenitent, and so no good to be expected, unless she be deprived.

Therefore Pope *Sixtus V.*, moved by his own and his Predecessors zeal, and the vehement desire of some principal *Englishmen*, hath

*hath used great diligence with divers Princes, especially with the Spanish King, to use all his force, that she might be turn'd out of her Dominions, and her Adherents punished. And all this for good Reasons.*

1500

*Because she is an Heretick, Schismatick; is Excommunicated by former Popes, is Contumacious, Disobedient to the Roman Bishop, and hath taken to her self the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over the (a) souls of men.*

*a No such thing.*

*Because she hath against all Law and Right usurped the Kingdom; seeing none (forsooth) must be Monarchs of England, but by the leave and consent of the Pope.*

*Because she hath committed many Injuries, Extortions and other wrongs against her Subjects.*

*Because she hath stir'd up Seditions and Rebellions, between the Inhabitants of Neighbour-Countries.*

*Because she hath entertain'd (b) Fugitives and Rebels of other Nations.*

*b What did the Pope and Spaniard do?*

*Because she sent and procured the (c) Turk to invade Chri- stendom.*

*c A slanderous untruth.*

*Because she persecuted the English Romanists, cut off the (d) Queen of Scots, and abolished the Roman Religion.*

*d Though I wish it had not been done;*

*as being an Enemy to bloudshed, yet the Romanists were the chief Promoters of her death, by continually thrusting her on to new designs against Queen Elizabeth. But whether is worse, Queen Elizabeth to put to death the Queen of Scots, no way engaged to her; or the English Romanists to seek and endeavour the Murder of Queen Elizabeth, their own Sovereign, to whom they owed all Allegiance and Service? Nor is this so bad as the poisoning of the Queen of Navar, and the Massacre at Paris, 1572.*

*Because she hath rejected and excluded the ancient Nobility, and promoted to honour obscure people, and also useth Tyranny.*

*Wherefore seeing these offences, some of them rendering her incapable of the Kingdom, others unworthy to live: His Holiness by the power of God and the Apostles, Reneweth the Censures of Pius V and Gregory XIII against her; Excommunicates and depriveth her of all Royal Dignity, Titles, Rights and Pretences to England and Ireland; declares her Illegitimate, and an Usurper of the Kingdoms, and absolves all her Subjects from their Obedience and Oaths of Allegiance due to her.*

*So he expressly commandeth all under pain and penaltie of Gods wrath, to yield her no Obedience, Aid or Favour whatsoever; but to imploy all their power against her, and to joyn themselves with the Spanish Forces, who will not hurt the Nation, nor alter their Laws or Priviledges, onely punish the wicked Hereticks.*

*Therefore by these presents We Declare, that it is not onely lawful, but commendable to lay hands on the said Usurper, and other her adherents; and for so doing, they shall be well Rewarded.*

*And lastly, to all these Roman assistants, is liberally granted a Plenary Indulgence and remission of all their sins.*

Here we have the sum of this Treasonable Libel, with which *Allen* thought to do great matters against his Queen and Country; and these were prepared to be spread abroad the Kingdom upon



1500: upon the *Spaniards* landing; yet no sooner is the news known of their defeat; but *Allen* calls in the Impression, burning all he could lay his hands on; onely some few escaped his Fingers; both he and the Printer having before given some Copies to their Friends. The *Romanists* for the most part priz'd it dearly: though some more sober disliked it as too severe, yet some others (we need not Question) might be of the Jesuit *Currey's* opinion, viz. That — *it was a work of that worth, as it would yet bite in time to come.* —

Quodlibets,  
pag. 240.

This *Invasion* was very much assisted by the *English Romanists* (though not by all, for the Lord *Montagne* and some others were against it.) In *Flanders* lay *Charles Nevil* Earl of *Westmerland*, the Lord *Pagit*, Sir *William Stanley*, with about seven hundred more *English*, engaged and ready to joyn with the Prince of *Parma* against their own Country.

What Company in *England* would have taken their parts, I know not. This is certain, that *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, the unfortunate Eldest Son of *Norfolk*, was unhappily too much Priest ridden, which procured his imprisonment and a tryal; the cause of all which might be laid to *Allen*, who had such a sway and power over the said Earl, that he could make him do any thing. And the Earl was over-perswaded to set his affection on the *Spanish* Fleet, rejoycing at its coming, praying heartily for its success, and grieved beyond measure at its overthrow. But he is not the first Nobleman who confided too much in bad counsel, and whose Zeal for Religion hurried him on to inconveniences.

As for Cardinal *Allen*, he was born in *Lancashire* of good Parentage, was bred up at *Oxford* in *Oriel* Colledge, where he was *Proffor*; was preferr'd to a Canonship in *Tork*; in Queen *Elizabeth's* days quits *England*, becometh Pensioner to the *Spaniard*, to carry on whose designs against his Queen and Country, he was very industrious; for which service *Sixtus V.* created him a Cardinal 1587. August 7, and he dyed at *Rome* 1594. October 16.

We have formerly shown his seditious and King-deposing Principles, of which his foresaid *Admonition* will give a farther proof: and who were the Promoters of this *Invasion*, his own words will best tell you.

Quodlibets,  
pag. 240, 241,  
247.

— The King of Spain at length, as well by his Holiness's Authority and Exhortation, as by his own unspeakable Zeal and Piety, moved also not a little by My humble and continual suit, together with the afflicted and banished Catholics of our Nation, of all and every Degree, who have been by his special compassion, and Regal Munificencie, principallie supported in this our long Exile, hath condescended at last to take upon him this so Holy and Glorious an *Aff.* &c.

And then proceeds to encourage, nay and threaten too, the *English* to take up Arms against their Queen, and to joyn with the *Spaniards*, and the other Invaders. — If you will avoid the Popes, the Kings and other Princes high indignation, let no man of what degree soever, Obey, Abet, Aid, Defend or Acknowledge her, &c. — Adding — That otherwise they should incur the Angels Curse and Malediction, and be as deeply Excommunicated as any, because that in taking her part, they should fight against God,

God, against their (a) lawful King, against their Country; and notwithstanding all they should do, they should but defend her bootless, to their own present destruction and eternal shame.

As for the Secular Priests, you shall hear *Watson and Bluet*, the chief of them, thus Confess --- We had some of us greatly approved the said Rebellion, highly extol'd the Rebels, and pitifully bewail'd their ruine and overthrow. Many of our affections were knit to the Spaniards; and for our obedience to the Pope, we all do profess it.

The attempt both of Pope and Spaniard failing in England, his Holiness, as a Temporal Prince, displayed his Banner in Ireland; the Plot was, to deprive her Highness first from that Kingdom if they could, and then by degrees to depose her from this. In all these Plots, none more forward then many of us that were Priests. --- These are the words set down in the Book call'd (b) *Important Considerations*, composed by *Bluet and Watson* two Priests.

As for the Jesuits [but of *Parsons* I shall treat more particularly hereafter] you shall hear what (c) *Clark* the Priest saith, who with *Watson* suffer'd afterwards for Treason against King *James*.

First, it is most certain, that all the world had very admirable expectance of that Army, and the Jesuits more then any.

Secondly, it is plain by the *Cardinals Book* [(d) if it were his] written as a preparative to that action, that he was made Cardinal of purpose for that Exploit, and to have been sent hither presently upon the Spaniards Conquest. But *Father Parsons* saith that he labour'd to set forward at that time the Cardinals preferment (if you will believe him) which maketh it evident a primo ad ultimum, that *Father Parsons* was a dealer in that action.

Thirdly, it is certain, that the Jesuits in Rome were great with the Spanish Ambassador-Leger there, and had great recourse unto him when the matter was on foot; doth not this then argue them to be concurrers thereunto?

Fourthly, it is likewise most true, that the English Jesuits in Rome, appropriated certain Palaces in London to themselves, to fall unto their lots (when this matter was in handling) to wit, *Burghley-house*, *Bridewel*, and another which I have forgot; making themselves cock-sure of their already-devoured Prey. This all the Students that lived in the (e) Colledge at that time will witness with me. Now would I demand of you, what reasons they might have to be their own Carvers, if they had not some interest in that affair?

Fifthly, we know, that they were more forward in Rome concerning this matter, then the Cardinal or any other; Inasmuch, as at the first news of the Spaniards coming down into the Narrow-Seas, they would have had *Te Deum* sung in the Colledge-Church for joy of Victory, if the Cardinal had not stayed it.

--- And to conclude, doth not the posting of *Father Parsons* into Spain, presently after the overthrow of this Army, for farther dealing with the Spaniard for the time to come, and his better information in English affairs; and *Father Holt* posting into the

1500.

a How cometh Philip to be lawful King of England? Vid. Tho. Bel's Anatomy, pag. 98, 124.

b Pag. 15.

c C.W. A Reply to Father Parsons Libel, fol. 64, 65.

d They would hint to us, as if Parsons were the Compiler of the Admonition; but 'tis certain, that Allen was the Author of it; his name being to it, and Piusens with the other Romanists, confessing Allen to be the Author.

e Viz. The English Colledge at Rome

Low.

1500 Low-Countries for the like purpose, to keep the Spaniard still in hope of future times, that this mishap might not withdraw him from ever enterprising the like afterwards, shew that they were dealers in the former? Doubtless all these Circumstances cannot but sufficiently prove it, that they were, in the Judgement of wise-men.

And many other passages in confirmation of these things might be produced, but that they are needless, the truth of them being sufficiently known; and we shall hint somewhat more in the story of Father Parsons.

However their goodly pretences were for the propagation of Religion, the settlement of the Kingdoms, with the security of the Natives; yet we are told, that as there were severe (a) punishments appointed for those they were pleas'd to call Hereticks; so the *Romanists* themselves were to expect no (b) favour from their hands, affirming that their conquering Swords should make no distinction between the one and the other; their business being more to make way for the *Spanish* Dominion than his Religion.

And we need not question, the better to carry on this their pretended Holy War, but that in *Spain* (*Presbyterian-like*) as the Learned and Ingenious Poet doth word it, the

Hudibras  
Canto I.

— Gospel-Trumpeter, surrounded  
With Long-ear'd Rout, to Battel sounded;  
And Pulpit, Drum Ecclesiastick,  
Was beat with fist, instead of a stick.

Their Priests and Fryars to make no small clutter to perswade the people of the glories and rewards of such a Noble Enterprize. Amongst the rest, I finde *Johannes Osorio* the Jesuit not a little concerned in this work.

Concionum,  
Tom. 4. pag.  
72, 73, &c.

c Id. pag. 84.

d Id. pag. 90,  
91, &c.

e Pag. 106.  
Cum ergo  
poteremus à

Deo Dæmonium pessimum ab Anglia pelli.

Two Sermons he makes in justification of the War, and in commendation of the *Spaniards*, his Country-men, for thus fighting against Hereticks; and is so credulous, that he falleth a giving (c) thanks for a supposed Victory. But a little after is forced to alter his Note, and make (d) three Preachments of Humiliation upon the overthrow of the Navy; in the second of which, the zealous man groweth a little (e) pettish and angry.

What Relation this *Castillian* was to the *Portuguese Hieronimo Osorio*, I know not; but it seemeth, that they were both grand Enemies to Queen *Elizabeth*, and were willing enough that the *English Romanists* should enlarge and quit themselves from all ties of Loyalty and Obedience, though it were to the destruction of their Native Country and Nursing Princess; as some observe, that formerly one (f) *Diego Osorio* was born by the ripping up of his Mothers belly.

f Antonio de  
Torquemada,  
jardin de  
Flores cori-  
ofas. Colloq.  
1. pag. 26.

g Jo. Evelyn's  
Sylva, or For-  
rest-Trees,  
cap. 32. 2  
4. pag. 108.

'Tis (g) said, that in this Expedition, the *Spanish* Commanders were expressly enjoyn'd, that if when landed they should not be able to subdue the Nation, and make good their Conquest; they should yet be sure not to leave a Tree standing in the Forrest of

of *Dean*; by which, they thought, they might in time ruine us, or hinder us from harming them, by thus weakning us, in destroying the means of our Shipping. But 'tis well they fail'd in all their designs: and a shame take those (be their pretence or Religion whatever), who have since assisted to the destroying those Noble and hearty Oaks: And I fear private interest or knavery have too much endamaged our other *Nurseries* of Shipping. But 'tis now held modish and in fashion to cheat the Publick; though to take a few pence from a private man, must be branded with Thievery, and very gravely condemn'd to the Gallows.

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Nnn

CHAP.

1500.



## CHAP. VII.

## Lopez, Squire, York, and other's Treasons against the Queen.

**T**His grand intended *Invasion* of the *Spaniards* being ruin'd and brought to nought, *England* might now afford it self some ease, her Enemies not being able on a sudden to recruit their great losses; this defeat in a manner breaking the back, and cracking the credit of *Philip*. But as by degrees he recovered, so by the instigation of the *English* Fugitives was he perswaded to carry on the same ill will towards the Queen of *England*.

1592.  
1593. And here we cannot forget *Richard Heskett*, who being set on work by Sir *William Stanley*, and other *English*, undertook to perswade *Ferdinand* Lord *Strange*, (a little after by the death of his Father *Henry*, became Earl of *Darby*) to depose the Queen, and take upon him the Title of the Crown; making *Pedegrees* for him, drawing his pretended right from *Mary* his great Grand-Mother, Daughter to *Henry VII.* And for a better encouragement, they gave him large promises of assistance of men and money from the *Spaniard*; but withal threatening him with assured destruction, unless he would undertake the designe, and conceal it.

*John Stow,*  
p. 767.

Vid. *Tho. Bell*  
*Anatomy,*  
pag. 22.

But the Earl far contrary to their expectation discovers *Heskett*, who confessing all, is executed. As for the Earl, he presently after ended his life, tormented in a strange manner, not without suspicion of Poyson, others say of Witchcraft. As for the Treason it self, thus confesseth *Bluet* and *Watson*, two of their chief Priests, in their Book call'd, *Important Considerations*.

—While the *Invasion* was talk'd of, and in preparation in Spain, *Richard Heskett* was set on by the *Jesuits* 1592, or thereabouts, with Father *Parsons* consent and knowledge, to have stir'd up the Earl of *Darby* to Rebellion against her Highness.

This failing, we have another more dangerous, set on by persons of the highest rank; but it seems not unworthy the basest actions, though any Religion might be ashamed of them.

As a Prologue to this, we may understand, that *Don Sebastian*, the forward King of *Portugal*, having ruined himself in the *African* Expedition, and his great Uncle Cardinal *Henry* succeeding him in the Kingdom, and dying unmarried, several made claim to the

the *Portugal* Crown. Amongst the rest, *Don Antonio* Prior of *Crato*, natural Son to *Lewis* brother to *Henry*. To him, being a *Portugaise*, many of the people bare an affection; so that at last the rest let their Titles sleep, and the Quarrel onely remain'd between *Philip II* of *Spain* and this *Antonio*. But *Philip* having the longest Sword, under the conduct of *Alva* wan the Kingdom; so that *Antonio* was forced to flee for refuge to our Queen *Elizabeth*, who afforded him some assistance and favour; by which means and protection, many *Portugaise* shipt themselves for *England*, where they were received as friends, with all respect and honour.

1500.

Amongst the rest was *Roderigo Lopez* a *Jewish* Physician, whom the Queen entertain'd in her own Service, making him Physician to her Household; and *Stephano Ferreira de Gama*, with *Emanuel Loisse*. These three were inticed by the *Spaniard* to undertake the murther of the Queen; for which they were promis'd great rewards: but *Lopez* was to be the main instrument.

1. *Lopez* confess'd, that of late years he had been allured to do service secretly to the King of *Spain*; which he did by the means of one *Manuel Andrada* a *Portugal*, an Agitator under *Don Bernardino Mendoza*, the *Spanish* Ambassador in *France*.

2. That the said *Andrada* brought him from *Christofero de Mora* [a *Portugaise*, but a great favourite of King *Philips*, and an especial Instrument for reducing *Portugal* under the *Spanish* Crown] a rich Jewel, and an encouragement from *Philip* himself.

3. That he was informed of the King of *Spain*'s hopes of him, not onely by *Andrada*, but by *Roderique Marques* a *Portugais* also, but imployed by the *Spaniard* on such wicked designs.

4. That he the said *Lopez* did assent to these wicked Counsels.

5. That he did secretly advertise the *Spaniard* divers times, of such affairs of the Queens as he could learn.

6. That he did also assent to take away the Queens life by poyson, upon a reward promised him of fifty thousand Crowns.

7. That he sent *Andrada* to confer with Count *Fuentes* about it.

8. That he directed *Stephano Ferreira de Gama* to write Letters to *Stephano Ibarra*, the Kings Secretary at *Bruxels*, to assure the said Earl *Fuentes* and *Ibarra*, that he would undertake as he had promised to destroy the Queen by poyson, provided that he might have the said 50000 Crowns.

9. That he sent these Letters by one *Gomez Davila* a *Portugal*: That the reason why the murther was not executed according to promise, was, because he perceived the delivery of the 50000 Crowns defer'd, though promis'd him from day to day.

10. That to take away this delay of the Execution, Count *Fuentes*, by the King of *Spain*'s order, did signe and deliver Bills of exchange for the said Money.

1500.

Tho. Robin-  
son's Anatomy  
of the Num-  
mery of Lif-  
bone, p. 9.

*This money, or part of it, for security to Lopez, was delivered to the custody of the English Nuns, then at Rhoan in France; which monies [the Plot failing, and Lopez executed] was given to the said Nuns, who carried it with them to Lisbone in Portugal, where they settled themselves in a Nunnery, as appears by their Register-book.*

And at the same time, by one of the Lords of the Privy-Council, through the interception of Letters, this designe was discover'd, and Lopez seiz'd on: he was forward also to (a) purge old Lord Burghley out of this world.

a 70. Speed's  
Hist. in Queen  
Eliz. 2  
117.

All this was also confess'd by Stephano Ferrera, and Emanuel Loifie, and that Dr. Lopez his Children were to be advanced by the King of Spain, and several other circumstances. And that the Count de Fuentes, and Ibara, were privy to all these actions, take this following Confession to assure it.

b One of great  
credit with  
the Spanish  
Councillors  
at Bruxels.

The Confession of (a) Manuel Loifie Tinoco, by his own hand-writing, the 22 of Febr. 1594.

**I** Manuel Loifie Tinoco, Gentleman of Portugal, confess that the Count de Fuentes, and the Secretary Ibarra call'd me into the Cabinet of the Count, and both of them together, either of them for his own part, took my hands, putting them within their own, and told me, that before they would declare unto me a certain business of great Importance,—"Thou must give unto us thy faith and homage to keep it so secret, that although thou happen to be taken there of the English, thou shalt not discover this secret, because it importeth the Quietness of all Christendom."

And after I had given them my word and faith, with all fidelity and service in such an affair, they told me, Stephen Ferrera de Gama hath written to us, how D. Lopez hath offer'd and bound himself to kill the Queen of England with poison, with condition the King of Spain should recompence his services according to the quality of them. All which passed in the City of Bruxels, in the house of the Count de Fuentes; and as far as I can remember, it was the 9 day of December past. All this I certifie to have passed in great truth and certainty, and do affirm it under mine Oath.

Again.

**I** Manuel Loifie Tinoco, a Portugal Gentleman, do confess that it is true, that being in Bruxels, in the house of the Count Fuentes, he caused me to be call'd for, and demanded of me, of what Quality and Country Andrada was: And after that I had told him all that I knew of him, he commanded his Secretary to shew me all the Letters that Andrada had written to him from Calice: He shewed me three Letters; in the first he signified, that he was come from England, where he had been prisoner a long time; and that he  
was

was sent by order of Dr. Lopez, who [as a man very zealous and friendly to the service of the King of Castile] was determined to do the King such a piece of service, as thereby he might with great safety satisfy himself on the English Nation. But so, as the King should recompence his said services with honours and favours, according to the quality thereof: For he was old, and many ways indebted, and would now findereſt for his old age.

1500.

And declaring the quality of the service, he told him, that Dr. Lopez bound himself to dispatch the Queen with poyson. Wherefore it behooved him to advertiſe the King of Spain thereof with all speed, and he would attend at Calice until the answer came from Madril.

The same designe was also carried on to murder Don Antonio, who then call'd himself King of Portugal. Concerning which, take part of Stephano Ferrera de Gama's Confession taken the 18 of Febr. 1594.

— He saith, that Manuel D' Andrada, about a month before he went out of England, did declare to him, that if the King of Spain would, that D. Lopez would poyson the Queen of England, and the King Don Antonio also. Which speech being afterwards utter'd to D. Lopez by Ferrera, the Doctor answer'd, — “ As for the King, “ he shall dye with the first sickneis that shall happen to him: “ But for the Queen, we have no (a) answer as yet from the “ other side.

a Meaning, that the business was not as then fully concluded on, the Doctor being not fully assured of his money, without which he declared he would not poyson her.

In short, Lopez, Ferrera and Loise, were condemn'd and executed at Tybourn; where Lopez thinking to make some Vindication, affirmed that he loved the Queen as he loved Jesus Christ: at which the spectators could not but smile, knowing Lopez to be of the Jewish Profession.

At the same time that Lopez was dealing withal about the Queens Murther, they, to make more sure, perswaded one Patrick Cullen an Irishman, and a Fencer, to commit the same villany against her Royal Person. In this Treason Stanley was very active; who, with Sherwood and Holt, two Jesuits, confirm'd him in the lawfulness of the action; giving him thirty pounds towards his journey into England, (being then in the Low-Countries.) But he was taken, confess'd all, and is executed.

At the same time also, lived in the Netherlands one Edmund Tork, Nephew to the Traytor Rowland Tork. This Rowland was a vapouring Londoner, the first that brought into England the use of Tucks or Rapiers in single Duels; before which, the manly Back-sword and Buckler was onely in practice by the greatest Gallants: This was that scandalous Rowland Tork also, who basely betray'd his trust, and deliver'd Zutphen (of which he was Governour) with himself, unto the Spaniards, and perswaded Sir William Stanley to do the same with Deventer; both of them for the future fighting under the Spanish Colours against their own Sovereign Queen and Country.

The English Fugitives beyond Seas, perswaded this mans Nephew, Edmund Tork, and one Richard Williams, with others, to



1500 kill the Queen. And this wicked Treason was agitating the same time, that *Lopez* and *Cullen* were consulting about theirs. But these Traytors were also seised on, and suffer'd.

1. They confess'd, that for an incouragement, *Hugh Owen* (a noted Traytor) at *Bruxels*, had an assignation subscribed by *Ibarra*, the *Spanish* Secretary, of forty thousand Crowns, to be given them, if they would kill the Queen.

2. That the said Assignation was deliver'd to *Holt* the Jesuit, who shew'd also the same to *Tork*, and produced the *Sacrament* and kiss'd it, swearing that he would pay the said monies, when the murther was committed.

3. That *Stanley* did earnestly perswade *Tork* to undertake it, animating him with the Example of his Uncle *Rowland*.

4. That to forward the plot, there were several consultations, *Holt* the Jesuit sitting as President.

5. That *Holt* said if this designe fail'd, they would then employ no more *English*, but Strangers.

6. That at these consultations, there used several to be present, as *Thomas Throgmorton*, *Charles Paget*, *Hugh Owen*, *Dr. William Gifford*, the finisher of *Calvino Tercismus*, of whose Treasons we have heard formerly; *Dr. Thomas Worthington*, the chief promoter of the *Doway-Bible*, adding some notes to it: He also turn'd *Bristow's Motives* into *Latine*; and in his old age turned Jesuit at *Rome*.

7. It was also confess'd, that there were designed to come into *England*, to attempt her death, one *Tipping* an *Englishman*, one *Edmund Garret* an Ensigne, with a *Wallon* and a *Burgundian*.

8. That one *Tong* had undertaken a Treasonable action too.

9. It was also confess'd that these three, *Tork*, *Williams*, and *Tong*, determin'd at their coming into *England*, to have put themselves into the service of some great Noblemen of the Queens Council, thereby to have free access to the Court; and every one of them to seek their opportunities.

10. That *Williams*, through zeal to the Cause, had wish'd his sword in the Queens Guts.

11. That they had vow'd, come what will of it, to be the death of her. And how furious and abominable *James Archer* the *Irish* Jesuit and others were, in this Parricide, *Dr. (a) Robert Abbot* (and a little after Bishop of *Salisbury*) hath abundantly from their Confessions confuted the Impudent *Andreas Budamon-Joannes*, and satisfied all Forraigners.

<sup>a</sup> Antilogia, cap 8. fol. 116, 117, 118, 119, 120.

<sup>b</sup> Gabr. Praetor. Elench. Hæret. p. 110.

And besides those common rewards of riches and favour with advancement here, they were promised the highest of Spiritual Benefits, because their Treasonable Actions could be no less then meritorious, by which they would be certain to enjoy Heaven and its Glory hereafter: For no less rewards and enjoyments did these evil Councillors impudently promise to these bloody Traytors. As if these Casuists were related to the old Hereticks, the (b) *Cainani*, who revered *Cain* for killing his brother *Abel*, and worshiped *Judas* for betraying our Innocent Saviour. But why might not they promise as much, when they knew that the Pope

Pope, who cannot err, had formerly bequeath'd such blessings to the enemies of Queen Elizabeth? 1500.

All these designs failing, the Fugitives and other Traytors were at their wits end, seeing the Queen reign prosperously and successful; and all their attempts against her ruined, always discover'd, and the main instruments seiz'd on, and deservedly executed. But at last another opportunity offer'd it self.

In the year 1595, Sir Francis Drake making his last voyage against the Spaniards in America, in which he dyed, there was one Edward Squire, who was first a Pettifogging Clerk, afterwards an under-servant in the Queens Stables; and now would try his fortune, as a Souldier in this voyage. It was his chance to go in a little Pinnace, which unluckily straying from the rest, on the Coasts of America, was taken by five great Spanish Ships. By which means, much of Drakes designe was discover'd; and so a great part of the exploit prevented.

Squire at last was carryed into Spain as a prisoner. Here (a) Walpoole a Jesuit meets with him, and procures him as an Heretick to be put in the Inquisition; where with afflictions and fair speeches he drew him to be a zealous Romanist.

a There were three Brothers of Norfolk all Jesuits, viz. Henry, Michael, and Richard Walpoole.

This done, he perswades him to kill the Queen; commends the action to him as pious and meritorious, offers him large promises: And at last Squire is fully perswaded, and undertakes the murder. At this, the Jesuit Walpoole rejoiceth, hugs and encourageth him, bindes him by several Oaths, under pain of Damnation, to be secret, and perform his promises, and not to fear death: For, saith he, *what doth it profit a man to gain the whole world and loose his own soul?* Assuring him that if he did but once doubt of the lawfulness and justness of the Action, that mistrust would be enough to damn him, such a sin being seldom pardon'd.

Rob. Abbot, Antilog. fol. 122, 123.

This said, he imbraceth him; then throwing his left Arm about Squires neck, so hugging him with his right hand, he makes the signe of the Cross upon Squires forehead, thus blessing him:—*God bless thee, my son, and strengthen thee; be of good cheer; I will pawn my soul for thine, and thou shalt always have the benefit of my prayers; and whether thou livest or dyest, thou shalt enjoy a full pardon and remission of all thy sins.* And another time thus encouraged him: *There is one thing necessary, which if thou prefer before all other things, and dost fulfill it, I have my desire, and thou shalt be a glorious Saint in Heaven.*

Squire thus devilishly resolved, gets into England, goeth to Greenwich, where the Court then was; watcheth opportunity; and being informed that the Queen was to ride abroad, goeth to her Horse, holds him according to his place, and cunningly puts strong poyson upon the Pummel of the Saddle; yet saying with a loud voice as she mounted, *God save the Queen.* But such was the providence, that her Majesty, neither in getting up, riding, or getting down, once touch'd the Pummel: yet he doubted not, but that in time it would work the intended ruine, fully perswaded the Queen had laid her hands on it.

Presently after this, the Earl of Essex set sail for the Island-voyage against the Spaniard: And in this Fleet Squire ventured once more as a Souldier, with which he return'd into England, and lived for some time securely, not thinking that he should ever be discover'd.

But

1500 But see the luck on't : of this poyson, being great expectation amongst some, and seeing no signes of any such effect, they became incensed against *Squire*, thinking that he had left them and the Cause in the lurch, and meerly deluded them. Thus jealous and intraged, a revenge is resolved on, and *Squire* cunningly accused of some designe against the Queen. *Squire* upon the noise is examined, and wondring how any thing should be known against him; yet suspecting *Walpoole* his Confessor, and believing all was fully discover'd, freely confesseth all as abovesaid; so as a Traytor is condemn'd and executed.

1598.

Of these late bloody Treasons, *Watson* and *Bluet*, two Priests, thus in Print declare to the world.

See *Bels Anatomy*, p. 22, 23.

— *Father Holt the Jesuit, and others with him, perswaded an Irishman, one Patrick Collen (as himself confessed) to attempt the laying of his violent and villanous hands upon her Majesty. Shortly after, 1593, that notable stratagem was plotted, for Dr. Lopez the Queens Physitian to have poysoned her. This wicked designation being thus prevented, by Gods providence, the Traiterous Jesuit Holt and others did allure and animate one York and Williams, to have accomplish'd that with their bloody hands, that the other purposed to have done with his poyson, we mean her Majesties destruction. Hereunto we may add, the late villanous attempt 1599 of Edward Squire, animated and drawn thereunto, as he confessed, by Walpoole that pernicious Jesuit. These words are set down in their Important Considerations, pag. 33. And yet Father (a) Parsons doubts, whether Squire for all this committed Treason, or no; such was the loyalty and honesty of this Jesuit.*

a Answer to the fifth part of Sir Edw. Cokes Reports, Epist. Dedicat. v. 2.

Thus in part have we seen the great dangers Queen *Elizabeth* run through; her life being continually sought after, both by her own subjects and Forreigners; nor did they want encouragements to oppose their own Queen and Country: Pope *Gregory XIII* allowed them a (b) Colledge at *Rome*, the *Guisans* in *France* another at (c) *Rhemes*; the *Spaniard* gave them one at (d) *Valadolid* in *Castile*, and allowed them (e) others in other places; besides allowed the chiefest of them Pensions, and maintain'd many hundred *English* in his Wars; though his pay and Pensions were but badly paid to them, yet more and better then such Trayterous Fugitives deserved.

b See the Bull, tom. 2. p. 319.  
c Sixtus V by Bull desires all to assist it. ib. p. 411.  
d Clement VIII confirmed this: vid Sand. de Schism.

lib. 4. five Appendix, p. 104.  
e See Thomas Fuller's Church-Hist. lib. 9. Camden, an. no 1555.

And for all these Pensions, private fees for Treason, and vast Treasure spent in his attempts against the Queen; what did the *Spanish* King expect for a recompence, but the Crown and Kingdom of *England*? for the obtaining of which, the nearest that he came, was once (*viz.* July, 1595.) when *Diego Brocher*, with four Gallies, got very early in a morning unperceived, upon the Coasts of *Cornwal*, struck into *Mounts Bay* by *St. Michaels Mount*, fired *Pauls Church*, standing alone in the Fields, *Mousetholes*, *Meulin* and *Pensans*, three poor fisher-Towns, and presently stole home again, without killing one man.

This beggerly enterprize was all the reward and recompence of his vast Treasure and toyl spent against *England*. And let them never prosper otherwise, who attempt any mischief against it, and so unworthily foment and maintain Traytors, against their respective legal Sovereigns.

But better had it been for *Philip* and *Spain*, if he had followed the advice of his Grand-father *Charles V*, that famous Emperour, who

who used often to lay down this for a certain Rule, insomuch that it was one of his Proverbs, 1500.

*Con todo el mundo guerra,  
T puse con Inglatierra.*

*With all the world make War,  
But with England do not Jar.*

Whilst these Murtherers were, according to their engagements, consulting the death of the Queen, we must not think the *Spanish* interest altogether Idle, but they had also their other Instruments and preparations on foot, the better to secure this Kingdom to them upon her fall.

As for the Jesuits, how active they were for the disturbance of England, a *Romanist* himself shall tell you; his words are these.

*We have also certain intelligence, that the Jesuits have devised a means to have had the Tower of London seized into their hands, and how they would have it held until the Spaniard came to rescue them. Divers of their Letters have been shewed to divers prisoners for proof against them, when they have answered in defence of the Jesuits, that they thought them free from such stratagems; and amongst the rest, there is one of the XX of June 1596, wherein there are these words.*

*A. P. Reply  
to a notori-  
ous Libel,  
p. 81, 82.*

*It may be, if the Kings faintness and pusillanimity hinder us not (as heretofore it hath) the Armado will be with you about August or September. This is one good help, Ireland will be onely for us. The Earl of Tyrone and Odonnel would gladly have help from hence, and they are well contented to let the Spaniards have certain Holds and Forts for their uses. This will greatly pleasure to trouble and disquiet England; and in the mean time serve for Harbour for their Ships that shall pass that way, &c.*

*It were necessary you should make it known aforehand, that no Catholick man or woman shall take harm, either in body or goods. Let every man be quiet till the Spaniards be landed; then shall there presently Proclamation be made of all security.*

Of these Proclamations there were two hundred printed in Spain.

Amongst other contrivances to bring this Kingdom into confusion, was the designe of *Anthony Rolston* an *English* Fugitive, *Cambden, an.* who was sent over into England by the *Spanish* Agitators, and *Fa-* 1598. *ther Creswell*, under pretence of procuring a Peace, but the truth was (as *Rolston* himself confessed) to discover what provisions there were for war, to encourage the *Romanists*, and by Bribes and fair promises to corrupt some great Lords about the Queen, amongst the rest *Essex*, as the said Earl confess'd himself.

And the better to make cock-sure, and carry all before them, another Fleet is prepared to invade England; and for a further encouragement, as well of *English* as others to be assistants

1500. assistants in this enterprise, their Lord high Admiral draws up a Proclamation, which was printed and published; and you may take it as followeth, as I meet with it.

Dr. Mat. Sutcliffe's Blessings on Mount Gerizim, or the happy Estate of England, pag. 292, 293, 294, 295.

b He hath forgot the Spanish Inquisition.

Considering the Obligation which his Catholick Majesty, my Lord and Master, hath received of God Almighty, to defend and protect his holy Faith, and the Apostolical Roman Church: he hath procured by the best means he could, for to reduce to the ancient and true Religion the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, as much as possibly hath been in his power. And all hath not been sufficient to take away the offence done against God in damage of the self-same Kingdoms, with scandal of whole Christianity; yea rather abusing the Clemencie and Benignity of his Catholick Majesty, the heads and chief of the Hereticks, which little fear God, have taken courage to extend their evil Doctrine with the oppressing of Catholicks, Martyring them, and by divers ways and means taking from them their lives and goods, (b) forcing them by violence to follow their damnable Sects and Errours, which they have hardly done to the loss of many souls.

Which considered, his Catholick Majesty is determin'd to favour and protect those Catholicks, which courageously have defended the Catholick Faith; and not onely those, but such also as by pusillanimity and humane respects have consented unto them, forced thereunto through the hard and cruel dealings of the said Catholicks Heretical Enemies. And for the execution of his holy Zeal, he hath commanded me, that with force by Sea and Land, which he and shall be at my charge, to procure all means necessary for the reduction of the said Kingdoms unto the obedience of the Catholick Roman Church.

In Complement of the which, I declare and protest, that these Forces shall be employ'd for to execute this holy intent of his Catholick Majesty, directed onely to the common good of the true Religion and Catholicks of those Kingdoms, as well those which be already declared Catholicks, as others who will declare themselves such. For all shall be received and admitted by me in his Royal Name, which shall separate and apart themselves from the Hereticks. And furthermore, they shall be restored to the Honour, Dignity and Possessions which heretofore they have been deprived of. Moreover, every one shall be rewarded according to the Demonstrations and Feats which shall be shown in this Godly enterprise. And who shall proceed with most valour, the more largely and amply shall be remunerated with the goods of obstinate Hereticks.

Wherefore seeing Almighty God doth present to his Elect so good an occasion, therefore, I for the more security, Ordain and Command the Captains General of Horse and Artillerie, the Master General of the Field, the Captains of Companies of Horse and Foot, and all other Officers greater and lesser, and men of War; the Admiral General, and the rest of the Captains and Officers of the Army: that as well at Land as Sea they use well, and receive the Catholicks of those Kingdoms, who shall come to defend the Catholick Cause, with Arms or without them: For I command the General of the Artillery that he provide them of Weapons which shall bring none.

Also I Ordain and straitly command, that they have particular respect unto the Houses and Families of the said Catholicks, not touching

touching, as much as may be, any thing of theirs, but onely of those that will obstinately follow the part of Hereticks: in doing of which, they be altogether unworthy of those favours which be here granted unto the good, who will declare themselves for true Catholickes; and such as shall take Arms in hand, or at least separate themselves from the Hereticks, against whom and their favourers all this War is directed, in defence of the honour of God, and good of those Kingdoms; trusting in Gods Divine mercy, that they shall recover again the Catholick Religion so long agoe lost, and make them return to their ancient quietness and felicity, and to the due obedience of the holy Primitive Church.

1500.

Moreover, these Kingdoms shall enjoy former immunities and priviledges, with encrease of many others for time to come, in great friendship, confederacie and traffick with the Kingdom of his Catholick Majesty, which in times past they were wont to have, for the publick good of all Christianity. And that this be put in execution speedily, I exhort all the faithful to the fulfilling of that which is here contain'd, warranting them upon my word, which I give in the name of the Catholick King my Lord and Master, that all shall be observed which is here promised.

And thus I discharge my self of the losses and damages which shall fall upon those which will follow the contrary way, with the ruine of their own souls, the hurt of their own Country, and that which is more, the honour and glory of God. And he which cannot take presently Arms in hand, nor declare himself by reason of the tyranny of the Hereticks, shall be admitted from the Enemies Camp, and shall pass to the Catholick part in some skirmish or battel; or if he cannot, he shall flee before we come to the last encounter.

*In testimony of all which, I have commanded to dispatch these presents, confirmed with my Hand, sealed with the Seal of mine Arms, and Refirmed by the Secretary underwritten.*

Though Father Parsons was very solicitous to understand the success of these preparations, yet he did not expect any great matters to be performed by them: and so it fell out, to the no small grief (we need not question) of many Romanists. And to augment the sorrow of the Hispanioliz'd Faction, the death of the Spanish King hapned the same year; to whom succeeded his son Philip III, of whose attempts against Queen Elizabeth you may hear in the next Century.

W. Clarke  
Reply unto a  
Libel, fol. 63.

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The end of the seventh Book.

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THE





T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
Of the HOLY  
League AND Covenant  
I N  
F R A N C E

B O O K VIII.

C H A P. I.

*An* INTRODUCTION to the HOLY LEAGUE.

**T**HE Beginning of this *Century* had like to have been troublefom to *Germany* by a mischievous *League*, designed in the Bishoprick of *Spire*, by a Company of barbarous, clownish, rustick *High-shoes*, and so by the *Germans* 'tis call'd *Bundschuh*. These, like our *Levellers*, were to raise themselves into as high a Grandeur as any, by swearing to reduce all other men to their meanness, by equalling all mankind into the same condition, by rooting out all Magistracy, Dignities and Laws. As for the Church, (which is continually struck at by Traitors and such Sacrilegious Wretches) she was not to escape their Villanies, they designing to rob her of her Revenues, Titles and Decency, to vilifie and discourage her Priests, thereby to make her contemptible to very Pagans; yet for all this, as all other Rebels do, they make a grand shew of Zeal and Religion; appointing such Prayers daily to be said for good success, viz. The *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, and these five times a day, and as a word of Cognizance they had the *Virgin Mary*, and *St. John the Evangelist*. And thus constituted, they were resolved

1502.

Nicol. Basch  
Addit. ad  
Chro.  
Naucleri p.  
394.  
L. or. Series  
Com. p. 35.

Q q q

to



1502 to give no quarter, but kill all their Opposers as Enemies and Traitors to God: But by the assistance of the Emperour *Maximilian I.* and *Lodowick* the good Bishop of *Spire*, this intended Rebellion was crushed in the very bad, by a timely discovery being quell'd, which occasioned the deserved punishment of several of the chief Undertakers:

But from this we shall proceed to another sort of *Leaguers* or *Covenanters*, who carried on their Rebellions with more success and vigour, which had like to have ruin'd the whole Kingdom of *France*.

In this *League* there were three Families chiefly concern'd, of whom for the better understanding of the History we shall with all haste speak a word or two; not that we design to set down all their Children (leaving that to the *Heralds*) but onely those who may afford some light to the more common Readers of this short Essay of the *French League*.

The Families are those of

I. *VALOIS*, ending by the death of *Henry III.*

II. *BOURBON*, next Heir to the Crown, beginning with *Henry IV.* King of *France* and *Navarre*.

III. *GUISE*, assisted by their Chief, *LORRAIN*.

*FRANÇOIS I. de VALOIS.*

\* Beheaded at *Paris* as a Rebel 1574, and the sentence of Treason revoked 1576.

Henry II. de Valois King of France, wounded in the eye at Tilt by Count\* *Montgomery*, of which he died, 1559.

Catherine de Medicis, daughter to *Lorenzo Duke of Urbino*, Cousin to *Alexander Duke of Florence*. She died at *Blois* 1589.

François II. King of France, died 1560.

Charles IX. King of France, died 1574.

Hen. III. King of France, murdered by a Monk 1589.

François Duke of Alençon, Anjou, Brabant, &c. died 1584.

By the death of King *Henry III.* the Line of *Valois* (so called from a little Territory North-East of *Paris*, betwixt *Picardy* and *Champagne*) fail'd, and that of *Bourbon* as next Heir succeeded to the Throne, in the Person of *Henry IV.*

*ALENÇON*, a Town in lower *Normandy*; it was formerly an Earldom, but King *Charles VI.* raised it up to a Dukedom, 1414. though † *du Verdier* by a mistake would make us believe, that it was made a Dutchy by King *Lewis IX.* surnamed the *Saint*.

† *Le vray estat de la France*, pag. 65.

*BOURBON.*

This Family is so named from a Town in *Aquitaine* call'd *Bourbon*, with a difference of *l'Archambault*, to distinguish it from another in *Burgundy* call'd *Bourbon l'Ancien*, but by corruption of speech *Bourbon Lancy*.

It was erected from a Barony into a Dukedom by *Charles IV.* surnamed *le Bel*, 1327. It would be endless to speak of the Antiquity of this Family, according to some men; and for its Commendations \* *du Chesne* hath said enough by affirming, that the Women of it were born to people *Christianity*, and the Men to defend it. They draw their relation to the *French Crown* from *Robert* Son to *S. Lewis IX.*

\* *Les Antiquitez*, p. 2. 628.

Charles

1502

Charles de Bourbon the first—*Françoise Daughter to René Duke of Vendosme, died 1536.* | *Duke of Alençon, died 1550.*

Antoine de Bourbon married to Jane daughter and heiress to Henry d'Albret second King of Navarre, and so by his Wife became King of Navarre. He was wounded at the siege of Rouen, of which he died 1562.

Henry III. King of Navarre, and the IV. of France, was murdered 1610.

Charles the old Cardinal de Bourbon, by the Leaguers called King Charles X. He died in prison 1590.

Lewis de Bourbon Prince of Condé, slain at the battle of Jarnac 1569.

Henry Prince of Condé died 1588.

Henry born 1582. died 1646.

Charles the Younger Cardinal of Vendosme, after the death of his Uncle called of Bourbon, died 1594. He was Head of the Thirdlings or third party.

*VENDOSME*, a Town in *Beauvaisse*, was from an Earldom erected to a Dukedom by King *Francis I.* 1514.

*CONDE'*, a Town in *Hainault* or *Henegow*, whence these Princes of the House of *Bourbon* took their Title.

#### GUISE.

This Family is a branch of the House of *LORRAIN*; the Antiquity of which hath been undertaken by *François de Rosieres*, born at *Bar-le-Duc*, and Archdeacon of *Thoul*, and so being born a Vassal to that Family, we may allow him to ramble as far as he pleaseth for Originals; and though he Preface his History with *Adam* and his Children, yet his modesty alloweth him to fetch this Family no higher then the story of *Troy*: as it was the fashion of old Monkish Tale-tellers to draw the beginning of most Kingdoms from the Legendaries of that scatter'd People.

*Lotharius* Emperour of *Germany* (and the rebellious son of *Lewis le Debonnaire*) made his younger son *Lotharius* or *Lothaire* King of those Territories, which from him were called *Lorrain*, as if it were *Lotair-Rück*, and *Lot-Reyck*, the Dominion, Possession, Jurisdiction, or Kingdom of *Lotaire* or *Lotharius*, which was then in a far larger extent then that which is now the Dukedom, to which now the name only belongs.

René Duke of Lorrain, who also call'd himself King of Sicily and Hierusalem, and his eldest Son Duke of Calabria. — Philippe Sister to the Duke of Guelderlandt, and after his death her Husband René took upon him that Title also.

Antoine Duke of Lorrain & Bar, Counte de Vaudemont, Marquess de Pont, died 1544.

— Renee daughter to Guilbert de Bourbon, Count of Mont-penſier; died 1439.

Claude Duke of GUISE, Baron de Joinville, came to the Court of France, and obtain'd the Government of Champagne and Burgundy. He married Antoinette daughter to François Counte de Vendosme; she died 1583. This Claude de Guise was the first and top of that House, which by his children divided it self into these following branches.

Jean Cardinal of Lorrain, lived in the French Court a great Favorite with King François I. He died 1550.

François Duke of Lorrain, died 1545.

— Nicolas Conte de Vaudemont, and Duke of Mercoeur, died 1576.

Charles III. married to Claude daughter to Henry II. King of France. He died 1608.

— Charles de Lorrain, Cardinal de Vaudemont, Bishop of Toul. He died 1587.  
— Philippe-Emanuel Duke of Mercoeur, died 1602.  
— Louyse de Lorrain wife to K. Henry III. of France.

— François Count de Vaudemont.  
— Charles de Lorrain, a Cardinal, chosen to be Bishop of Strasburg, which occasioned great troubles. He died 1607.  
— Henry II. Duke of Lorrain.

François Duke of Guise, kill'd by Poltrot at Orleans, 1563.

— Lewis de Guise made Card. by Julius III. He died 1578.  
— Charles Cardinal of Lorrain, a Legat in the Council of Trent. Of him François d'Ulle makes his Legend. He died 1573.

Claude Duke of Aumale slain at the siege of Rochel 1573.

— Charles.

René Marquess of Elboeuf died 1566.

— Charles Duke of Elboeuf.

— Charles Duke of Elboeuf and Count de Harcourt.

— François call'd the Grand Prior died 1562.

Henry Duke of Guise kill'd at Bloys 1588.

— Charles Prince of Joinville, after his Fathers death call'd Duke of Guise.

Charles Duke of Mayenne died 1611.

— Catherine second wife to the Duke of Montpensier. She died 1596.

— Lewis Card. de Guise, kill'd at Bloys, 1588.

— Catherine wife to the Duke of Nevers.

— Henry slain before Montauban, 1621.

— Anne d'Este Sister to the Duke of Ferrara, and widow to this Francis Duke of Guise, was afterwards married to the Duke of Nemours.

**GUISE**, a little strong Town in *Picardy*, which King *Francis I.* raised to a Dukedom, and honoured *Claude* one of the sons of *Rene* Duke of *Lorraine* with this Title.

**BAR**, a little Dukedom in *Lorraine*; the chiefest Town of it is now call'd *Bar-le-Duc*, so call'd to distinguish it from other *Bars* upon the *Seine*, the *Aube*, &c. it was erected into a Dukedom by *Philippe de Valois VI.* 1329. The eldest son of *Lorraine* (if married) hath this Title.

**PONT**, now better known by the name of **PONT-A-MOUSSON**, a Marquesset and Title of the eldest son (if unmarried) of the Duke of *Lorraine*.

**VAUDEMONT**, or *Vaudemont*, a Town in *Lorraine*, being the Title of an Earldom.

**JOINVILLE**, a little Town on the borders of *Champagne* towards *Lorraine*, a Principality of the *Guises*.

**MERCOEUR**, a Town in *Languedoc*, raised to a Dukedom by *Charles IX.* 1569. for *Nicolas* Nephew to the Duke of *Guise*.

**MATENNE** in *Beauvais* in the little Territory *Le Maine* (*Cænomanensis Ager*) erected to a Dukedom by *Charles IX.* 1573. for *Charles* brother to *Guise*.

**ELBOEUF** in higher *Normandy* from a Marquesset raised to a Dutchy by *Henry II.* 1581. and given to *Charles* Granchill to *Claude* Duke of *Guise*.

**AUMALLE**, (*Aubmalle*, *Aumarle*, *Albemarle*, in Latin *Alba Mala*, Arturus du Montlier. for thus and more variously hath it formerly been writ) a Town in higher *Normandy*, anciently an Earldom, with which Titles the Kings of *England* as Dukes of *Normandy* used to honour some of their Subjects; *Newjria* *Pis*, p. 731, and the *French* Kings having the possession of it have used the same liberty. *Charles VII.* made it a Peerdom of *France* 1458. and *Henry II.* raised it to a Dukedom for one of *Guises* sons 1547. but it is now honoured by *George Monck* Duke of *Albemarle*. 732, &c.

By this the common sort of Readers may the better distinguish and understand the variety of *Cardinals* to be met withall in the Histories of the *French* Troubles, and may also see to what Greatness and Honours the *Guisian* Family hath in a short time been raised to in *France*, but whether they were answerably grateful to that Crown let others judge.

Some are apt to tell us that *Claude de Vaudemont* (afterwards the first Duke of *Guise*) came into *France* in the Reign of *Lewis XII.* (Predecessor to *Francis I.*) in no splendent condition, but by wheedling himself into the Favour of King *François I.* obtained to be the Kings Falconer, whence by degrees he rais'd himself and his Posterity above the Princes of the Bloud Royal. And they also tell us, that *Francis I.* was so sensible of the Aspiring humour of that Family, that upon his death-bed he advised his son *Henry* to have a care of them, otherwise \* *They will turn* \* *Mon fils,* *you into your doublet, and your subjects into their shirts.* *j'ay bien*

*Je cognois par vray que la Race n'en vaut rien, & que si vous faites le contraire, ils vous mettront en pourpoint, & vostre peuple en chemise.* *François de l'Isle*, fol. 6. b. *apperçen*

Some may look upon *Lewis XI.* of *France* as a cunning King, being Master of Hypocrisie; others may conclude him rich, when they see his Account run so thriftily (if not beggarly) as

\* *Two* *P 952, 953.*

1502

\* 20 Sols.  
† 15 Deniers.

\* Two shillings for two new sleeves for the Kings old doublet.  
† One penny half-penny for a box of grease to grease his boots.

But certainly he was none of the wisest for turning away his Fathers old Faithful Counsellors and Servants, for neglecting and despising the old Nobility, and pleasing and sorting himself with the Plebeians and those of the meanest rank; insomuch that his *Taylor* was his *Herald*, and his *Barber* his *Embassadour*.

This way of meanness and negligence is seldom without a mischief attending it; and this Family of *Valois* now growing towards its end, wanted the vigour and prudence of her former Kings: now were they *Sardanapalus* like, more apt and fit to accompany the worst of Women, and hold a *Distaff*, then to manage a *Sceptre*, or protect a People. Pleasures were all their study, and to neglect business all their care: they were only the picture of Kings; having neither life nor action to Government or Majesty; leaving affairs to be managed by any that could thrust themselves uppermost. By which easiness they had the honour to be commended by some, hated by others, pitied by most as good-natur'd Kings, born to enrich a few Favourites, but ruine the whole Kingdom besides. Though some cunning Minister of State can throw all their own Extortions, Cheats, and Villanies upon the King, thereby making a double Cheat, abusing both the King and People.

And thus it happened with these of *France*, to whose very Name and Family I find some to have such a spite and hatred, that I meet with a *Cordelier* (called *Melchier*) publicly in the Pulpit to have told the People, 1559. that *As long as any of the Line of Valois reigned the people could not be free from oppression, all that Family being so highly addicted to tyranny.* And another time he affirmed to his Auditors, that *It was very convenient that four of the greatest in the Kingdom ought to be rooted out, for the easment and comfort of the people.*

Guil. Ribier  
Le tres  
& Memoires  
d'Est. tom.  
2. p. 199,  
800.

That this *Gray Frier* meant the King then in being (*viz. Henry II.*) I cannot say; but for number sake it is not unworth the observation, that besides the King there were but Four men (*viz. his Four sons*) living then in the whole world of that Family, after whose deaths it ended, and the Crown fell to that of *Bourbon*. Nor is it unworth the notice, that the people were then so apt to Sedition; that *Antoine* King of *Navarre* who (under his own hand gave the King notice of these expressions) was puzzled or at a stand how to behave himself in this affair, fearing the rage of the people, should he forthwith call the *Frier* to an account.

But it is not only the House of *Valois* that is aimed at, but that of *Bourbon* too, as being next Heirs to the Crown of *France*. And this design is heavily laid in the dish of the House of *Guise*, who (as they say) had for many years consulted how to make themselves Possessors of the Throne of that Kingdom; and finding none so much capable by Right, Title, and Interest, as those of the Family of *Bourbon*, to thwart and oppose their designs it was their best policy to procure their ruine: to which purpose take this following Narrative (but in short) of the *Guiseards* against the House of *Navarre* (being the chief of that of *Bourbon*)

\* An 1564. which though \* *Spondannus* looks upon as a Fable, and it may be according to *Perefixe*, that the young Prince of *Navarre* might be then at *Paris*; yet take the story (though possibly with some mistakes) upon the credit of *Thanus* and *Gomberville*, now one of the *French Academy*, and so let him and the present Archbishop of *Paris* (also of the *Academy*) bandy and rectifie it as they please.

58.

An-

*Antoine de Bourbon* King of *Navarre*, at the Siege of *Rouen* being shot into the left shoulder with a Musquet bullet, of which wound he a little after died; those of *Guise* consulted how to make their best benefit by the said death. *Jane* the Widow Queen of *Navarre* lived at *Pau*, the chief Town in the Territory of *Bearne*, adjoining to the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and with her she had her young Prince *Henry* (afterwards call'd the *Great*) now about 9 years old.

At this time *Philip II.* King of *Castile* having wars with the *Africans* and *Moors*, his Recruits from *Italy* and *Germany* were to rendezvous at *Barcelona* in *Catalonia*.

Now doth *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and his brother *François* Duke of *Guise*, consult how to extirpate this Race of *Navarre*; to which purpose they pitch upon one *Dimanche* to act as Agent for their Interest in those parts of *Aquitaine*, where he had as his Assistants *Monluc* an experienced Souldier, *d'Escars*, Viscount *d'Ortes*, with the Captain of *Ha* Castle adjoining to *Bordeaux*, and several others, great Favourers and Dependents of *Guise*. But the prosecution of these designs was somewhat cool'd by the death of the Duke of *Guise*, who was shot by *Poltrout* at the Siege of *Orleanse*.

Upon this, though a Peace was struck up between the King and the zealous *Huguenots*, where the later were gainers by the Agreement; yet the Cardinal *Lorraine* carrieth on his former Contrivements against the House of *Navarre*, making his Nephew the young Duke of *Guise* Head of the Plot. And to give a better colour to all, they pretend Religion their Foundation; so all Hereticks ought to be rooted out, amongst which the young Prince of *Navarre* and his Mother, to which Friends could not be wanting, seeing the King of *Spain* would assist them.

To this purpose Captain *Dimanche* is dispatch'd into *Spain* to the Duke of *Alva*, to obtain the assistance of the aforesaid Forces at *Barcelona*, which on a sudden might fall upon *Bearne*, take *Pau* with the Queen, her Son *Henry*, and Daughter *Catherine*; and to prevent any of their Escapes, the Friends of *Guise* would way-lay them on the *French* side; to which end they had several trusty Commanders and Forces conveniently placed thereabouts. And the Princes thus taken should be conveyed into *Spain*, put into the *Inquisition* as Hereticks; and then they would be sure enough. Thus the *Guiseards* would have their desire, and as a persuasive argument to the *Castilian*, they told him that things brought to this pass, the dispute for the Kingdom of *Navarre* would cease, the Pretenders to it being thus in his possession.

Accordingly *Dimanche* gets into *Spain*, waits upon the Duke of *Alva*, who having heard and approv'd the design, orders him to go to the King, who was then at *Monçon* or *Monson*, a Town in *Aragon* where they used to keep their Parlements (or *las Cortes*) for *Aragon*, *Valencia*, and *Catalonia*.

For this place *Dimanche* passing by *Madrid*, he fell dangerously sick of an high Feaver, and being but badly accommodated in a poor Inn, a *Frenchman* call'd *Anne Vespier* (one of the Queen of *Spain's* servants) took pity on him, removed him to his own house, where he was better attended on, and by the assistance of the Queens Physicians recovered. For which kindness and other great favours *Dimanche* and *Vespier* enter into a strict Familiarity and Friendship. In short, *Dimanche* thinking to make use of him in his absence for some Intelligence, discovers his business and the Plot to him.

*Vespier*

1562

De Comberville.  
Les Memoires de  
M. de Nevers, v. l. 2.

p. 579. &c.  
Thuan. lib. 35.

Memoires  
d'Etat, vol. 2.  
en suite de  
c. ux de M.  
de Villeroy,  
pag. 35, 36,  
&c.

1563

1564

*Vespier* being born at *Nerac* in *Gascogne*, so a Vassal and Subject to the King of *Navarre*, was guided by so much Loyalty as to resolve to prevent the ruine of his Sovereign; for which purpose he had this advantage: The present Queen of *Spain* was *Elizabeth* daughter to *Henry II.* King of *France*, and so sister to *Charles IX.* then reigning King of *France*, and thus near related to the House of *Navarre*. *Vespier*, a servant to this Queen *Elizabeth*, thinks upon the most convenient way to inform her of all; for which he addresseth himself to the Grand Almoner and Tutor, by whose means all is fully discover'd to her, who resolveth to write of it to her Brother and Sister the King and Queen of *France*. Notice is also given to *Sieur de St. Suplice* the French Embassador then in the Spanish Court at *Monçon*, with a desire to inform the Queen of *Navarre* at *Pau*, that she might better consult and provide for her own safety.

*Dimanche* gets to *Monçon*, opens all to King *Philip*; in the mean time *de St. Suplice* (one well acquainted with State matters, and after employed by the French Court) dispatcheth his Secretary *Rouleau* into *France* with the Letters and Intelligence: whereby the Queen of *Navarre* had means to secure her self, and the Plot was spoiled by this discovery. Yet *Dimanche* having done with *Spain* hastes to *Paris*, where he is privately lodg'd in the Duke of *Guise* his house, and for some time after at a Monastery belonging to the Friars call'd *Bons hommes*, adjoining to the Wood of *Nostre Dame de Boulogne* near *St. Cloud*, not far from *Paris*.

And though the Spanish Money and Interest at this time had such a sway in the French Council and Court, that Captain *Dimanche* (though it was desired) was not suffered to be seized on in his return from *Spain*, (whereby they might have discover'd further into the Plot by himself and his Papers) yet was *Philip* and *Guise* both gull'd, and the House of *Navarre* preserved to sit in the Throne. And though the Queen of *Navarre* complained of this Conspiracy, and desired justice of the House of *Lorrain*, yet *Catherine de Medicis* (one not apt to be commended in History) the Queen-mother, turn'd it off by telling her, that it was best to forgive those injuries they could not punish. And indeed the Interest of the *Guises* was then so powerful, that it was dangerous to call them to an account.

1563.  
Spondan.  
v. 48. 49,  
50, 51.  
Davila. p.  
191.

Whilest these things were closely carrying on, Pope *Pius IV.* was also solicited to use his Authority against the Queen of *Navarre*, which would give a greater color and encouragement for others to attack her accordingly, because she was of the Reformed Religion. He falleth to work, publisheth a Citation or Monitory against her, concluding that if she did not turn a Romanist within six moneths, he would deprive her of her Dominions, and give them to any that would conquer them.

At this the French King is not a little troubled, looking upon it as a thing of dangerous consequence, as the common cases of all other Kings; nor did he like that any third party should have any pretence to seize upon those Territories which lay so near to and convenient for *Spain*, whom possibly he might suspect, though it is said that *Philip* complemented Queen *Jane* with an assurance, that he would protect her and her Dominions against any that should assault them.

Besides this, another thing happened which did not a little perplex the King, the Council of *Trent* (as they call it) being now ended, Cardinal *de Lorrain* desired the Pope to use his Interest with the French King, that it should be receiv'd and approv'd of in his Dominions, that he would

root

root out the *Huguenots*; that he would break the late Peace made with them; that he would punish the Accessors to the death of *Guise*, &c. And that these Petitions might carry the greater awe, an Embassadour is sent as from the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, to demand them from *Charles*, who is not a little puzzled how to behave himself in this case. 1564

For to refuse the Council of *Trent* would render him suspect to the Pope; to receive it would be against the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church: to make war against the *Huguenots* would not advantage him, as he had found by experience, and he did not much care for Foreign assistance; to extirpate them quite was not probable to be done, and if he should he must destroy many of his nearest Relations; however so weaken and impoverish the Kingdom, that at last it might become a prey to a third party. As for the death of the Duke of *Guise*, *Peltrot* (who shot him) was executed for it; and though he had accused Admiral *Coligny*, *Beza*, and some others, as Instigators of him to it, yet they had publicly disowned it both by Oath and Declarations: besides, *Peltrot* did vary in his Accusations, and so his Credit not positively to be stood to. However the King by his cunning doubtful Answers and Delays wheedled all these things off, to the no small trouble of the *Guisians*, who hoped for a war and troubles, that being the only way to raise themselves, and carry on their designs.

Yet was not the House of *Navarre* free from danger, for *Pius V.* advised the Queen-mother to seize upon their Dominions, seeing Queen *Jane* was an Heretick; or if she approv'd not of this, that he might by his Papal Authority appoint one of the Family of *Valois* to be King of those Territories: that for his part if neither of these liked her, he was resolved to give to the King of *Spain* that part of the Kingdom which *Jane* possessed. I suppose he did not mean all those Territories in *France*, which for her Son she governed as Queen of *Navarre*, but only that little spot of ground which lieth North of the *Pyrenean* Mountains in *Gascogne*, which the *French* do call the lower *Navarre*, having *St. Jean-Pied-de-Port*, *St. Pelage*, and a few other little Towns in it. 1568

But which of them the Pope meant is no great matter, for both of them if gain'd must be won by the Sword, which it seems at this time *Philip* had no mind to, whereupon this went no further than a vapour, and so I leave it. Spond. 26.

But nothing can more clearly demonstrate the intent and design of the *Guisards*, then the Massacre of *Paris*, (a slaughter so much the worse because of its long contrivance before the action, viz. almost \* two years, for so long was it concluded on before) where the † Duke of *Guise* was very urgent and earnest that the young King of *Navarre* and his young Cousin the Prince of *Condé* (the next Heir to the Crown after *Navarre*) should be both slain with the rest; but others (though cruel enough) oppos'd this, as not willing to imbrue their hands in the *Blond Royal*, which would seem so abominable all the world over. 1572

But whether at this time the *Guisards* had any design to secure themselves of the *French* Crown I shall not say any thing, though that they had afterwards is apparent and confest by all Historians. And thus much by the way, though one might enlarge himself on this bloody story, by observing how the King endeavouring a vindication of himself, did make the thing worse by his many Contradictions, as appears by his \* Letters and Declarations,

\* Davila p. 346. 350, 355. 356, 357.  
† L. p. 370.

\* Vid. Ernest. Varazmuni. de Furoribus Gallicis,



1572

Sometimes declaring how sorry he was for the death of his *Cousin* the Admiral, how the *Massacre* was acted without his knowledge, how it was contriv'd and done only by those of the House of *Guise*, upon some quarrel between them and the Admiral; that it was not in his power to hinder it, he having enough to do to secure and guard himself, his Queen, his Brethren, the King of *Navarre*, &c. in his Palace the *Louvre*; that he is for peace, and desires all to keep the Edict of Pacification, &c.

Othertimes he declareth that the *Massacre* was done by his express will and commandment; that it was acted for the security of himself and Friends; that the Admiral and *Huguenots* had plotted and determined to destroy him, his Queen, his Brethren, the King of *Navarre*, &c. Now orders all of the Reformed Religion to be turn'd out of their Employments, Places, and Estates; and then that they shall be \* massacred after the same manner all *France* over, &c.

\* Davila,  
p. 735.

12 June.

And as a forerunner to all these slaughters happened the sudden death of *Jane* the stout Queen of *Navarre*, who being come to *Paris* (upon earnest Invitations) about her sons Marriage, was (as is commonly believed) poisoned by order of the King and Queen-mothers private cabal. Certain it is, though all the rest of her body was dissected and open'd to view, yet the King would \* not by any means let her Head be touched, he knowing (as † *Davilla* saith) that the poison (of the Perfum'd Gloves prepar'd for her) had only wrought upon her Brain.

\* Thuan. l.  
49.  
† p. 364.

18 August

But for all this the Marriage went on, and was solemniz'd between the young King of *Navarre* (for now *Henry* after the death of his Mother took upon him the Title of King, being before only call'd *Prince*) and *Margaret* Daughter to *Henry II.* of *France*, and Sister to *Charles IX.* a Lady of excellent parts, as appears by her writing, though it may be truly said of her *Memoires*, that she wrote them more to justify her self, and wipe off some stains, then to inform posterity of what was true, for all is not currant that she attests. However it be, having been married many years without either Children or Affection to her Husband, she was at last divorced from him 1599, as being married against her will, and to one that was then an Heretick, and too near a kin to her, besides the Spiritual Relation, her Father *Henry II.* having been Godfather to her Husband; and all these *Nullities* confirm'd, and to the Divorce ratified by *Clement VIII.* though Pope *Gregory XIII.* had formerly dispens'd with them, and approved of the Marriage.

But for all these pretences the truth of it was, that this King naturally gave himself up to the pleasure of variety, to which he wanted not many flattering promoters, inasmuch that some of his Dames of pleasure wanted but a little to sit in the Throne; and *Margaret* having been thus for 27 years fruitless, the people desired succession by some other means, which afterwards happened from *Maria de Medicis* daughter to *Francisco* Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, married upon the Divorce to this *Henry*. *Margaret* (who yet kept the Title of *Queen*) died 1615, who doth \* confess,

\* *Memoires*  
p. 31.

that the Contrivers of this *Massacre* did design it not only against the *Huguenots*, but also against the Princes of the Blood Royal, and that they were not a little angry when they understood that the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé* were preserved from the slaughter.

And what virtue or goodness could then be expected in the *French* Court, of which a late excellent Author doth give this Character: That then it, never was there any more vicious or more corrupted; where then *Atheism*, *Sorcery*, *Impiety*, *Ingratitude*, *Perfidiousness*, *Poisonings*, &c.

Hard. de  
Perefixe  
Hist. Hen. l.  
Grand

Mur-

Murderings, and such like horrible wickednesses, did sway in the highest degree. 1572

To which we might adde the designs of *Catherine de Medicis*, the Queen-mother, one that hath left a very bad and black Character behind her, some making her the Authoress of the many miseries of that Kingdom, and amongst many others I find one thus very biting against her.

*Tres Erebi Furias ne posthac credite vates,  
Addita nam quarta est nunc Catherina tribus:  
Quod si tres Furias à se dimitteret Orcus,  
Hac Catherina foret pro tribus una satis.*

*Tho. Lant.  
Consult.  
Germ. p. 272*

That th' *Furies* are but three now speak no more,  
Since *Catherine* doth make the number four:  
And yet should Hell cashier those three, this *Kate*  
Alone would serve to plague grim *Pluto's* State.

And we might also suppose, that the ill-will these Brothers of *Valois* bare one to another might be some advantage to these troubles; and one tells us, that they endeavour'd to ravish the *French Crown* one from another, on which he remarks (as it were by a judgment) that they all died unhappily. And possibly these Garboils and miseries might be somewhat promoted by the natural humour of that Nation, which is said to be very \* *Fickle* and Quarrelsome; the *Sieur Montaigne* himself confessing and asserting, That † if three Frenchmen were put together in the wilde desarts of *Libya* (where self-preservation might oblige them to assist and befriend one another) before a months end they would be provoking, scratching, and falling out one with another. As for the Brother Kings, \* some think that the famous *French Poet Pierre de Ronsard*, (though a zealous *Romanist*) did design their Characters and vices, under counterfeit names, in the end of his *La Tranciade*, but whether so or not, let others judge.

*Hist. Hen. la  
Grand.*

\* *Phil. Brist.  
Geogr. vol.  
1. p. 78.*

† *Mettez  
3 Francois  
au deserts  
de Libye, ils  
ne seront  
pas un mois  
ensemble,*

*sans se har-  
celer & es-  
grat ner.*

*Les Essais  
de Mon-  
taigne l. 2.  
c. 27. p. 666.*

\* *Enseb. Phi-  
losoph. C. s.  
mopolit. Dis-  
alog 1. p. 75  
76, 77, 79.*

† *Tho. Da-  
me. l. Hist. of*

*Fra. ce in E-*

*Phil. Dedic. ;*

*Dr. Pet. du  
M. n. n's*

*Vindication*

*of the sincer-*

*ity of the*

*Free. stants*

*Religion,*

*c. 2. p. 29, 30,  
&c.*

However, though these accidents might make the way more easie for the following mischiefs, yet we shall find that horrid *League* more highly carried on by those of the house of *Lorrain*: of which pretended holy *Covenant* we proceed now to speak more particularly, passing by in the mean time those worse then Civil Wars, between the King and *Huguenots*, where all things went to wrack, and the Kingdom was almost ruined, of which thus an † eye-witness doth testify, 1577. We found such a Wilderness in all the Countrey between Bayonne and Bourdeaux, that whole Forrests and Woods were turn'd up and consumed, the Towns utterly desolated, the people dispersed, the Churches quite subverted, and the Children, (a lamentable thing to be recorded) remaining unchristened by the space of ten years.

And wherever the fault lay, I shall not Apologize here for the *Huguenot*, who was too zealous in his way, and too much byass'd by fury and indiscretion, as it commonly hapneth to those holy people, who cry up Religion with the sword in their hands, as if it were lawful for subjects to rebel upon the account of any Religion, or such pretence in the world. But nothing here is intended against the *Huguenot*, since 'tis said in their Vindication, that these troubles were neither upon the account of Religion, nor between the King and them, but rather a begun Quarrel twixt the Princes of the Blood and the *Guises* with their

- 1572 Minions; the first taking it ill, that the latter should sway all, by excluding them from the management of publick affairs, to whom, as Princes of the Blood-Royal, by the Custom of *France*, it did belong, especially in the Minority or indisposition of their Kings, and so one time were willing to gain that which they thought their right, and another time thought it best to defend themselves; but of these things I shall not judge, being at this time nothing to any purpose.

## CHAP. II.

*The Articles of the Holy League, and the Guisards Under, plotting against the King.*

- 1572 *Sigismundus* II, surnamed *Augustus*, King of *Poland*, and much commended for his Prudence, Valour and Learning, dying, the people choose for their King *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to *Charles IX.* King of *France*, who accordingly goeth into *Poland*, and is there crown'd.
- \* Feb. 1574 But here he stay'd not long, for the same year his Brother† *Charles* dying, the Crown of *France* belong'd to him as next; and so upon notice of his death he \*steals out of *Poland*, to the no small trouble of the Natives, and posts to his Hereditary Throne, which he thought more worth than the other *Elective*; yet in *France* he always kept the Title of King of *Poland*, though that people, (seeing *Henry* would not return to them again) had chosen for their Sovereign *Stephanus Batorius* an *Hungarian*, and Prince of *Transylvania*.
- † 30 May. 1575 *Henry III.* being thus Crown'd or Consecrated the *French* King at *Rheimes*, was the next day married to *Louyse de Vaudemont*, Niece to the Duke of *Lorraine*; and, as a shew, that nothing should be wanting to the prosperity of that Nation, a firm peace was struck up and concluded, whereby a free Exercise of Religion is granted to the *Huguenots*; Liberty to erect Schools or Colledges, of calling Synods, to enjoy Offices and Dignities, &c. But none of these Conditions were observed, to the no small discontent of the *Huguenots*.
- 14 May, 1576 *Edict de May.* Nor were the *Romanists* pleas'd, that any such Articles should be granted, though they were wink'd at, to break them according to their humours. And whoever was the Instigator of the said Agreement, some laid their designs by it. For now was it spread abroad, how prejudicial the said Peace was to the *Roman* Religion, how dangerous to the *French* Nation, that the King shewed himself none of the wisest in concluding it; nay, it was whisper'd, as if the King might have a twang of *Calvinism*, by this shewing a favour to the Hereticks; though 'tis supposed that the *Guisards* were the main Promoters of this Peace, thereby to have an occasion to raise these Discourses, the better to get the King disliked, so neglected by his people. Though they need not have taken so much pains to obtain that, which the King himself by his negligence, facile humour, wanton tricks, hypocrisie, and his odd carriage in his Momeries and such like disguises, was naturally apt to procure, and accordingly was slighted and despised, as appears in part by the many *Lampons* and such like Raileries against him, and the Honorary Titles the Wags were then pleas'd to bestow on him.
- \* Vid. Journal du Roy Hen. III. Aoust. 1576. & Fevrier. 1577.

The

The House of *Guise* (in spight of the Interest, Priority, and Favour, which the Law and Custom of *France* grants to the Princes of the Bloud Royal) had used of late times to rule all, and dispose of the King and Kingdom as they pleas'd; and having now the Queen of their Family, question'd not but to rule and sway all as formerly, nay and to drive a little higher. And because Peace was an enemy to their designs, 'tis plotted how to break that and the Kings Reputation together, as aforesaid.

By the late *Edict* of Agreement the Prince of *Condé* was made Governour of *Picardy*, and in it the strong Town of *Peronne* assigned to him. At this many Reports are thrown out disadvantageous to the King, and at last the People are secretly cheated to an opposition, so they resolve *Condé* shall not enter into *Peronne*, nor have any thing to do over them: for security of which and their Religion a *Manifesto* of their humours and designs is drawn up by their Leaders, and they are all secretly oblig'd to submit and subscribe to it: the Paper it self being long, and much of it of no great matter, I shall refer you to other \* Writers.

1576

But the summe of it was :

After many fine specious Cantings and Goodmorrrows of their Loyalty, Religion, and Obedience, to Enter into an Holy Union or Covenant.

To honour, follow, and obey him that shall be chosen the \* Chieftain of their League, and to assist him in all things against any (be who it will) that shall attempt any thing against him.

To defend and keep the people from oppression better then hath been done heretofore.

To spend their very lives for defence of the Towns and Castles which shall associate with them and their Chief.

To keep secret the Counsels of their Covenanters, and to discover any thing that may be prejudicial to their League.

To be faithful, loving, and assistant one to another; and that all the private Quarrels amongst them shall be ended by the Council (which shall be chosen) of their Confederation, to whose determination they will submit themselves.

And the better to strengthen their League it shall be remonstrated at their next meeting, the necessity of appointing some amongst them in several places, to inform the Gentlemen of their parts or neighbourhods, what is necessary to be propos'd, to receive their Answers, and to determine what is fitting to be set on foot.

To give secret notice to their adjoining Cities of their designs, and to get them to joyn with them in the same League and Covenant.

That some should be dispatch'd to the \* neighbouring Nations with Credential Letters, to persuade them to joyn, and run the same fortune with their League.

That in the Cantons, Divisions, or Wapentakes of the said Province of *Picardy* there shall be one appointed to inform the Associates or Covenanters about him, of whom there shall be a Roll or List made, and that every one shall procure as many Proselytes as he can.

That every man shall have his Arms in readines.

That a Rendezvous shall be pitch'd upon when time shall require, and that the Places, Towns, and Castles of the King, and of those belonging to their Associates, shall be endeavour'd to be in confiding hands.

That

\* d'Aubigne Hist. de  
Un versicle,  
tom. 2. l. 2. c.  
3. Andr. Favyn Hist. de  
Navarre, l.  
15. p. 927,  
928, &c.

\* They do  
not name  
their Chief,  
but all con-  
clude it  
was the  
Duke of  
Guise.

\* No que-  
stion but  
Spain in the  
first place.

- 1576 That they must have some trusty friend at Court to give them Intelligence.  
That they must promise and swear all fidelity and service as far as their lives and estates go to their Chief and Head.

And so zealous were they for this Association, that they protest in their *Manifesto* to spend their blood as freely for it, as Christ did his for the Redemption of Mankind.

This their *Manifesto* they spread abroad with a great deal of care and cunning, persuading and getting multitudes to subscribe it; and amongst other places they were very busie at *Paris*: but it is said thus, *Christopher de Thon*, the chief President and Father to the Famous *Jacobus Augustus Thuanus*, gave some stop to it in that City, by shewing his dislike of it.

Thuan. l. 63  
Gomber-  
ville, les  
Memoires  
de Nevers,  
vol. 1. p.  
437, 458.

They had also a great mind to inveigle *Ludovico Gonzago* (the Duke of *Nevers*) into something like it and its Subscription, but he very cunningly refused it, as if not willing to enter into any League or Association without his Kings knowledge and desire; but though he would not subscribe, yet either Opinion or Interest engaged him more then was fitting to the *Leaguers* for some time.

Yet the *Guisians* perceiving their number to increase, drew their designs into a closer compass, and after the following Form framed their *HOLY LEAGUE AND COVENANT*, which was to be signed and sworn by all their Confederates.

## THE LEAGUE.

- I. Au nom de la sainte Trinité, Pere, Fils, & Saint Esperit, nostre seul vray Dieu, au quel soit Glorie & Honneur.

*In the Name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, our onely true God, to whom be Glory and Honour.*

\* Andr. Fa.  
vyn reads  
onely — &  
sainte —

L'Association des Princes, Seigneurs, & Gentils-hommes Catholiques, \* doit estre & sera fait pour reestabli la Ley de Dieu en son entier; remettre & retenir le saint Service d'icelui selon la forme & maniere de la Saint Eglise Catholique, Apostolique, & Romaine; abjurans & renonçans tous erreurs au contraire.

*The Confederacy and Covenant of the Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen of the Catholick Religion, ought to be and is made for the complete establishment of the Law of God, and to restore and settle his holy Worship, according to the form and manner of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Church, abjuring and renouncing all errors contrary unto it.*

- II. Roy Henry III. de ce nom, \* & ses successeurs Roys tres-Chrestiens, en l'estat, splendeur, autorité, devoir, service, & obeissance, qui lui sont deus par ses subjects, ainsi qu'il est

*Secondly, for the Preservation of King Henry III. of that name, and his Successors the most Christian Kings, in the State, Honour, Authority, Duty, Service and Obedience, due unto them by their subjects, ac-*

— Henry III. de ce nom, par la grace de Dieu & ses Predecesseurs Roys tres Chrestiens, which may be as right as the other; and so their pretended Loyalty to the Valoises spoiled by a juggler.

con-

contenu par les Articles qui lui seront presentez aux Estats, les quels il jure & promet garder & son Sacré & Couronnement, avec Protestation de ne rien faire au prejudice de ce qui y serra ordonné par lesdits Estats.

Tiercement, pour restituer aux Provinces de ce Royaume & Estats d'icelluy, les Droicts, Prééminences, Franchises, & Libertés anciennes, telles qu'elles estoient du temps du Roy *Clouis* premier Roy Chrestien, & encores meilleurs & plus profitables, si elles se peuvent inventer sous la Protection susdite.

Au cas qu'il y ait Empeschement, Opposition, ou Rebellion à ce que dessus, part qui & de quelle part qu'ils puissent estre, ferreront lesdits Associez tenus & obligés d'employer tous leurs biens & moyens, mesmes leurs propres Personnes jusques à la mort, pour punir, chastier, & courir sus à ceux, qui l'auront voulu contredire, & empescher, & tenir la main que toutes les choses susdites soyent mises en execution réellement & de fait.

Au cas que quelques-uns desdits Associez, leurs Subjects, Amis, & Confederez, fussent molestés, oppressez, & recherches pour le cas dessusdicts, par qui que ce soit, seront tenus les dicts Associez employer leurs Corps, Biens, & Moyens, pour avoir vengeance de ceux, qui auront fait lesdits oppresses & molestés, soit par la voye de justice, ou des armes, sans nulle acception de personnes.

S'il advient qu'un des Associez apres avoir fait serment en la dicte Association, se vouloit retirer ou departir d'icelle sous quelque pretexte que ce soit (que Dieu ne vueille) tels refractaris de leur

*according as it is contain'd in those Articles, which \* shall be presented to him in the Assembly of Estats, the which he swears and promises to observe at his Consecration and Coronation, with protestation not to do any thing against that which shall be there ordain'd by the said Estats.* 1576

*Thirdly, to restore unto the Provinces of this Kingdom, and the States of it, those ancient Rights, Preeminences, Privileges, and Liberties, which were in the time of \* Clouis the first most Christian King, or yet better and more profitable (if any such can be found) under the said protection.*

*In case there be any Impediment, Opposition, or Rebellion against the aforesaid, let it be by \* whom or whence it will, the Covenanters here shall be oblig'd to venture not onely their fortunes and goods, but their very lives too, to punish, chastise, and prosecute those, who shall offer to disturb or hinder this League; and shall never cease till the aforesaid things be really done and perfected.*

*In case any of the Covenanters, their Vassals, Friends, or Confederates, be molested, oppressed, or questioned for this cause, be it by \* whom it will, they shall be bound to imploy their Persons, Goods, and Estates to take revenge on those who have so oppressed or molested them, either by the way of justice or force, without any exception of persons whatsoever.*

*If it shall happen that any man, having united himself by oath to this Confederacy, shall desire to withdraw himself or depart from it, upon any pretence whatsoever, (which God forbid) that then such wilful breakers of*

\* A conditional obedience: and here they make the King true to the Parliament.

III. \* A pretty trick to run above 1000 years back for a Government, and so they might pretend any thing.

IV. \* Here they will not except the King himself.

V. \* Nor will they here except the King from their fury if he oppose them, that is, side not with them to his own ruine.

VI.

con-

1576 consentement, seront offencez en leur corps & biens, en toutes sortes qu'on se pourra adviser, comme Enemis de Dieu, Rebelles, & Perturbateurs du repos public, sans que lesdicts Associez en puissent estre inquietez ny recherches, soit en public ny en particulier.

\* A good prevention against justice, and a way to get the wicked to joyn with them.

VII. Jureront lesdicts Associez toute prompte obeissance & service au Chef que sera deputé, suivre & donner conseil, comfort, & ayde, tant a l'entretienement & conservation de ladicte Association, que ruine aux contredisans à icelle, sans acception ny exception de personnes. Et seront les defaillants & dilayants punis par l'Autorité du Chef, & selon son Ordenance, à laquelle lesdicts Associez se soubmettront.

\* Nor here will they except the King, whom they designed to ruine.

\* And why not submit to the Kings Authority?

VIII.

IX. Est defendu ausdicts Associez d'entrer en debats ny quarrels l'un contre l'autre sans la permission du Chef, à l'arbitrage du quel les contrevenants seront punis, tant pour la reparation d'honneur, que tous autres sortes.

X. This Article is not in Davila's Hist. l. 6.

Que ceaux qui ne voudront entrer en ladicte Association, seront reputez pour ennemis d'icelle, & poursuivables par toutes sortes d'offences & molestes.

XI. Si pour fortification ou plus grande sureté des Associez se faict quelque Convention avec les Provinces de ce Royaume, elle se fera en la forme susdicte & aux mesmes conditions, soitq, ladicte Association soit poursuivie envers les dictes villes, ou par elles demandees, si autrement n'en est advisé par le Chef.

their former promises, shall be punished in bodies and goods by all means possible, as Enemies to God, Rebels and Disturbers of the publick peace: neither shall any of the Covenanters be \* liable to trouble, or to be questioned either in publick or private for such their revenge.

The said Covenanters shall likewise swear to yield all ready obedience and service unto that \* Head or Chief which shall be appointed, to follow and give counsel, help, and assistance, as well to the intire conservation and maintenance of the said League, as the † ruine of all that shall oppose it, without any partiality or exception of persons: and the failers and neglecters of it shall be punished by the Authority of the Chief or Head, and according to his Orders, to which all the said Covenanters shall \* submit.

All the Catholiques of any Towns, Corporations, or Villages, shall be secretly advertised and warned by the particular Governours to enter into this Covenant, and without fail to provide arms and men for the carrying of it on, every man according to his condition and ability.

It is also prohibited to the Covenanters to enter into debates or quarrels one against another, without leave of their Head or Chief, by whose arbitrement all offences of that nature shall be decided, as well for reparation of credit as other things.

That those who will not enter into this Covenant shall be held as enemies to it, and to be prosecuted with all manner of punishments and mischief.

This Article is neither in Davila nor Thuanus l. 63. but in Favyn, d'Aubigné, and Hist. de derniers troubles de France l. 1. fol. 8.

THE

## THE OATH.

Je jure Dieu le Createur (touchant ces Sainctes Evangiles) & sur peine d'Anatématization & ma damnation eternelle, que j'ay entré en ceste Saincte Association Catholique, selon la forme du traicté qui m'y a esté leu presentement, justement, loyaument, & sincerement, soit pour y commander ou y obeir & servir: Et prometz sur ma vie & mon honneur, \* *demeurer en la dicte Association jusques à la derniere goutte de mon sang, sans y contravenir, ou m'en retirer pour quelque Mandement, Pretexce, Excuse, ny Occasion que ce soit, † & de tenir secret ce qui s'y traictera.*

*I swear by God the Creator (laying my hand upon the Holy Gospel) and under pain of a Curse and my eternal damnation, that I enter into this Holy Catholick Covenant, according to the form now read unto me, truly, faithfully, and sincerely, whether it be to command or to obey and serve: And I promise upon my life and honour to continue in this League or Covenant unto the last drop of my blood, without transgressing it or departing from it for any Command, Pretence, Excuse, or Occasion whatsoever, and to keep secret whatsoever shall be agitated by it.*

\* So reads Favyn it, but d'Aubigne & Hist. des derniers troubles de France thus, — de m'y consir- vir — how- ever the sense is all one.  
† This last clause is in Favyn.

Thus (as a (a) Romanist confesseth) these men making a shew to obey and maintain the King, they took from him all his Obedience and Authority, to confer it upon the Head of their Confederacy. And (b) Favyn and others confess the same. Nay, so zealous were they for this Covenant, that they did (Caesare like) (c) subscribe it with their very blood, as some Pagan Nations anciently used to (d) drink their blood at the solemnity of their Treasuries.

(a) Davila Hist. l. 6. p. 451.

(b) Pag 927.

(c) ——— a laquelle ils est- yont si furieusement transportez, qu' ils signoient ce serment de leur propre sang. Andree Favyn Hist. de Navarre, p. 932.

(d) Tertul. apol. c. 9.

These designs were privately and cunningly sent abroad, and with so much industry that Paris it self, with Poictou, Tourain, and other Provinces and places, presently entred themselves into the League.

Having gone thus far, they thought it convenient to have their Plots countenanced at Rome, to which purpose they sent Nicolas David (an Advocate of the Parlement of Paris) thitherward with Instructions: but David being seiz'd on in his way in Dauphiné by the Huguenots, much of the Plot was discovered, and David himself \* slain. Yet Nicolas Cardinal \* Favyn p. 927. de Pellavé (a Creature of the Guises) agitated the business at Rome with Pope Gregory XIII. in the mean time Philip II. of Spain was presently persuaded to joyn his Interest with the French Covenanters.

The French King had some Item of these doings, yet not knowing fully what the aim at was, he seem'd to take not much notice, being willing enough to rest secure between these and the Huguenots, both which were powerful and mortal enemies.

And now the Assembly of the States meet at Blois, composed most of the \* Guisards or Covenanters. The King is willing for a firm Peace, \* Favyn p. 896. Davila but the other party desire no such thing; and seeing that the King by p. 460, 461. his Negative voice would frustrate all their Councils, they invent a 6 Decemb. trick 1576.



1576 trick to avoid that by desiring of the King, that he would elect a number of Judges, *not suspected by the States*, who together with XII. of the Deputies might hear such Motions, as from time to time should be proposed by every Order, and conclude and resolve upon them: and whatsoever should be joyntly determined by the Judges and Deputies should have the form and vigour of a Law, without being subject to be altered or revoked.

But the King smelling the design offer'd them fair enough, but resolved to keep the power in his own hand.

The *Leaguers* foil'd here go another way to work, and desire him to extirpate the *Huguenots*. The King is puzzled at this request; for should he not comply with it they would declare him to be a Favourer of Hereticks, whereby he would lose his Interest with the *Romanists*; besides considering that the *Covenanters* were too strong for him at present, he thought it his wisest course to comply with them, thereby to get that Authority to himself which they endeavour'd to settle upon another; and so he was politickly forc'd to take the *Covenant*, and declare himself the Head of it.

Having done this beyond their expectation he resolves to be as cunning as themselves, and so he desires (since they seem willing for war) to furnish him with Moneys to carry it on. At this they demur; for though they loved mischief, yet were unwilling to lay their Moneys at the Kings disposal: by which trick *Henry* seem'd left to his own discretion.

The *Covenanters* thus non-plus'd try other means. First, they move that the *Council of Trent* might fully be receiv'd into the Kingdom: but this is rejected by a Majority of *Nobility* and *Commons*, and a great part of the Interested *Clergy*, as thwarting the Privileges of the *Gallican Church*; for though they love the Religion, yet they care not for the Popes Authority over them. This not fadging they consult how to restrain the Kings power, for which purpose they propound that his *Council* might be reduc'd to the number of XXIV, and that the King should not chuse them but the Kingdom: but this was also rejected, many of the *Covenanters* themselves thinking it not safe too much to exasperate the King. And thus the design but half done the Assembly break up.

1577 And the King doubting the greatness of the *Guissans* might too much enlarge their Interest, a little to clip their wings, by publick \* Order confirms the Preeminence and Priority to the Princes of the Bloud.

The *Covenanters* perceiving that the King had seen too far into their designs, conclude it safe for some time to forbear all open endeavours, but were very sedulous in their private Consultations, by which means they whispered the people into discontent against the King and his Government, scattering abroad *Libels*, bewitching many \* Nobles and others to their Faction. And several other Plots and Contrivances they had, to carry on which they took hold of any opportunity; insomuch that many *Fraternities* being now brought into use for Devotion, as Processions, Prayers, &c. the *Guissans* under this † pretence would meet the more boldly and openly to disperse their poison, by their seditious discourses amongst the people.

The King also did not want his ways of Devotion, assisting often in their Processions, undergoing Penances, wear Hair shirts, had his Beads openly hanging at his girdle, would observe Canonical hours; and by such

\* Jo. de  
Bullieres,  
tom. 4 p. 205.

† Davila,  
l. 6. p. 447.

such like shews of piety some of the people were persuaded, that for all the ill speeches given out against him he was a good *Romanist* in his heart, and so were the more willing to have the better opinion of him. 1577

But others who pretended to see a little further were of a quite contrary judgment, looking upon it to be but Hypocrisie. Amongst the rest Dr. *Maurice Poncet* (a *Benedictine* at *Paris*) preach'd very bitterly against his new-invented *Brotherhoods* and their Processions, calling of them *Hypocrites* and *Atheists*. And indeed it cannot be deny'd, that this King hath sometimes carried on his \* Love-tricks under these shews of Religion, being too much addicted to ease and pleasures, as appear'd by his other *Carnival* actions, for which he was † twitted in the Pulpit by Dr. *Guillaume Rose* (afterwards Bishop of *Senlis*) and others. *Journal du Hen. III. Mart 1583. Spond. n. o 1583. 11. \*Vid. d'Aubigne tom. 2. l. 4. c. 1. Confession Catholique de Sancy, c. 8.*

Yet necessity did force him sometimes to look about him, and nothing did he dread more then the *Guises* and their *League*, whose power must now be all his study to diminish. To which purpose he promotes as many into Places of Trust as he could conveniently, and whom he could confide in, and knew to be no Favourites of the House of *Lorraine*. † *Journal du Hen. III. Fevrier 1583.*

The *Guisards* not ignorant of this design, and knowing full well that the King had really no good affection for them, endeavour what they can to have the Peace broken with the *Huguenot*, to which purpose a thousand affronts are committed against the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and their Adherents. But passing by these things, the number of *Male contents* was increas'd; for though the King advanc'd some of his trusty Friends, yet many times Preferment went more by favour then desert, and others were discontented to see themselves slighted: these *Male contents* the *Guisards* attaque, and more easily won to joyn with them, and enter into their *League*. *Prefixe Hist. Hen. le Grand.*

And that the House of *Lorraine* might appear in its greatest lustre, the Antiquity and Glories of that Family are thought fit to be shewn to all. To which purpose *François de Rosieres* (Archdeacon of *Toul*) putteth pen to paper, and writes a large Book of their Pedegrees and Relations, making them as ancient and as near related to the *French Crown* as he could invent: and this was printed at *Paris* 1580. by the Kings Licence. But sometime after the Book being more nearly look'd into, several things were taken notice of, which gave some great offence.

For besides the unreasonable timing of it, considering the designs of the *Guises*, and his declaring \* *Hues Capet* to be an Usurper, which founded the harsher seeing some will have the *Valoises* issued from *Hues* his Line; but besides he had several odd Reflections on the † King himself, of Idleness, Luxury, and bad Government. In short, *Rosieres* is cast in prison, the Duke of *Lorraine* cometh to *Paris* to pacifie the King; at last *Rosieres* publicly confessing his faults, craving pardon on his knees, by the intercession of the Queen-mother, is released, and the book torn before his face. *\*Fran. Ros. St. mma-tum Lottar. fol. 451. † Id. fo. 369. 1583*

Yet was it carefully spread abroad that the *Guises* were descended from *Charles* the Great, related to *Hugh Capet*, and had Title good enough to the Crown. But against this by the Kings Command *Pontus de Tyard* (afterwards Bishop of *Chalon, Cabilonum*) writ, but for fear of the Faction conceal'd his name, and *Mattheus Zampinus* a Lawyer also took the task. And the same year also (I mean 1583) came out a little *French* \* Tract of about two sheets of paper, in opposition to the pretence of the *Lorrainers*; but for all this the people will believe as they please. *\* Discours sur le dro. Et pretendu par ceux de Guise sur la Couronne de France.*

1583

## CHAP. III.

*Francis Duke of Anjou (the only Brother to the King) dying, the Guisards rejoyce, not doubting but to make themselves next Heirs to the Crown by wheedling in Cardinal Bourbon : with the several Declarations and Proposals between them and the King.*

**T**HE *Leaguers*, who for some time (that the King might not be too suspicious of them) had proceeded but leisurely, had now an encouragement offer'd them to be more brisk in their designs.

1584. (a) Phil. For *Francis Duke of Anjou*, of a fickle and hair-brain'd humour, the only Brother to the King, died, not without suspicion and (a) signs of poison, which some (b) think was administred by the *Covenanting* Faction; yet at his Funeral the Duke of *Guise* could (c) shew as troubled and melancholy a Visage as any.  
 Briet. An- (b) Andr. His death reviveth the hopes of the *Guisians*, for perceiving the King  
 n l. Spond. 1. (c) Favyn p. (having been about nine years married) without any probability of ha-  
 926, 935. ving Children, for all the assistance of \* hallowed Shirts and Smocks,  
 (c) Journal du Hen. III. and so the Line of *Valois* to end with him; and though the next related  
 Mart. 25. to the Crown was the House of *Bourbon*, yet here they had rais'd a  
 \* Journal 23 Jan. doubt, whether the *Uncle* or the *Nephew* was to succeed, whether Cardinal  
 1579. *Bourbon* or the King of *Navarre* were next Heirs; and the *Guisards*  
 Spond. anno made it their business to raise up the Cardinals right, by his Interest  
 1583. II. thinking to secure their own designs, for it was his main plot to get  
*Navarre* excluded.

And this might the better be perform'd seeing he (as also his Cousin the Prince of *Condé*, the next Heir after *Navarre*) was a *Protestant*, and so it would be an easie matter to get him declar'd incapable of the Crown as an Heretick. And as for *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon*, being crasse, infirm, and none of the wisest, and one that was rul'd in all things by *Guise*, was the more fit to make a Property of; and if he should come to the Throne, *Guise* did not doubt but to manage his Affairs so well, that being already very popular with the *Romanists*, he might secure the Succession to himself, having got many to vaunt much of his Pedegree and Relations. However things went, it was good at the beginning to act under the feeble Cardinal, as the first Prince of the Bloud, as they call'd him. And that the Cardinal look'd upon himself as so, is confirm'd by this story which they tell us: That a little after the fore-said death of the Duke of *Anjou*, King *Henry III.* asked the Cardinal, that supposing himself should die whether he would take upon him the Government, and precede the King of *Navarre*? To which the Cardinal reply'd, That upon his death the Crown did belong to him, and that he was resolv'd not to lose his right. At which 'tis said the King laugh'd and jeer'd him.

Journal  
 S. J. p. 158.

Yet *Guise* carry'd on his business so well, that he gain'd a multitude of Followers, some being Male-contents, others that loved trouble and mischief, as their Lawyers; some led by Interest, as their Priests and Jesuits; and others persuaded by an holy Zele, thinking Religion was now at the last gap, and no way to recover her, but by entering into this *Holy League and Covenant*.

Yet

Yet the designs of the *Guisards* were not carried so closely, but the King had some hints of them, which did not a little trouble him. However to prevent all danger he had some thoughts of joyning with *Navarre*, yet with a desire that he should turn *Romanist*, for which purpose he sends the Duke of *Espenon* to him, to perswade his Conversion; but in this *Navarre* desired to be excus'd, however offers him the Assistance and Forces of the *Protestants*, to be when he pleas'd at his service, either to secure him from, or to quell, the *Covenanters*.

The *Leaguers* inform'd of these Consultations, take opportunity thence to bespatter the King, calling him Heretick, giving out that he design'd the ruine of the *Roman* Religion, that for that end he was joyning himself to the *Huguenots*; and in proof of this they made no small noise of his receiving the *Order of Garter* from the *English* Queen *Elizabeth*, (by the Earl of \* *Derby*) whom they calumniated as the worst of all Hereticks. And the better to possess the peoples heads with mischief and Sedition, they kept in pay divers Priests, who daily taught their Flock,

\* The J. ur-  
nal by a  
mistake  
saith War-  
wick.

*That Princes ought to be depos'd who do not sufficiently perform their duty.*

Perfixe  
Hist. Hen.  
le Grand.

*That no Power but what is well order'd is of God.*

*That that which passeth its due bounds is not Authority but Usurpation.*

*That it is absurd to say any should be King who knoweth not how to govern.*

And we need not question but from these Heads they framed what Interpretations pleas'd them best, and of all they themselves must be Judges. And so I meet with a Batchelour in Divinity of the *Sorbonne*, who at that time publickly maintain'd in Disputation, publish'd, and dedicated to the Abbot of *Cluny*, this Position, That

*It was lawful for any man, private or otherwise, to depose or kill any King or Prince, which were wicked, evil men, or Hereticks.*

Ant Colynce  
p. 28.

But the mischief fell upon the Disputants head, for the King offended at this strange kind of pretended Divinity, intended to call him to an account, but was prevented by another accident, for the *Sorbonnist* was found shot to death in the Court of the College, but by whom I know not, yet the story supposeth by some of his friends the *Leaguers*, thereby to prevent his Trial, and some further discovery it may be of those who set him on work.

In these Divisions and divers Interests we may suppose *France* to be but in a bad condition, every Faction pretending and striving to be greatest; and amongst the many *Lampons* that then flew abroad, this following was held not amiss, wherein (as in a Play) each party speaketh his own desires and aims.

LE ROY.

*Je desire la paix, & la guerre je jure.*

LE DUC DE GUISE.

*Mais si la pain se fait mon Espoir n'est plus rien.*

LE

1584

LE DUC DE MAYENNE.

*Par la guerre nous vient le credit & le bien.*

LE CARDINAL DE GUISE.

*Le temps s'offre pour nous avec la couverture.*

LE ROY DE NAVARRE.

*C' il qui compte sans moy pensant que je l'endure,  
Comptera par deux fois je m' en assure bien.*

LE CARDINAL DE BOURBON.

*Chacun peut bien compter ce qu' il pense estre sien.*

LA ROYNE MERE.

*La dispute ne vaut, pendant que mon-fils dure.*

LE DUC DE LORRAIN.

*Poursuivons neantmoins la LIGUE & ses projects.*

LE DUC DE SAVOYE.

*Le Roy donques perdra la FRANCE & ses Subjects.*

LE ROY D' ESPAGNE.

*Si la FRANCE se pert je l' aura tost trouve.*

LA FRANCE.

*Tout beau ! il ne faut pas tant de chiens pour un os,  
Et ceux la ont bien mal ma puissance esprouvée,  
Qui pour l' Ambition me troublent le repos.*

THE KING.

*Peace I desire, all war I'd have repell'd.*

DUKE OF GUISE.

*But by a peace my hopes and plots are quell'd.*

DUKE OF MAYENNE.

*We'll make our selves by war, gain glory thence.*

CARDINAL OF GUISE.

*And we've occasion cloak'd with fair pretence.*

KING OF NAVARRE.

*Who plots without me, thinking I'll remain  
So unconcern'd, shall surely count again.*

CARDINAL OF BOURBON.

*But each may reckon what he thinks his own.*

QUEEN-

QUEEN-MOTHER CATHARINE.

For what ? whilst my Son lives and wears the Crown.

DUKE OF LORRAIN.

Yet let's the LEAGUE and her designs pursue.

DUKE OF SAVOY.

Then th' KING will lose FRANCE and his Subjects too.

KING OF SPAIN.

If FRANCE doth lose her self I shall her gain.

FRANCE.

Puh ! for ane Bone so many Dogs are vain.  
And to their cost my might and force they 've try'd,  
Who durst disturb my Quiet by their Pride.

The Covenanters having with what diligence and secrecy they possibly could contriv'd their designs, the Duke of Guise pretended to retire to his Government in *Champaigne*, but in truth to consult the better about their Affairs, and to get the Duke of *Lorraine* to subscribe their *League*. To all which purposes he held a Treaty or Conventicle at *Foinville*, a place of his on the borders of *Champaigne*, where met him 31 Decem<sup>r</sup> *Juan Baptista Tassi*, a Knight of *St. Jago*, and *Dom Juan Morreo* of 1584 *Rhodes*, the King of *Spain*s Commissioners ; the Duke of *Mayenne* Brother to *Guise*, *François Roncerole* Sieur de *Meneville*, Agent in the *League* for Cardinal *Bourbon*, with some other Favourites of the Faction.

At this Caball amongst other things was  
agreed on,

2 Jan. 1589

That supposing King Henry III. should die without a Son lawfully begotten, that then the old Cardinal of Bourbon should be declared King, all Huguenots or Hereticks excluded from the Succession.  
That in the mean time all care, industry, and force should be used to root out the Huguenots.

That Cardinal Bourbon coming to the Crown, a firm Peace should be made betwixt France and Spain.

That he should restore unto Spain all that had been taken from it by the Huguenots, namely *Cambrai*.

That he should assist the Spaniard in the recovery of the Netherlands.

That the Council of Trent should be received in France, and that it and no other Religion should be permitted.

That the Spaniards should have free Traffick into the Indies, and not be molested by the \* French Pyrats.

That the King of Spain should monthly contribute fifty thousand Crowns for the maintenance of the League, and afford men also if need be. \* This complain'd on 1571, Davila, p. 353.

That he should receive into his protection Cardinal Bourbon, with the Guisians, and all other Covenanters.

That

1585

65

*That no Treaty or Agreement whatsoever should be made with the present French King without mutual consent of both parties, viz. the Spaniard and Leaguers.*

*That the Articles of this Confederacy should for some reasons be kept secret, till a more fitting opportunity.*

Besides these the Spaniard secretly promis'd to the Duke of Guise the Assignment of two hundred thousand Crowns per annum, for his own particular.

In the mean time the Covenanters had Cardinal Pellevée soliciting their cause at Rome with Pope Gregory XIII. to whom they also sent their Agitator Claude Mathieu an active Jesuite: and as there they intended to consult their Interest, so were they not negligent at home, and amongst the rest were very careful to secure Ludovico Gonzago Duke of Nevers in his approbation of their Cause.

For though at first (being a zealous Romanist) he had been overpersuaded to adhere to the League, really thinking that nothing else was intended thereby, then the propagation and maintenance of the Roman Religion; and possibly his Wife Catharine, daughter to the Duke of Mayenne, and so Niece to Guise, might somewhat work upon him, to put a greater credit in that Family then was necessary; yet upon better considerations or Interest he began to cool, and at last resolved to do nothing but what was (as he said) legal and honest, being determined upon any terms whatever not to violate his Conscience or Loyalty; the better to secure which he draweth up and desires to be satisfied in these following *Quæres*.

Gomber-  
ville les Mo-  
noirs de M.  
de Nevers,  
vol. 1. p 649

*Whether it be lawful for the Subjects of a Christian Prince to take up arms on their own heads or accord (without the Popes leave signified to them in writing) to root out the Hereticks of their countrey, seeing the Prince himself neglects to punish them according to his duty, though desired and petition'd so to do by the three Estates?*

Supposing this, and that the King should so far dislike the Resolution of his said Subjects as to withstand and oppose their Declarations and Sentiments, and therein to call to his assistance the said very Hereticks:

*Whether in this case the said Subjects shall be quit and free from the Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance they ow'd him?*

*Whether 'tis lawful for them to fight against the said Prince, even to conquer him in battel or otherwise, with intent to obtain their Design, viz. to root out the aforesaid Hereticks?*

*And to this purpose, whether it be lawful for them to seize on, imploy, and use the Towns and Treasuries of the said Prince, though against his expresse will and pleasure?*

Of these Nevers for his better satisfaction would not onely have the opinion of some private persons, in whose judgment and learning he much confided, but also of the Pope himself.

For the private persons he sendeth the *Quæres* to his Confessor Monsieur Berthonnier, conjuring him in the Name of the Living God to give him his advice and resolution, and therein to consult with Monsieur Fa-  
ber.

ber. Accordingly they return to him that he ought forthwith to take up arms, and that in so doing it will be so far from harming his Conscience, that it will on the contrary be a Meritorious deed, an immortal Honour to him and his Family, and very grateful and agreeable to God himself. 1585

As for the Pope, Cardinal *de Pellevée*, *Jaques la Rue* aliàs *Martelli*, and the aforefaid *Claude Mathieu* assure him, that the Pope doth so much approve of the *Queres*, that he doth not only declare it to be just and lawful to fight against Hereticks, but also against any that shall favour or adhere to them, though it were the \* King himself, yet he would not have them to attempt any thing against his life, though he would allow them to seize upon his person, and so dispose and command him. Yet that his Holiness would not publickly declare this by Bull or Brief, it at this time being not convenient (as he thought) so to do, considering the humours of the Protestants in Germany, Switzerland, the Low-countries, and in France it self; and so hopes that *Nevers* and the other Leaguings Princes will be content with his Verbal declaration, which he will stand to and never revoke. And for the better security of this *Martelli* brought from Rome some pretty Beads sanctified by the Pope himself for the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, that he might bestow them upon the Covenanting Princes, and the other Chieftains and Commanders of that design. But these things not fully satisfying *Nevers*, he posts to Rome, though contrary to the Popes desire, and growing daily more jealous of the Leaguers intentions, is very solicitous for a perfect Agreement and Accommodation, writing several times to Cardinal *de Bourbon*, not to press too much upon the Kings patience: and at last being fully convinced that the *Guisers* had more a private Interest then a publick good in their thoughts, quite forsook them and their Cause, and joyn'd with the King.

The King in the mean time somewhat inform'd of the troublesome and warlike designs of the Covenanters, was persuaded to consult his own security, and therefore by a publick Decree forbids all raising or gathering together of Souldiers, unless by his expresse Command and Authority, commanding all his good Subjects at the ringing of the *Toque-saint* (the Alarm bell) to fall upon the said Souldiers as declar'd enemies. 28 March.

But the Leaguers proceed cunningly and vigorously, & having strengthened themselves (as they thought) pretty well, were resolved to make an open Rupture according to their former determinations. To which purpose they overpersuade Cardinal *de Bourbon* to quit the Court under colour of keeping Lent at his Archbishoprick of *Rouen*, so he went to *Gailon* a Palace belonging to that See in higher Normandy, where a great company of the Covenanters of *Picardy* waited upon him, and for his more pretended security conducted him to *Peronne*, where the League was first framed as aforefaid, and here he was met by the Dukes of *Guise*, *Mayenne*, *Aumale*, *Elboeuf*, and other Covenanting Nobles, where a large Declaration is drawn up in his Name whom they call the First Prince of the *Floud*, and subscribed by him: the substance of it is as followeth.

In the Name of God Almighty, King of Kings, be it known unto all, &c.

That a design to subvert Religion hath been the cause of the late troubles.

T t t

That



1585

CJ

\* Chiefly  
aiming at  
the Duke of  
Espernon.

That it is fear'd (the King dying childless) the Church and Kingdom may be ruin'd, over which they are resolv'd never to let an Heretick sway; the people being bound neither to admit or obey any Prince but of the Roman Religion.

That to hinder all mischiefs some remedy is to be applied.

That the great preparations of the Huguenots are sufficiently understood.

That it is also not unknown, but \* some people have so possess themselves of the Kings affection, that they have as it were seiz'd upon his Authority, and excluded those who ought to be more near him.

That these Favourites or Minions have got the chief Governments and Places of Trust, whereby they may command all by Land or Sea.

That they have imbezell'd the Kings Revenues, thereby making themselves more powerful and obey'd, to the great oppression of the people, which daily increaseth.

That though the Amendment of Abuses was hoped for at the meeting of the Estates at Bloys, yet Private Interests spoil'd all.

That these Abuses are now grown so great, that the Kingdom is almost ruin'd by them, the Clergy surcharged and despised, the Nobles debas'd, abus'd, and ruin'd, and all the people in a manner beggar'd and impoverish'd by strange Taxations, &c.

Therefore We CHARLES de BOURBON, first Prince of the Blood, assisted with the Princes, Cardinals, Peers, Bishops, &c. being the best and soundest part of the Kingdom, DECLARE that we have sworn and faithfully promis'd, to continue in Arms till the Church and Roman Religion be establish'd in her former Dignity, the Nobles enjoy their Privileges, the people eas'd, the new Taxes abolished, the Parlements left to their wonted freedom and liberty, &c.

These and such others are the causes of our Arming, which by these necessities is made justifiable, (though otherwise we should disclaim such courses;) and so believing we cannot have a more honourable Funeral, then to die in so holy and just a cause. Yet protesting that we do not intend any thing against the King, but on the contrary in defence of his Person, Life, and Estate, being willing to lay down our Arms when he shall remedy these evils, in doing of which he shall be more honoured and obeyed by us.

That seeing the Laws and their good Intentions are clear enough, therefore they will not force the King to declare a Successour, though in so doing the Nation might hereafter be eas'd of Troubles and Factions about it.

That as they have all a grand Veneration for the Queen-mother, so they hope she will have a good opinion of them.

Humbly desire all people to assist them in this their good design, and to have a favourable construction of their actions.

Protesting never to lay down Arms till we have accomplish'd all these our desires; and so desire all good Romanists to assist them in their Prayers and Devotions.

At Peronne,  
31 March 1585.

CHARLES,  
Cardinal de Bourbon.

But

But this *Declaration* was drawn up and confirm'd by the *Cardinal* some time before, and also Copies of it sent abroad by the *Leaguers*, the better to confirm their Party: for I meet with a Letter sent by the Dukes of *Guise* and *Mayenne* to the *Parlement* of *Province*, (meaning *Aix* the chief City of that County, where that *Parlement* sits) in which they tell them,

1585

*Memoires  
de Nevers,  
vol. 1.*

*That they have sent the copy of the said Cardinal de Bourbons Declaration to them, by which they might perceive how unwilling they were to take up arms, yet that in the quarrel they were resolved to venture life, goods, & friends too; exhorting and adjuring that Parlement to assist them, telling them, that as they shall aid those who joyn with them, so they will endeavour the ruine of those who oppose their League.*

Your most Affectionate Servants,

*Fainville,*

19 March 1585.

HENRY de LORRAIN.

CHARLES de LORRAIN.

As for the *Declaration* it self, it was rejoyned to by the King in another well and cunningly worded, endeavouring to answer all their Objections, desiring them to lay down their arms, and admonishing all his Subjects not to believe their idle pretences, but to confide in and joyn themselves to him.

But it was not words that were to befriend the *Covenanters*: so they draw their Forces together, rendezvouz at *Chalons* in *Champaigne*, whither the *Cardinal Bourbon* is conducted to them by the Duke of *Guise*, with as great demonstrations of Honour and Joy as could be, the better to insnare and bewitch the old man, whose Name and Interest they were to make so much use of. And now *Guise* tampers again with *Nevers*, assuring him that all things go better and better, desireth his speedy assistance, and is much troubled that *Rochette* (one of his cunning Agitators) is taken and carried prisoner to *Paris*, fearing thereby some of their Plots may be discover'd.

Yet they look upon themselves strong enough to defie any opposition, having muster'd about 12000 men, expecting daily Recruits of *German* and *Spanish* Forces hir'd to joyn with them; and thus fortifi'd they seize upon several strong places. As for the King, he is at a stand what to do, not having strength enough to oppose his Enemies, nor certain where to secure himself, fearing if he left *Paris* it would rise against him, and if he stay'd there he might be seiz'd on, so zealously bent was that City for the *Covenant*. However he gets a strong Guard about him, and sends the *Queen-mother* to treat with the *Confederates*. And what a grand conceit they had of their enterprise may in part be seen by their Cardinals Letter to the Dutchess of *Nevers*, where- in he tells her,

*Gomberville, vol. 1.  
p. 648.*

*How pleas'd he is with the good will which she and her Duke bears to their designs, which is onely for the honour of God, though others traduce them as Ambitious. That they shall shortly have the bravest Army that hath been in*

TIT 2

France

1585 France these five hundred years. That though the Queen-mother now talk to them of peace, yet their demands are so many for Religion, that she will not grant them, &c.

Your most humble Uncle to serve you,

Chalons,  
23 May 1585.

C H A R L E S,  
Cardinal de Bourbon.

7 July.

But in short, the Treaty is carried on very cunningly on both sides, and at last both Parties growing jealous of their own Force, and Guise doubting the Cardinals constancy by reason of his easie nature, a Peace was clapt up advantageous enough to the Covenanters, for by Agreement the Huguenots were to be prosecuted, several Cities and strong places given to the Guisards, strong Horse-guards appointed and paid by the King to wait upon their Chieftains; Guise himself is to have one hundred thousand Crowns, his Forces paid, and all things forgiven, &c. And for better satisfaction upon this Re-union of his Subjects (as they call'd it) the King in Parlement must publish an Edict (which Prefixe calls a *Bloudy* one.) The summe of it was thus:

18 July.  
Edict de  
Juillet.

HENRY by the grace of God King of France and Poland, &c.

How God and Man knoweth his care and endeavours to have all his Subjects of one Religion, i. e. the Roman, the want of which hath been the occasions of so many troubles.

Wherefore with the advice of his Mother and Council he doth ordain and command this unalterable Decree and Edict.

That in his Dominions there shall be but one, viz. the Roman Religion, under pain of confiscation of Body and Goods, all former Edicts to the contrary notwithstanding.

That all Huguenot Ministers or Preachers do avoid and depart the Kingdom within one moneth.

That all his other Subjects, who will not change their Religion, shall depart within six moneths, yet shall have liberty to sell and dispose of their goods.

That all Huguenots or Hereticks shall be incapable of any Office or Dignity.

\* Courts  
of Justice in

That all \* Chambre mi-parties and tri-parties shall be taken away.

Several places by former Edicts, 1576, 1577. wherein half were to be Romanists and half Huguenots. These were restored again by the Edict of Nantes, 1589. with many other favours to the Huguenots, many of which have been since null'd and taken away.

That all those Towns and Places formerly given to the Huguenots for their security shall by them be deliver'd up.

That what hath hitherto or formerly been done shall be pardon'd on both sides.

And that for the better preservation of this Edict all Princes, Officers, Governours, Justices, Mayors, &c. shall swear to keep it, and their said Oaths to be registred.

H E N R Y.

By the King in his Council. Broulars.

Read and publish'd in Parlement, the King present. De-Hevez.  
The

The King of *Navarre* seeing himself thus aim'd at, not only challengeth *Guise* to single Combat, (which the Duke answer'd only by Libels) but also vindicated himself by an Apologetical Declaration, drawn up by *Philippe Morney* *Sieur du Pleffis*, whose Pen and Learning that King us'd to make much use of, as appears by his *Memoirs*, and whose Life was afterwards writ by one of his *Amanuenses*, and in whose commendations you may read a large *Ode* in Monsieur \* *D'Espinelles* Collections.

\* *Le Parnasse des Poëtes Francoises*, tom. 2. fol. 69, 70, &c.

King *Henry III.* perceiving that the *Leaguers* made great noise against him for not prosecuting the war against the *Huguenots*, or rather against the King of *Navarre*, told them his willingness to such a war, and therefore desir'd them to put him in a way to have Moneys for the raising and paying the Armies: but this they car'd not for, being unwilling that he should be either strong or rich, yet to stop their clamours, he gave order for the levelling of three Armies to fight *Navarre* and his Associates. Thus were their three several Interests in *France* at the same time.

- I. The King and his Royalists.
- II. The King of *Navarre* with his *Huguenots*, in their own defence, as a \* Romanist confesseth.
- III. The *Guisians* or *Covenanters*, designing the ruine of the two former, and to advance themselves.

\* *Andr. Favyn Hist. de Navarre*, p. 936. *Davila* p. 579.

And now Pope *Gregory XIII.* dying, there succeeded in the Chair *Sixtus V.* who upon sollicitation of the *Guisards* thunders out a *Bull* against the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, which being too long for this place I shall refer you to the reading of it in other \* Authors. But because it is in none of the Editions of *Cherubinus* his *Bullarium*, (possibly since that time thinking it not convenient to exasperate that Kingdom) as they have either fraudulently or politickly left out some other *Bulls*, take the summe of it as followeth.

\* *Pet. Math. Summa Constitut. Rom. Pont.* p. 901, 902, 903. *Fran. Hotoman. Fulmen Brutum.* Goldast: *Monarch. Rom. tom.* 2. 3 p. 124, 125, 126.

First it telleth us what a fine thing a Pope is; that by his right and power can throw down and depose the greatest of Kings.

Then what favours and kindnesses this *Henry* hath received from the Pope, for *Gregory XIII.* abolished and pardoned his former sins and Heresies, and gave him a Dispensation to marry his Queen *Margaret*, and the like done to the Prince of *Condé*.

Yet for all this they have adhered to Calvinism, opposed the Roman Religion, and endeavour'd to carry on that which they call A Reformation, for which they have by Arms and Council withstood the Romanists.

Wherefore according to our duty we draw the sword of vengeance against these two Sons of wrath, *Henry* sometimes King of *Navarre*, and *Henry* Prince of *Condé*.

And therefore declare them and all their posterity deprived of all their Dominions, Principalities, Titles, Places, Jurisdictions, Offices, Goods, Rights, &c.

And that both they and their posterity are and shall hereafter be incapable to succeed in or possess any of the premisses.

And

1585

*And we also absolve all Nobles, Feudatories, Vassals, Subjects, and all other people from their Oaths of Allegiance, Fidelity, and Duties they owe or promis'd to them.*

*And do hereby command and forbid all and every one, that they in no wise obey the aforesaid Henries, or any of their Laws or Commandments; and those that do otherwise we excommunicate with the same sentence.*

*And we exhort and admonish Henry III. King of France to employ all his Authority, Power, and Courage to see this sentence executed.*

*And command all Archbishops and Bishops in France, Navarre, and Bearne, in virtue of Holy Obedience, that they cause this our Bull to be publish'd and effected.*

*And if any presume to oppose or infringe this sentence, he shall incur the Indignation of Almighty God, and his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.*

*At Rome, 9 Septemb. 1585.*

*A. de Alexiis.*

*Subscribed by XXV. Cardinals.*

The *Guisards* now thought their Game half done, not doubting but that this Bull would take to much effect, as for ever to exclude these two *Bourbons* and their Posterity from the *French Throne*, which then would be the more easie for them to ascend. But the *Paris Parlement* (most of which saw no further into the *League* then the specious outside) look'd upon it as a thing of dangerous consequence, that the next heirs to the Crown, should thus so slightly be Excluded, without advice either of the King or them, to the violation (as they thought) of the Priviledges of the *Gallican Church*. And therefore in a full body waited upon the King, desiring to have the Bull torn in pieces, and the Procurers of it to be enquired after, and severely punish'd, and affirming to the King that it ought publickly to be burnt. But the King (though he disliked the manner of the Bull) yet at this time, thinking it best, neither to offend Pope, Parlement or *Guisards*, said he would consider of it; and thus the business was past over, though the *Covenanters* spread their Copies abroad with Triumph.

But the King of *Navarre* would not brook his Reputation thus to be blasted, and therefore gallantly (as *Peregrine* saith) opposed himself against the Papal Bull, his Answer being short, brisk, in an unusual stile, and not yet (as I know of) clad in *English*, take as followeth.

HENRY par le Grace de Dieu Roy de Navarre, Prince Souverain de Bearn, Premier Pair and Prince de France, s'oppose à la Declaration & Excommunication de Sixte cinquiesme soy disant Pape de Rome; la maintient faux & en appella come d'abus en la Cour des Pairs de France, desquels il a cest honneur d'estre le Premier.

HENRY by the Grace of God King of Navarre, Sovereign Prince of Bearn, first Peer and Prince of France, doth Protest against the Declaration and Excommunication of Sixtus V. calling himself Pope of Rome, doth affirm it to be false, and doth Appeal from it as an Imposture to the Court of Peccage in France, of which he hath the honour to be the Chief or First.

Et

Et en ce que touche le crime d'Herésie, & de laquelle il est faussement accusé par le Declaration; dict & soustient que Monsieur Sixte soy disant Pape (sauve sa Sanctete) en a faussement menti, & que luy mesme est Heretique, ce qu'il fera prouver en plein Concile, libre & legitiment assemblé. Auquel s'il ne consent, & ne s'y soubmit, comme il est obligé par ses droicts Canons mesmes, il le tient & declare pour un ANTICHRIST & HERETIQUE: & en ceste qualité veut avoir guerre perpetuelle & irreconciliable contre luy. Proteste dependant de nullité, & le recouvrir contre luy & ses Successeurs pour reparation d'honneur de l'injure qui luy est faicte, & a toute la Maison de France, comme le faict & la necessité presente le requient.

Que si par le passé, les Princes & Roys ses Predecesseurs ont bien sceu chastier la temerité de tels Gallans, comme est ce pretendu Pape Sixte, lors qu'ils se sent oubliiez de leur devoir & passé les bornes de leur Vocation, confondant le Temporal avec le Spirituel. Le dit Roy de Navarre, qui n'est en rien enferieur a eux, espere que Dieu luy fera la grace de venger l'injure faicte a son Roy, a la Maison, & a son sang, & a toutes les Cours de Parlement de France, & sur luy & sur ses Successeurs.

Implorant à cest effect l'aide & secours de tous les Princes, Roys, Villes, & Communantez vraiment Christiennes, auquel ce faict touche. Aussi prie tous Allies & Confederez de ceste Couronne de France, de s'opposer avec luy contre le Tyrannie & Usurpation du Pape, & des Lignes Conjurateurs en France, ennemis de Dieu, de l'Estat, & de leur Roy, & du repos General de toute la Christianité.

And as for that which concerneth the crime of Heresie, and of which he is falsely accus'd by the said Declaration; he doth affirm and maintain that Master Sixtus calling himself Pope (with reverence to his Holiness) hath lied in his throat, and that he himself is the Heretick, as he will prove in a General and Free Council legally assembled. To which if he will not consent and submit himself, as he is oblig'd by the very Canons themselves, he will then hold and declare him for an ANTICHRIST and HERETICK, and so will have a perpetual and irreconcilable war against him. Nevertheless protesting his sentences of no force, which Nullity he will recover against him and his Successours, for a reparation of the injury which is done to him, and all the Bloud Royal of France, as the present necessity requireth.

And if formerly the Princes and Kings his Predecessours, knew well enough how to chastise the hair-braindness or foolhardiness of such dapper Gallants (as this pretended Pope Sixtus is) when they forgot their duty, and pass'd the bounds of their callings, by hand-over-head blending or jumbling the Temporal power with the Spiritual. The said King of Navarre, who is no way inferiour to them, hopeth that God will assist him to revenge upon the said Sixtus and his Successors the injury done to his King, the Royal Family and Bloud, and all the Courts of Parlement of France.

And to this purpose he imploreth the help and assistance of all the truly Christian Princes, Kings, Cities, Corporations, or Associations which are herein concern'd. And he also desires all the Allies and Confederates of this Crown of France, to joyn themselves with him to withstand the Tyranny and Usurpation of the Pope and the Covenanting Conspiratours in France, enemies to God, their Country, and King, and the Common peace of all Christendom.

Autant

1585

Autant en protesta Henry de Bourbon Prince de Condé.

The same is also protested and testified by Henry de Bourbon Prince of Condé.

And this Protestation was fixed upon the corners of the Streets of Rome the 6th. of November 1585. And there were several Scholars who undertook the defence of the King of Navarre, amongst which were the two famous Civilians Francis Hotman and Pierre de Belloy, the last of which suffer'd a tedious imprisonment.

As for the Pope, being of a fiery disposition, we may suppose him not a little nettled at this Paper; but as by degrees his passion cool'd, so did he affect Navarre, and admire his courage and noble resolution.

And Guise question'd not but that all would go well enough with him; for though once (Self-Interest being all his design) he and his brother the Duke of Mayenne had made some Overtures to the King of Navarre to joyn themselves with him, with an intent to ruine the French Kings Favourites or his Party, that so the Leaguers might command that Kings person and Councils; yet he also plotted the overthrow of Navarre and his Associates, the better to secure all Authority to himself: to which purpose the French King was so work'd upon, as to \* decree all Huguenots to turn Romanists, or depart the Kingdom within 15 days, and their goods to be seiz'd on and sold, but the women had 6 moneths granted them.

\* 7 Octob.  
1585.

Yet the French King justly distrusting the Guisards greatness and designs, had (the better to keep the Scales even, and to secure himself between both parties) favour enough both for Navarre and a Peace with the Huguenots, and always looking upon Henry to be next Heir to the Crown, wish'd he would change his Religion, the better to render him more capable to enjoy it. And accordingly began to enter into some Treaties with him, which so madded the Covenanters, that they and the Pulpits ranted very malapertly against the King, as one inclining to the Hereticks, and an enemy to the Roman Religion; which falsities and slanders were no small trouble to Henry of France, by them daily losing the goodwill and affection of his Romanish Subjects: nor was Henry of Navarre any whit less offended at the Duke of Joyeuse, who had obtain'd from the Pope, the Confiscation of all the said Kings Hereditary Territories, upon his deprivation by the former Bull or Sentence.

CHAP.

## CHAP. IV.

*A Council of Sixteen appointed at Paris to act all for the League. Where they daily contrive to seize upon and murder the King, but are discovered to him by Poulain. The Guisards desire the King to shackle himself. Guise comes to Paris. The Baricadoes. The King steals out of Paris. A seeming Peace made by the Edict of Union. The Duke of Guise, and his Brother Lewis Cardinal of Guise, kill'd at Bloys.*

**V**Whilest the Country now tended to War and Sedition, we cannot suppose *Paris* to lie unconcern'd; and (as some say) her River *\* Seina* is not so heavy as other waters, so the story of this wicked *\* Pap. Mass. League* might argue her Inhabitants to be more light, fickler, and apt to *son de fann. Gall.* Rebellion then any other people, and dash out those Commendations of Loyalty which the Learned *\* André du Chesne* hath appropriated to this *\* Les Anti- City.*

Who designs a Rebellion must be sure to secure the chief City to his service, which once done half his work is finish'd. And this was neither unknown nor neglected by *Guise*, who for a long time had made it his care and business to work over the *Parisians* to his Interest, by his Creatures and Ministers fobbing into their heads strange stories of the bad and gasping condition of the *Roman Religion*, by reason of the Kings Inclination to Heresie, and endeavours to have *Navarre* succeed him. quitez des Villes de France, l. 1. 3. 1584

To prevent all, a Council of XVI. active *Leaguers* are appointed at *Paris* to carry on the *Solemn Covenant*, to whom the Duke of *Guise* sendeth *Le Sieur de Mayneville*, there to reside and advise the best means to stir up the people to joyn with them, which they thought could not be better done, then by persuading the people of the danger of Religion, and how many thousand *Huguenots* lay skulking in the City well armed, with a resolution to cut the throats of the *Romanists*.

This close Committee of *Covenanters* first met secretly in the College de *Fortet*, (so call'd from its Founder *Pierre Fortet*) upon which occasion it was afterwards commonly styl'd *\* The Cradle of the League*. After *\* Le Bec- c. au de la Ligue.* wards they assembled in the Covent of the *Dominicans* or *Jacobins*, and at last for fear of being suspected or discovered, they met not at any certain place, but sometimes at one private house and sometimes in another.

At this time was *Provost* of the *\* Isle of France* one *Hardy*, who being old (and so not very active) did usually act by his Deputy or *Lieutenant* *\* L'Isle de France* (as they call it) which was now one *Nicolas Poulain*, born at *S. Denis*, France is him the *Leaguers* have a desire to draw into their Caball, because they properly could make special use of his Authority: nor did they doubt much of *call'd that Tract of ground containing Paris, S. Denis,* his compliance, being greatly in debt, and so the hope of gain and reward *ship or Government is of a larger extent.* would prove strong motives.

*Montmorancy, Dammartin, Poissy, S. Germain en Laye, Luzarche, &c. but the Provost*



1585

Accordingly *Jean le Clerc Sieur de Buffy* and *Georges Michelet*, two active men of the close Committee, and zealous *Guiseards*, assault the aforesaid *Poulain* with many persuasive Arguments to joyn himself to their designs, to which at last he consents, takes an Oath of Secrecy, and they all swear to one another another Oath, That if any one of them were seiz'd on or imprison'd for this their cause, that then every one of the rest should venture life and estate for his delivery. But *Poulain* continued not long firm to them, for whether he was troubled at their wicked designs, or to ingratiate himself with His Majesty, thereby to better his Fortunes, he discovereth all privately to the King, though kept on his usual meetings with the *Leaguers*; and when with them, seem'd as zealous as the rest; what he knew of them he afterwards drew up into a little \* Narrative, out of which we shall take what we think

\* *Le Procès du Nicolas* most material.

*Poulain*,

you may read it in *Claude Malingre Sieur de S. Lazare, Annales Generales de Paris*, p. 329, 330, 331, &c. And it is also very lately reprinted in the *Recueil de diverses Pieces servant à l' Histoire de Henry III. Roy de France*, &c. *Octavo*, 1666.

The better to increase their Number and strengthen their Cause, they had chosen out several cunning Fellows, one out of each Trade, Company, or Profession, even amongst the several Courts of Judicature, Law, or Justice, who were to inweigle themselves amongst their respective Trades and Faculties, noise up the Honour of *Guise*, the Danger of Religion, the Growth of Heresie, the Faults of the King, the Tyranny of his Favourites, and so the Necessity of the *League* to defend themselves, Country, and Religion. And for their better security they consult how to provide themselves with Arms. The King suspecting some mischief, had by express Order forbidden all Gun-smiths, Cutlers, and such like Artificers, to sell any sort of Arms, but to those who were well known and allow'd to buy them. Upon this account they pitch upon *Poulain* as the only man in this case to serve them, who by virtue of his Place and Office might buy up store of Arms without suspicion, and besides might pretend several reasons if any jealousy grew of him. And accordingly he had so bestir'd himself, that in a short time he had bought up a multitude of Arms, and according to directions had in the night disposed of them in *l' Hostel de Guise*, and several other places of the City.

And now they think it best to bring over to their Association the Grandees and Zealots of other Cities and places: to which purpose they dispatch *Ameline* to sound the Inclinations of the *Romanists* in the *Beauvaisse*, as *Touraine*, *Anjou*, and other Provinces; who according to his Instructions posted up and down, to the gaining of many Proselytes.

1586

But thus encouraged by their Number, they are willing to dally no more, but to proceed to action. And so a *Caball* being held one day in the *Jesuites College* near *S. Pauls*, the surprisal of *Boulogne* (a Port-town in *Picardy*) was proposed, which might be advantageous to the *Spaniards*, either for their Fleet in their attempt upon *England*, (now contriving) or to land Forces to assist the *League*, which the Duke of *Parma* might easily do from *Flanders*. And this was concluded on, and the Plot laid down how to bring it to pass. But *Poulain* discovers all to the King, by which means the Town was saved.

The people seeing nothing done against the King, murmur that the Heads of the *League* are not more forward for action; some voting for fur-

1586

surprizing the King and *Killing* him, whilest others thought it would do as well only to put him into a Monastery, which is the same to Deprive him. Another time the King returning from *Boys de Vincennes*, with no other Company but two Horsemen and four Laquais, they had some Plots to seize on him then in *St. Antoine's* Street, (being far from the *Louvre* and so his Guards) in an hurry to kill his Coachman and those with him, and then others to cry out, *O Sir, these are the Huguenots who would seize on you.* Which words they supposed would so affright him, that he would quit his Coach, and then they would take him and carry him whither they pleas'd, as to *St. Antoine's* Church, in whose Tower they would secure him till they were more strengthened by raising up of the people their Associates. But this upon better advice was held too dangerous for them, and so neglected: yet *Poulain* informeth the King of it, who resolved for the future to go better guarded; and would willingly have punish'd these Conspirators, but he perceived his Credit too much lost in *Paris*, and so his Force far inferiour to the *Leaguers* there; which made him the more willing to have a Peace with *Navarre*, thereby to be strengthened by his assistance; but this neither durst he do for fear of the clamours and threats of the *Leaguers*, unless *Navarre* would change his Religion.

In the mean time some of the *Covenanters* began to grumble, that the Duke of *Guise* did not in person come out of the Country to head them according to his promise. However his brother the Duke of *Mayenne* being returned to *Paris* from his Wars in *Guienne*, some of the chief of the private *Funto* waited upon him at ten a clock at night, told him their designs, and desired his assistance, which he promis'd them.

And now after some Consultations thus they conclude of their grand design, that they would seize upon the (a) Captain of the Ordinary Watch, (one of great Authority) whom by fair promises and fear of death they would force to open the (b) *Bastile*, let them in, and then they would cut his throat. That the gate of the *Arcenal* should be open'd unto them by two Founders of Cannon who were of their Conspiracy. That the (c) *Grand Chastelet* and the (d) *Petit Chastelet* should be open'd to them under pretence of bringing in certain Prisoners: and by some such other means would they seize upon the other places of the City; kill the Chief President, the Chancelour, the Attorney General, with others of Note who were not of the Party: and with Barrels, Dirt, Chains, and such like so *barricado* up the Streets, that no Forces could come in to annoy them. As for the Kings Palace the *Louvre*, they would with ease beset and gain it; which done to cut in pieces the Kings Favourites and Counsellours, put the King himself in a Monastery till a future Government was resolved on: and in this enterprise they should cry out to encourage the *Romanists*, — *Let the Mass flourish* — and then to send to all other good Towns in the Kingdom, to take their part and second them: and the better to root out all the *Huguenots*, the Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Spanish* Forces should destroy the King of *Navarre* and his Associates in *Guienne*.

*Poulain* informeth the King of all, who presently provides for his own safety, secures the places of greatest Trust, and draweth some Souldiers

(a) Chevalier du Guet.

(b) In nature of the Tower of London.

(c) A Court Judicature like Guildhall.  
Here also some are imprisoned.

(d) The Name of a Prison.

*Vive la  
Messe.*

1586 near the City, which did not a little perplex the *Covenanters* to see their secrets discover'd; and *Mayenne* also was in some amazement; but to put a better gloss on the business he feign'd himself sick, and went not to the *Louvre* for some weeks; at last resolving to quit the City, he goeth to take his leave of the King, who willingly gave him liberty to depart, but with this Complement, — *How now Cousin, will you forsake the Covenanters?* — the Duke only replying, that he knew not what His Majesty meant, and so departed.

\* Comment Cozin  
quittez  
vous le par-  
ty de la li-  
gue?

The King is glad at *Mayenne's* departure, by which means the *Parisians* wanted an Head amongst them; yet the Duke left behind him several expert Captains and Officers to assist the *Covenanters* if need be; who were now grown so zealous and confident, as to intend the seizing of the Kings Person at *St. Germain's Fair*, being to dine at the *Abby*, but *Poulain* discovering this he went not, and so that fail'd. The Duke of *Guise* inform'd of these enterprises was very angry with them, as being too hasty and bold to act so high without his knowledge or allowance; nor was he pleas'd, that they had discovered themselves and plots to his brother *Mayenne*; and so sends *le Sieur de Mayneville* to chide them. They confess their grief for thus offending the Duke, excuse themselves, desire his pardon, and give *Mayneville* a Gold Chain to stand so much their Friend as to pacifie the Duke.

Mem. de  
Nevers vol.  
I. p. 753.  
755.

Whilest these things were acting in *Paris* their Instruments were not idle in other places, especially at *Rome*, where *Pilles Abbé d'Orbais*, Agent for Cardinal *de Guise*, and some others were great sticklers for the *League*, countenanced there by Cardinal *Pellévée*. The actions of which Cardinal (being a Subject of *France*) did so vex King *Henry III.* that we are \* told, that he order'd his Revenues to be seiz'd on and distributed to the poor.

\* Journal  
De: 1586.  
1587

The King being gone from *Paris* with an Army to oppose the *Germans* then marching into *France* to assist the *Huguenots*, the *Covenanters* had some thoughts of seizing on the City in his absence, according to *Guise* his Instructions, who phansied that he might secure the Kings Person in the Country. To this purpose they sent *Lauchart* to *Guise* for further information; who upon maturer advice would not allow of the plot, seeing the King then to have such a Force about the City, and a good Army under his command. However they assure the Duke of their strength and willingness to attempt any thing that he shall command.

And the better to incite the Rabble to Rebellion, the Pulpit (the worst Instrument in Seditious design) is made use of; several turbulent Priests or Ministers being set on work to bespatter the King and his actions: one of the chief of these Firebrands was *Jean Boucher*, Preacher of *St. Benoist*, a zealous wall-ey'd Fellow, of whose wicked Doctrines we have told you formerly out of his book *De justa abdicatione Henrici III.* The King sent for him, and publickly told him of his lies and slanders; as how he had told the people in the Pulpit, that the King caused one *Burlart* of *Orleans* to be put into a Sack and thrown into the River, although the said *Burlart* was yet alive, and daily kept company with the said *Boucher*; by which the King told him he had committed two grand faults, first so basely to bely his lawful Sovereign, and then after telling such a lie in the Pulpit to go forthwith to the Altar and Sacrament, without acknowledging his foresaid falsities, although all confess that every one ought to confess his faults before he receive the Eucharist: yet the King told him that at this time he would forgive

give all, though he might revenge himself as Pope *Sixtus V.* did, who sent several *Franciscans* to the Gallies for traducing him in their Sermons.

Another call'd *Prevost*, being Preacher of *St. Severin*, amongst his many other Seditious prattlements had from the Pulpit told his Parishioners, that — *The King was a Tyrant, and an Enemy to the Church and People* — Upon which the King (as became him) sent for him; which so netled the *Covenanters*, that they forthwith spread abroad, that the King was resolved to punish and imprison all the good and godly Preachers. A thing very offensive to all manner of Zealots, of what pretended Opinion soever; *Rebellious Experience* making it a certain rule, that none clamour up Preaching more, then those who pretend to know Religion better then their Teachers; the more ignorant the people be, the more apt they are to think they comprehend the deepest mysteries, and though they are bid to *obey for Conscience-sake*, yet (for all their crying up of the Bible) they make a contrary fundamental-Rule, *viz. Rebell for Conscience-sake*: yet let these Toleration, comprehensive, or in sum *Rebellious Villains* (for their actions hitherto in History hath not separated them) be worse then can be imagined, they shall never want some rascally upstart Nobles, who raised themselves by fighting the King and cheating the Church, to be their Treasonable and Sacrilegious Patrons, especially where their Twatling Dames have more zeal then honesty, and from such *Vagabonds* in Religion, good Lord, deliver all Kings, Kingdoms and Churches! but when Kings are subjects, people will be Kings, but a brave and daring Prince durst never yet be opposed, to the ruine of the Undertakers, but such can never be, whose *Favorites* are more for pleasure then true honesty and a National interest, as it hapned now in *France*.

*Prevost* inform'd that he was sent for, was secur'd in an house of one of his Neighbors call'd *Hatte a Nosarie*; and for his farther protection *Fean le Clerc* Sieur (or Landlord) *de Bussy*, one of the chief of the *Covenanting Sixteen*, with several other Armed men put themselves into the foresaid house, oppos'd and fought against those whom the King sent to enquire for the same Delinquents, and made such an Hubbub and Riot, that the Kings Messengers, though headed by *Segnier* the *Lieutenant-Civil*, or one of the *Judges*, were forced to withdraw themselves and shift for their own security.

These and such like seditious actions so encouraged the *Leaguers*, that the Town sounded nothing now but the misdeeds of the King, and the Glories of *Guise*, that if it had not been for him the Ark would have fallen into the hands of the *Philistins*, and Heresie would have triumphed over the true Religion. Nay, the *Sorbonists* were so bold as to make (as we are told) a secret Decree, That Princes might be depos'd from their Government, if they did not what became them, as the charge taken away from a negligent Guardian. Journal-

And towards the latter end of this year, 'tis said, that the King was inform'd that the Duke of *Guise*, had posted disguised to *Rome*, where <sup>10</sup> he stayed only three days with Cardinal *Pellevé*, and that the Pope sent him a rich sword. Another tells us, that one *Viliers* was sent to *Rome*, to desire the Popes assistance, and that a Letter was found about him, said to be writ by the Dutcheß of *Lorraine*, Mother to the Duke, containing thus much.

*I am very glad to understand the state of your Affairs, and I advise you to Ant. Coly-go forward, for never a fairer Occasion was offered you, to put the* <sup>ms. B. 173, i</sup> *Scepter* <sup>174.</sup>

1587 *Scepter in your hand, and the Crown upon your head.*

The two last years we could not expect much matter from the *Leaguers* (though we see their designs bad enough) seeing most of the Souldiery in *France* were employed against *Navarre* and his *Huguenots*, many of the *Covenanting* Nobles being engag'd in those wars, which diverted them from their attempts upon the King: but we shall see the next year make amends for all.

1588  
Davila p.  
667, 669.  
D'Aubigne  
tom 3. l. 1.  
c. 21.  
Spondanus.

The Duke of *Guise* (the better to make all things sure) hath a meeting of the Chieftains of the House of *Lorraine* at *Nancy*, (a strong Town in that Dukedom) where it is talk'd high of deposing the King, of putting him into a Monastery, of destroying the House of *Bourbon*, to dispose of all things themselves, and such like extravagancies. But at last it was concluded, that the Duke of *Lorraine* should keep the Forces of the *League* in action, and that *Guise* and others should unite with Cardinal *Bourbon* to present a Petition to the King, much for their own advantage, which if granted their business might easily be done without clamour or any great opposition; if denied, they had force sufficient to obtain it. Accordingly the Paper is presented to the King, in which (after many fair words) they demand,

*That the King should really and briskly joyn himself with them, and root out the Huguenots.*

*That he would put such persons as they should name from his Court, Council, and their Offices or Employments.*

*That he would make the Council of Trent be received in his Dominions.*

*That he would grant some strong places unto the Covenanting Princes, where they might keep Garrisons and make Fortifications at the charge of the Crown.*

*That he would maintain an Army near Lorraine under the Command of one of the Leaguering Princes.*

*That he would cause all the Estates of the Huguenots to be sold, to satisfy the expences of the late wars, and to assist the Covenanters in their future designs.*

*That he would settle the Inquisition in the chief Cities of his Kingdom, and such like.*

The King received the Propositions with a seemingly contented countenance, but defer'd his Answer; nor did the Duke of *Guise* care much whether he satisfied their demands or no, the design being only to render His Majesty odious to the People, as an Enemy to them and Religion, and a Friend to the Hereticks. And the fair and dissembling carriage of *Guise*, for the Ease of the People, Good of Religion, and Scorn of the Kings pimping, flattering, upstart Favourites, (who rais'd themselves by cheating the King and the oppression of the Poor) had in procuring favour and esteem far the advantage of the Kings carriage and actions, whose only care was Luxury and Idleness, Dancing, Fooling with little Dogs, prating with Birds, and such like childish gayeties.

All which were sufficiently known to the *Guiseards*, upon which they daily spread abroad (as is usual upon such neglects and occasions) their Pamphlets, Libels, and Lampons; whilst the Zele and Honour of *Guise*

is celebrated in every Street and corner, styling him — *the new David, the second Moses, the Deliverer of the Catholick people, the Prop and Pillar of the Holy Church, the new Gideon, the Safety of the Kingdom,* and such like. 1588

In the mean time the secret Council of the *Covenanters* in *Paris* was not idle, and having (as formerly said) for the better carrying on their Plots (the City being divided into \* XVI *Wards* or *Quarters*) appointed a trusty *Covenanter* to supervise every *Ward*, and the *Leaguers* in that Division, from which number the chief and Council of the *Guiseards* in *Paris* was commonly call'd *The Sixteen*, (*Les Seize*.) But *Guise* now perceiving the business daily to ripen for action, thought this Division not close enough, therefore sends back *La Chapelle* (one of their busiest Counsellours) to tell them his desire, who forthwith pulls out of his pocket a Map of *Paris*, purposely divided into V *Quarters*, every one of which had now by the Duke a Colonel appointed over it, (their names were *Count de Brissac*, the *Sieurs de Bois-Dauphin*, *de Chamois*, *d'Eschavales*, and Colonel *St. Paul*) and under every Colonel were several Captains, and so to every one was given a Note what to do, where any might have Arms that wanted. Besides, he had ordered the Duke of *Anmale* and other his Associates, to be in readiness with their Forces at appointment.

And to the no small joy and encouragement of the *Guiseards* now died *Henry de Bourbon* Prince of *Condé*: poison'd he was, as is confess'd by all; and with him might that Branch have ended, but that his Princess (imprison'd upon suspicion as guilty of her Husbands death) a little after was brought to bed of a young Prince, and was call'd *Henry*. The King of *Navarres* Life had formerly several times been attempted, of which *D'Aubigne* will afford you a couple of odd stories. And in this Year \* *Monsieur de Calliere* will tell you of another design against his person: and we need not question but that his death, be it any way, would have been very acceptable to *Guise* and his Party, who about this time did † spread abroad that he was really dead, whether to encourage their Associates, to dismay the *Huguenots*, or that they knew of some Attempts against his Life, and hoped they would accordingly take effect, let others judge. \* *Tom. 2 l. 5 ch. 5* \* *Hist d M. du Matignon, p. 219, 220. 221.* \* *Ant. Co-lynet, p. 214*

In the mean time the *Parisians* carry on their Plots, and all things being now in a pretty readiness, they resolve to take opportunity of the time of *Lent*, it being the Kings custom then to go in Procession in the habit of a *Penitent* amongst the *Whipping-Friars*, without any other Guards or Retinue, and thus they thought they might without much difficulty seize on him, clap him up in a Cloyster; then the Duke of *Guise* to summon the *States-General*, tell them of the Kings unfitness to rule, and so the *League* might sway all as he pleased. But *Poulain* discovering this to the King, he feigned himself sick, went not abroad that day, and so escap'd the snare: yet the *Covenanters* proceed, make a secret Muster of their Forces which they find to be about XXX. thousand stout men, and perceiving their designs discover'd, (but by whom they could not tell) thought it not fit to waste time, or give the King opportunity to seize upon any of them, or prevent their Contrivances, wherefore they send to *Guise* to come without fail, who promiseth, and in the mean time sendeth many Officers, to lurk secretly in the City against his coming.

The King inform'd of this, adviseth for his own safety; but the Factions at Court did somewhat weaken the Determinations, yet he gets some

1588

some Companies to strengthen himself in the *Lowvre*, procureth what Friends he can secretly to joyn with him; yet after all he perceived himself not able to cope with his Enemies, though they were somewhat cool'd at his Preparations.

5 May.

About this time His Majesty being at *Bois de Vincennes*, accompanied not with above six or seven, the *Sixteen* design'd to intrap him in his return, then to Alarm the City by giving out that the *Huguenots* had surpriz'd him, and intended his death; thinking by this trick to raise up their Confederates: but *Poulain* discovering this, the King sent for his Guards, and so this also fail'd. In this designed Treachery *Catharine* Dutcheff of *Montpensier*, and Sister to *Guise*, was an active Instrument.

9 M. J.  
Davila p.  
680.  
D'Aubigne  
tom. 3. l. 1.  
c. 23.

The King being also inform'd by the same *Poulain*, that the Duke of *Guise* was now resolv'd to come to *Paris*, and the *Covenanters* ready to receive him, sendeth several Messengers to him with exprefs command not to approach; to which he giveth cunning and doubtful answers, with an intent to disobey, and accordingly with all possible haste, attended with but a very few of his Gentlemen and Servants, (not keeping the High road, but through by and private passages, that he might not meet any other of the Kings Prohibitions, and so seem publickly to disobey His Majesty) enters the City, the people running mad with joy out of their houses and shops to follow him, insomuch that he had presently above thirty thousand Followers, crying out *Long let Guise live, the Pillar of the Church*. All shewed their greatest affection to him, some thanking him, others bowing to him, some kissing the hem of his garment, others that could not get so near by their hands and gestures shewed their zeale and joy; some ador'd him as a *Saint*, touch'd him with their *Beads*, kissing (as they thought) the then said hallowed stuff, or touching their Eyes and Foreheads with them; the Women strowing leaves and flowers from their windows, Madam *Vitri* crying out, *O good Prince, seeing you are come we are safe*: others adding, *Shall we not die for joy when we have seen you King?* To such an height of madness and wickedness will a giddy Zele for Religion transport the indiscreet Rabble.

*Guise* on the other side with a popular Face and smiling Countenance shewed himself affable and courteous to all by Words, Salutations, or kind Looks; and thus passing along with his Hat in his hand, omitted nothing that might gain their Affections and Applause, and in this complemental Triumph he rode directly to *St. Eustache*, allighted at the *Filles Repenties*, where the Queen-mother then lay, with whom having some discourse, she in the meantime informeth the King of his coming by her Gentleman-Usher *Luigi Davila*, (a *Cyprian* by birth, and elder brother to *Henrico Caterino Davila*, that excellent Author of the History of the Civil Wars of *France*) which so perplex'd His Majesty, that he was fain to rest himself upon his Arm, hanging his Head down almost to the Table.

\* pon 1. an.  
1588. 3.

*Guise* having had some discourse with the Queen-mother (who was not a little frighted at his coming) waits upon her on foot to the *Lowvre*, she being carried in her Chair or *Sedan*: being come before the King, he endeavours to excuse and vindicate himself, and so returneth to his own house in *St. Antoine's Street*. And here not only Pope \* *Sixtus V.* but several others condemned the King, that he had not *Guise* forthwith kill'd whilst he was in his power in the *Lowvre*, and some of his Counsellours advised him then to do it, whilst others thought there was no policy



policy or safety in that, seeing the People so furiously resolved for him. Yet probably the King being then in an high passion, might have order'd his dispatch, but that *Guise* by whisperings and other demeanours perceiv'd their Resolutions not settled, so very cunningly taking hold of their uncertainties, pretending a weariness by reason of his travels, took his leave and went to his House, attended with the former multitude of his Admirers. 1588

And now the Plot begins to work. *Guise* that night gets above four hundred Gentlemen and Commanders to his House, sends for the Council of *Sixteen*, and the \* *Eschevins*, (then of his Faction) with whom he consults, ordereth Guards to be kept in every *Ward*, all the *Covenanters* to be ready upon notice, and had his own house well stored with Arms. And the same care was also taken by the Court to fortifie the *Louvre*. The next day *Guise* attended with above four hundred Gentlemen, privately armed with Pistols under their cloaks, (for upon his former jealousy he would not venture himself so unprovided as he was before) went to the *Louvre*, waited upon the Queen his Cousin, then the King, and so return'd, and held a deep consultation with *Pierre Depinac*, Archbishop of *Lyons*, his chief Confident and Counsellour. After dinner he went to the Queen-mothers house, whither the King came, and after several discourses concerning the faults of the Government and the People, each endeavouring to vindicate himself and Favourites, they departed. \* Like our City Sheriff. Paris book 4 Etchevins. 10 May.

The next day the King order'd all strangers to depart the City, thinking by that means to lessen and divide the Forces of the *Guiseards*, but this could not be perform'd nor obey'd: and *Guise*, to render His Majesty more odious, gave out that the King intended to put to death LX. of the chief *Romanists*, (a counterfeit List of whom he framed and sent abroad by his Creatures, in which were named the *Eschevins*, the chief of the *Sixteen* and *Covenanters*) and then all their Curates and Preachers; and to make this more terrible, it was confidently reported, how that the \* *Hofel de ville* was full of Gibbets to hang the said people on. All which so incens'd the Rabble, that they were thinking to rise up that very night, their Commanders being settled in every Quarter. \* The Town house. 11 May.

And that which most confirm'd these Opinions to the People, was the approach of the Kings Forces, for His Majesty perceiving the high Attempts of the *Leaguers*, determined to put it to the push, to secure himself and daunt or quell his Enemies, to which purpose he had sent for the several Regiments of the *Swisses* and *French* who quarter'd near *Paris*, who accordingly were led into the City on Thursday morning by *Mareschal Byron*, and agreeable to the Kings Orders, had taken up their Stations or Postes in several places of the City, especially near the Court, which some think was not done to the best advantage, seeing they kept too great a distance from *L'Hofel de Guise* in *S. Antoine's* street, whereby with the greater ease all his Associates and Rabble might come to him, and unite without any opposition. 12 May.

However at the noise of these Royal Forces the people shut up their Shops, fly to their Arms, and according to their former Instructions, what with Tubs, Barrels, and such like materials, stop, \* *barricado*, and chain up the Streets, Lanes, and Passages, and that with such cunning and quickness, that the Kings Forces being as aforesaid divided, could not come to or assist one another: whereupon after a little resistance and a few slain, they yielded themselves. And thus this vast City became subject to *Guise*, who rode through the streets exhorting the people to stand  
X x x  
eades. \* To refuse the French do yet call this day and action — Les Barcades de Paris, or Journee des Baricades.



1588

stand upon their Guard, since God had been so merciful to them as to secure their Lives, Families, Liberties, and the Honour of the Holy Church, desiring them to depend upon him, and all would be well.

On the other hand the King and Court found themselves in a sad condition, and seeing no help, after many Consultations the Queen-mother is sent to treat with the Duke, and being with a great deal of difficulty (by reason of the stoppages and *barricadoes*) brought to him, upon discourse she findeth him haughty and exorbitant in his demands, more like a Conquerour then a Subject, not departing a jot from such as these.

*That he should be Lieutenant General in all Provinces and places in the Kingdom.*

*That the States should be call'd at Paris, who with the King should confirm to him that Power.*

*That the King of Navarre, with the other Princes of Bourbon his Adherents, should be declared to have forfeited their Right and Title to the Crown.*

*That a Form of Government should be made, which the King should not have power to alter.*

*That such of the Kings Favourites should be banish'd the Court, and turn'd out of all Offices and Places.*

*That War should be made against the Huguenots, and the absolute Command of it committed unto him.*

*That the King should have no extraordinary Guards about his Person, and so dismiss his Guard 45 Gentlemen.*

*That the Dukes of Aumale, Elboeuf, and Nemours should have the Government of Picardy, Normandy, and Lyons, and that the Leaguers should have six other Towns as they should name.*

*That the Duke of Mayenne should be Admiral, and his Creature De la Chastre be Mareschal instead of Byron.*

*That Brissac (an active Leaguer) should be Governour of Paris.*

And at last concluded,

*That he was resolved either to lose his life, or secure Religion and the Estate of his Family.*

13 May.

\* So call'd from the making of Tiles there formerly.

\* Jo. de Busieres vol. 4. l. 21. p. 259.

The Queen-mother returneth, and the King finding no means by staying there to escape his snares of the Enemies, (who were now forming a Siege against him) resolved to withdraw himself, so stealing through the \* *Tuilleries* (the Gardens by the *Louvre*) he took horse with a dozen Gentlemen, posted to *Trapes*, and the next day to *Chartres*, where he was receiv'd with great demonstrations of joy. 'Tis said that the people were so bewitch'd with this *Solemn League and Covenant*, that seeing him thus fly for his safety, they \* shot at him cross the River, calling him all the Contumelious names that malice could invent. And that the King was so troubled at these Villanies and Indignities, that having got a little from *Paris*, he turn'd him about uttering some threats and menaces against that ingrateful City.

The Courtiers hasted after the King with what speed they could make, most trudging afoot, for in this burly-burly happy was he that could procure an horse though never so bad, many Persons of Quality being

being content to make use of their own legs to preserve themselves : and amongst those who fled to the King was *Nicolas Poulain*, nor daring to stay in *Paris*, suspecting himself discover'd : and well was it for him that he so escaped, for the *Leaguers* were so mad against him for his Loyalty, that they imprison'd his Wife, threatned his Children, rifled his house ; and as for himself, he got to *Chartres* and the King without ever a Penny of money ; nor do I hear of any reward (excepting Promises) that he received for his faithful service in so often saving the Kings life, it being the custom for such good-natur'd or negligent Princes, not to understand worth and vertue, and so to be Misers in rewarding of such, but Prodigals in heaping Riches and Honours upon their phantastical and flattering Minions or Favourites ; and it may be *Poulain* was too grave and serious for such a wanton and frolicksom Court as *Henry III's* was.

And here the Skill or Policy of *Guise* hath been much call'd in question, for not speedily following his blow, having all the advantages that possibly could be expected ; his great neglect being his letting the King escape, the seizing of whose Person might have compleated his Triumphs, and (by his Enemies so wanting an Head) might have brought *France* to submit to his pleasure ; all which might with ease have been accomplish'd, had he but forthwith begirt the *Lonvre*, by which he might have taken the King : but this neglect he remembred too late, and afterwards repented of so grand an oversight.

Though here he had fail'd, yet he resolveth to secure himself ; to which purpose having gain'd all the strong places in *Paris*, put out and imprison'd the \* *Prevost des Marchands*, and others whom he suspected to favour the King, and settled his own Creatures in their Places ; he surpriseth all the Neighbouring places, and presently *Orleans*, *Bourges*, *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, *Montrovil*, *Rouen*, *Rheims*, *Chaulons*, and above twenty other considerable places submitted to him, the mad people everywhere crying out, — *Long live Guise ! long live the Protector of the Faith !* — And his Sister the Dutches Dowager of *Montpensier* was so zealous against the King and Peace, that she would brag how the King should be \* *shorn for a Monk*, and shew the *Scissors* which should do the feat.

\* *Like the Lrd Mayor of London.*

\* *Jo. de Buss. vol. 4. p. 261.*

And for a good encouragement the *Spaniard* sendeth 600000 Crowns, supposing that the *League* would make rare work for him. And thus *D'A bigne* *Guise* commanding all, the King can find no safety for himself but by Peace, though upon never so bad Conditions ; and that which was no small argument of his Compliance, was the approach of the *Spanish Armado* (by them call'd the *Invincible*) and the vast Preparations of the Duke of *Parma* in *Flanders*, which though in the main design'd against *England*, yet he understood not what (if Conquerours, as most suppos'd they would) they might act against him and *France*, knowing full well the Catholik King to have all along assisted the *Covenanters*.

In short : The King thus forc'd to shackle himself, lest the Mischief and Rebellion should run too far, he submits to *Guise*, granting him and his Faction all the Proposals they desir'd, and so by a *Decree* (call'd the *Edict of Union* or *July*) a Peace is huddled up between them. The *Edict* is self being somewhat long, take here the Heads of it.

1588

**HENRY** by the Grace of God King of France and Poland, &c. We ordain and decree these following Articles as an unalterable and fundamental Law in our Kingdom.

We swear and renew the Oath made by us at our Coronation, to live and die in the Roman Religion.

We ordain and would have all our Subjects to swear as we do, and to joyn themselves with us in the extirpation of Hereticks.

We swear that we shall never favour or advance them, and command all our Subjects to swear never to admit of an Heretical King, or one that favoureth Heresie to reign over them.

We promise never to promote or imploy any but of the Roman Religion, and expressly forbid any to be receiv'd into any Place or Employment, but who have proved themselves of the said Religion.

We swear and promise to protect and use our Subjects, who joyn with us in these our undertakings, as becometh a good King.

We would have our said united Subjects to swear to assist one another against the Hereticks.

And that our said Subjects swear to live and die in their Allegiance to us.

And that they swear to depart from all Practices and Leagues contrary to the said Union, our Person, and Authority.

We declare all to be Rebels who will not sign this said Union, and all Towns who will not admit it shall be deprived of all their Privileges and Franchises.

And to make the Peace more sure and durable, all former Leagues, Plots, Actions, especially those of the 12th. and 13th. days of May last at Paris, done by the Guisards and their Party, are pardon'd and forgot as if they had never been done.

H E N R Y.

At Rouen,  
15 July, 1588.

\* After-  
wards bet-  
ter known by  
the name of  
Villeroy.

By the King in his Council,  
Publish'd in the Parlement at Paris,  
Publish'd by sound of Trumpet by the Crier,

Visa.  
\* De Neuville.  
Du Tillet.  
T. Lauvergnat.

Journal,  
Aoust 12.  
1588.

Thus we see how careful some were to have this Agreement ratified, published, and confirmed. But this was not all, for besides this two Armies must be rais'd and paid against the *Huguenots*, one commanded by the King, the other by the Duke of *Mayenne*: the *Leaguine* Lords are to retain for six years the Cities and Fortresses granted them 1585: and that *Orleans*, *Dourlans*, *Bourges*, and *Montereau* should be added to them: the Duke of *Guise* to command all the Forces in the Kingdom: that in *October* next the States General should be held at *Blois*: and several such like advantages were granted to the *Leaguers*. Upon which *Guise* waits upon the King, and none seem so kind as those two, but it was but from the teeth outward; of which we are told one story, how the King at dinner ask'd the Duke to whom they should drink: To whom you please, quoth *Guise*: then said the King, Let us drink to our good friends the *Huguenots*: 'Tis well said, Sir, replied the Duke: Yea (added the King) and to all our good *Barricadors* at Paris: to which *Guise* yielded a counterfeit smile, not well pleas'd that the King should compare the *Barricadors* with the *Huguenots*.

And

And now behold the greatest wonder that ever yet happened in *France*! The whisking Monsieur converted to a grave Don, all the Court clad after the *Spanish* garb, a long Tuck with a cross-bar'd Hilt, great Trunk-breeches, tufted Garters, strait and close Doublet, a great high-set Ruff, staring Mustachoes, with Beard and Hat after the *Castilian* mode; all they speak is *Spanish*, and that *Rodomontadoes* too: insomuch that one might think that now Monsieur was ashamed or scorn'd to speak his own language, or call himself a *Frenchman*, nay would take it in himself not to be thought a *Spaniard*. Such an esteem and love had the *Castilian* got amongst the people, for his assisting them in their wicked League and Covenant against their King and Sovereign. And by this also appeared not only the Boldness, but Authority and Power of the *Guisean* Faction, to whose caprichious and Interest, the Royalists were thus forced to submit and truckle.

*Guise* thus having all sway and glory, the better to advance his Reputation Pope *Sixtus V.* sendeth him long Congratulatory Letters, giving him many thanks for his Zele and Actions, comparing him to the old *Maccabees*, bidding him go on as he had begun, and telling him that he would send a *Legat* into *France* to assist at the approaching States: which Letters were spread abroad by the *Leaguers* in great triumph, to the no small discredit and regret of the King, who in these Papal Commendations and Blessings had no share, nor taken notice of; and such Pontifical Neglects used to be the Forerunner of Laying aside or Cutting off.

Well, the Assembly of the *States General* meet at *Blois*, the major part being *Covenanters*, by which *Guise* was so strengthened, that 'tis thought that he at least aim'd at the same Authority that the ancient *Major-domes* had in *France*, whereby the King would be but a mere Cypher, whilest the Duke might make himself King when he pleas'd. So to gratiate himself with the people, and remove all obstacles, he proposeth that Taxes and Impositions might be lessened, which was thought irrational, seeing at the same time he will have the war vigorously carried on against the *Huguenots*; yet he gain'd his desires.

Then he moveth that the Council of *Trent* might be received, but this is denied by most as contrary to the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*.

But (which was the main of all) he proposeth that the King of *Navarre* and his Relations (as Hereticks) shoul'd be declar'd incapable of Succession, which was presently granted him by the *Three Estates*, but it was not so received by the King, who (though he was forc'd to consent to it in dubious and general terms, yet) told them that he would think further of it, and would take care himself to have the Decree drawn up. But before this *Navarre* understanding their designs, had at an Assembly at *Rochel* fram'd a *Protestation*, pronouncing all their Votes and Actions against him and his Right null, as being no stubborn Heretick, willing to submit to a General Council, and to be instructed that the States were not free nor full, and that they could not justly condemn him before they heard him.

Whilest these Proposals were vexing the King, news is brought that

*Toute la Cour fut venue habillée à l'Espagnole, le long Estoc à la garde Croisée à l'Espagnole, les grosse chausses, les jartieres houpées, le pourpoint collé sur le corps, la grande fraize bien godronnée, la Monstache, la barbe & le chapeau à l'Espagnole; tout leur parles Espagnol, Rodomontades Espagnoles: bref, vous eussiez dict, qu'en ce temps la le François avoit en horreur & mispris de parler & se dire François, & qu'on luy faisoit tort de ne l'appeller Espagnol — Andre Favin Hist. de Navarre, p. 942.*

1588

Charles

1588 Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy had seiz'd on the little Marquessate of Saluzzo, (towards the head of Po in Italy) who had also pretended a right to it, and so took advantage at the Kings Expulsion out of Paris, and these French Troubles; though at this time he pretended a necessity, viz. that otherwise the Huguenots from Dauphine would have taken it, and others suppose that he wanted not assurance from the Leaguers.

Favyn p.  
93.

However it was, the Kings jealousy and anger did daily increase; and 'tis said that here Guise expressly refus'd (though commanded) to swear Allegiance to the King, saying, *He would not, and if he offended they might punish him.* But this is not so bad as a further design plotted by him and his Complices, which they say was to take away the Kings

Spond.  
18.

Hist. des  
derniers  
troubles de  
France, l. 4.  
fo. 142 143,  
144, 152,  
158.

life, of which 'tis said the King had private Information. In short, the King considering what Favours the House of Guise had received from the French Crown, yet how many Rebellions he had rais'd against him, what Combinations he had made against him and the Crown with the very Enemy to both, viz. the Spaniard; that for all his outward pretensions for Religion, yet he had made secret Overtures to joyn with Navarre; how he had beaten and driven him from his Royal City and Palace, killing his Guards who endeavour'd his defence; seiz'd on his Revenues and Treasures: He call'd to mind his many Plots, how to get the true Heirs of the Crown made incapable of Inheritance, had taken

\* Hard. de  
Perefixe  
Hist. Hen. le  
Grand.

all Authority and Command from him, aspired to be greater yet, &c. And thus persuaded that Guise his design was to \* dethrone him, he resolved to save himself, and ease the Kingdom of this troublesome Subject.

\* 23 Dec.  
1588.

24 Dec.

The Kings Counsellours confess necessity now or never required it: but to seize on him, try him for Treason, condemn and execute him was dangerous, if not impossible, by reason of his many Favourites, and the power of his Faction; and so the safest way was to kill him now at Blois, a place far enough from Paris, the head and nest of the Covenanters: and accordingly he was \* slain at the Court or Castle, being gone thither to sit in Privy Council: there was also taken Lewis de Lorraine, the Cardinal of Guise, brother to the Duke, and a zealous and furious Covenanter, who by the Kings Order was slain the next day, though being a Clergy-man, many had refused to imbrue their hands in his blood.

Le Contre-  
Guise.

Their flesh was presently consum'd in quick Lime, their bones burnt, and ashes thrown into the River, or secretly interr'd, thereby removing all tragical and woful objects, and preventing any part of them to be found and look'd upon as holy Reliques of Martyrs, which was suppos'd many of the Leaguers would not stick to do and reverence. Such a love had these Lorrainers gain'd, of whom some said, If they were so zealous for the Roman Religion, why did they not fight against the Jews, who are so numerous even in Italy it self? If they were such Favourites with the Spaniard, why did they not see the Moors expell'd thence? If they thought themselves Kings of Hierusalem, why did they not thrust out the Turks? If they were Princes of the Empire, why did they not war against the Lutherans? If they loved the Honour of France, why did they oppose the regaining of Saluzzo? And must they needs come to disturb France, wherein they were look'd upon as strangers?

## CHAP. V.

*The Sorbonne decree, That they are absolved from their Allegiance, and so may fight and act against the King with all their might. Their Letter to the Pope. They order that the Kings Name shall not be used in any of their Missals or Collects whatsoever. Lyon joyns its Interest with Paris. The Duke of Mayenne made Head of the Leaguers.*

A Little after the death of the two *Guises* departed out of this world 5 JAN. 1589. *Catherina de Medicis* (the Queen-mother) at *Blois*, a Lady of a politick deep reach and understanding, fit to manage and carry on any business; but withall being an *Italian* very deceitful and cruel, not regarding what means she used, or what blood she shed, so she did but obtain her designs. She was buried at *Blois*, though she intended her body to be carried to *St. Denis*, and there laid by her Husband *Henry II.* for which purpose she had built a neat round little Chapel in the Churchyard: but the *Parisians* were too zealous and powerful, some of the *Guiseards* declaring they would throw her body (if they could get it) into the River. Journal.

No sooner were the *Guises* dispatch'd, but King *Henry III.* hasteth to his Mother, telling her, — *I am now King of France, having put to death the King of Paris* — And some think his words might have proved true, had he been more active and follow'd his blow: but instead of mounting presently to horse, (whereby by his presence he might have encourag'd his Friends, and daunted the *Covenanters*, now in a maze for want of an Head) he staid trifling away the time at *Blois*, examining and troubling himself with the Acts of the *States* there, so that the *Leaguers* had time to recollect themselves, throw off their amazement, regain their spirits, and to convert their former fear of themselves, and pity of the late *Guises*, into the height of rage and fury against their King and his Adherents.

At *Paris* the people run into all manner of extravagancies, the Pulpit being then the worst Instrument in the Kingdom, sounding nothing but the commendation of the *Guises* and the honour of Rebellion: amongst the rest Father *Lincestre* was very zealous, one time commanding all his Auditors to swear to revenge the death of the *Guises*, in token of which to hold up presently their hands (as was done at the taking of the late *English* cursed Covenant) and had the impudence to call aloud to *Achilles* Journal. *de Harlay*, chief President of the Parlement and a great Royalist, to hold his so high up that all the people might see it; which *Harlay* was forc'd to do for fear of his life. And another time he told his Auditors, that *He would not then preach to them the Gospel, because it was common and they knew it well enough; but he would declare to them the abominable life and actions of that perfidious tyrant Henry de Valois*, meaning the King; telling them how he us'd to invoke the Devils, undertaking also out of his sleeve to shew them some of the Devils which *Henry* us'd to adore and pray to. Another time affirming, that for his part if he were at the Altar, and the Eucharist in his hand, yet he would not scruple then and there

1589

there to kill the King. Another in his Preachment concluding his large Commendations of *Guise*, addresseth as it were himself to the Dutcheſs of *Nemours* (Mother to the Duke) ſitting juſt over againſt him, bawleth out, *O holy and glorious Martyr of God, bleſſed is the womb that bore thee, and the breſts that gave thee ſuck!*

The people put forth a *Declaration*; wherein they ſwear,

30 Jan.  
1589.

*To live and die in the Roman Religion.*

*To defend according to their uttermoſt power Paris, and all other Confederating places.*

*To defend and protect all their fellow Leaguers againſt all other their Oppoſites, of what Quality or Dignity ſoever; and to withſtand all thoſe who were any way concern'd in the late killing and imprifoning at Bloys.*

And they alſo propoſe two *Quæres* to the Doctors of *Sorbonne*, which take as followeth with the Determination of that College.

Anno Domini Milleſimo quingentefimo octuageſimo nono, die ſeptima menſis *Januarii*, ſanctiſſima Facultas Theologiæ *Parieſiſis* congregata fuit apud Collegium *Sorbona*, poſt publicam ſupplicationem omnium Ordinum dictæ Facultatis, & Miſſam de ſancto Spiritu ibidem celebratam, (poſtulantibus clariffimis D. D. Præfecto, Ædilibus, Conſulibus, & Catholicis Civibus almæ urbis *Parieſiſis*, tam viva voce quam publico instrumento & tabellis per eorundem actuarium obſignatis, & publicæ urbis ſigillo munitis) deliberatura ſuper ſequentibus Articulis, qui deprompti ſunt ex libello ſupplici prædictorum Civium.

I. *An populus Regni Galliæ poſſit liberari & ſolvi à ſacramento Fidelitatis & Obedientiæ Henrico III. præſtito?*

II. *An tuto conſcientia poſſit idem populus armari, uniri, & pecuniâs collegere & contribuere ad deſenſionem & conſervationem Religionis Catholice & Romanæ in hoc Regno, adverſus nefaria conſilia & conatus prædicti Regis, & quorumlibet aliorum illi adhare-*

*In the year MDLXXXIX, the 7th. day of January, the moſt holy Faculty of Theology at Paris was conven'd at the College of Sorbone, publick prayers of all the Orders of the ſaid Faculty being ſaid, and the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt there celebrated, to conſult upon theſe following Articles, as they are extracted from the Petition of the Citizens, according to the deſire of the Illuſtrious Perſons the Prevost de Marchands, the Eſchevins, the Conſuls, and the Catholick people of the famous City of Paris, teſtified as well by their words as by Inſtrument and publiſh Act, ſigned by their Register, and ſeal'd with the common Seal of the City.*

Whether the People of *France* may not be diſcharged and ſet free from the Oath of Allegiance and Obedience made to *Henry III.*

Whether the ſaid people may with a ſafe conſcience arm and unite themſelves, collect and raiſe moneys for the defence and preſervation of the Catholick *Roman* Religion in this Realm, againſt the wicked counſels and practiſes of the ſaid King and  
tium,

*tium, & contra publica fidei violationem ab eo Blesis factam, in præjudicium prædictæ Religionis Catholicæ, & Edicti sanctæ Unionis, & naturalis libertatis convocationis trium Ordinum hujus Regni.*

Super quibus Articulis, audita omnium & singulorum Magistrorum (qui ad septuaginta conveniunt) matura, accurata, & libera deliberatione, auditis multis & variis rationibus, quæ magna ex parte tum ex Scripturis sacris tum Canonis Sanctionibus, & decretis Pontificum in medium differtissimis verbis prodita sunt: **CONCLUSUM** est à Domino Decano ejusdem Facultatis, nemine refragante, & hoc per modum Consilii ad liberandas Conscientias prædicti populi.

**PRIMUM**, quod populus hujus regni solutus est & liberatus à Sacramento Fidelitatis & Obedientiæ prædicto Henrico rei præstito.

**DEINDE**, quod idem populus licite & tuta conscientia armari, uniri, & pecunias colligere & contribuere potest, ad defensionem & conservationem Religionis Catholicæ, Apostolicæ, & Romanæ, adversus nefaria consilia & conatus prædicti Regis, & quorumlibet illi adhærentium, ex quo fidem publicam violavit in præjudicium Religionis Catholicæ, & Edicti Sanctæ Unionis, & Naturalis Libertatis convocationis trium Ordinum hujus Regni.

Quam Conclusionem insuper visum est eidem Parisiensi Facultati, transmittendam esse ad S. D. N. Papam, ut eadem Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ autoritate probare & confirmare, & Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ gravissime laboranti opem & auxilium præstare dignetur.

all other his Adherents, and against the breach of Publick Faith committed by him at Bloys, to the prejudice of the said Roman Religion, and Edict of Holy Union, and the Natural Liberty of the Assembly of the three Estates of this Kingdom.

*Upon which Articles having been had a careful, advised, and free deliberation of all the Masters of that Faculty, being then LXX in number, as also being heard many and sundry Reasons, most excellently produc'd and deliver'd, not onely from Holy Scriptures, but also from Canonical Sanctions and Papal Decrees: 'tis agreed and CONCLUDED on by Master Dean of the said Faculty, not any gainsaying it, and that by way of counsel or advice to deliver the consciences of the said people.*

**FIRST**, that the people of this Kingdom are discharged and freed from the Oath of Allegiance and Obedience made to Henry III.

**SECONDLT**, that the said people may legally and with a safe conscience arm and unite themselves, collect and raise moneys for the defence of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Religion, against the wicked counsels and practises of the said King, and all other his Adherents; seeing he hath violated the publick Faith in prejudice of the Catholick Religion, the Edict of the holy Union, and the Natural Liberty of the Assembly of the three Estates of this Kingdom.

Moreover, the said Faculty of Paris do think fit to have their said Decree or Conclusion to be sent to our most Holy Lord the Pope, that he would vouchsafe to ratifie and confirm it by the Authority of the Holy Apostolical See, and afford help and assistance to the French Church, now in great stress and hazard.

Y y y

And



1589

And accordingly a Letter was drawn up and sent to the Pope, which take as followeth, being now very difficult to be met with; and at Paris it self all Papers concerning these insolencies were taken from the Registers or off the Files, at the re-entrance of Henry IV. into that City, whereby many Villanies of this League were lost.

S. D. N.

S I X T O P A P A E V.

BEATISSIME PATER, qua spes nobis ante aliquot dies summa erat, fore ut post tot procellos, quibus annos pene jam triginta jactati sumus, constitutam in Galliæ Ecclesiæ pacem aliquando videremus, atque de ea renuntium BEATITU DINI vestra latum brevi offeremus, eam vero crudeli atque immani fortissimi ac pientissimi Ducis Guisii, atque illustrissimi Cardinalis ejus fratris cade acerbissimo luctu commutatam esse, tanto gravius pertulimus, quanto durius est in medio ardore belli ereptum eum nobis esse, cui ut hoc reliquum nobis Religionis ac vite est acceptum ferimus, ita eo amisso ne hereticorum faucibus prostituatur, merito formidamus.

Quæ si tamen Divini Numinis constitutio fuit, ut & invictissimi Principis labores gloriosissima morte consumaret, & latens dudum sub Catholica professione impietatis virus tam chari capitis prætio aperiret, ut omnipotentis Dei judicia in ea re taciti suspicimus, ac veniam petimus, ita Sanctitatis vestra pedibus provoluti, opem vestram per viscera misericordie Jesu Christi imploramus, ut dum rem qualiter paucis exponimus, tuum auxilium quod decet etiam impetramus.

Non enim ut Interfectoris ars atque existimatio fingere perfecto scelere necesse habet, transversum optimum Ducem ambitio egit, qui quod in Regem toties nullo negotio potuit, hoc unum peccasse (fortasse merito) à multis dictum est, quod noluit. Quem si non usque eo domus Dei ac publica salutis Zelus comedisset, ut in certissima pericula toties inermis se dederit, si non conscientie puritas & animi candor ejus à quo ad necem petebatur, dolis opportunum fecisset, cum ille quæ de paratis sibi insidiis dicebatur, toties intrepidus contemneret, sic nimirum affectus, ut optimi & probissimi quique solent, qui alios improbos esse difficillime suspicantur, & vivum adhuc haberemus, & tanto superstitute Ecclesiæ Dei vindice gauderemus.

\* D. d' Anjou. Nisi forte quod Hæreticis omnino pro libidine in aula gerentibus, jamque extincto Regis \* fratre, atque ipso non obscure favente Rege, Navarrum ad Sceptrum vocantibus, ab Illustrissimo Cardinali Borbonio primum, mox à beatissima memoria Gregorio XIII. P. Dux Guisus excitatus, ut videret, nequid

(a) Duke of Espernon no real Huguenot, but the Kings Favourite.

(b) Prince Cazimair, General of the German Army 1587, that came to assist Navarre.

(c) A Covenanting Compliment to an English Queen.

(d) Cardinal Giovan. Franc. Morosini, Bishop of Bergamo, was at 11 yrs.

Religio Tagædia spectat nisi ut Navarro, (a) Spertonio, (b) Cazimiro, (c) meretrici Anglicanæ, cateris fæderatis hæreticis Inferi dentur, & talibus hostibus litetur? ut merentibus ac dejectis Catholicis exultent Hæretici, & in suis illis cogitatis furoribus (quod jam undique fur) liberius debacchentur?

Adde vestram (Pater Beatissime) & totius Sanctæ Sedis lesam dignitatem, cum & presente Sanctitatis vestra (d) Legato scelus tantum paricida designaret, & monenti audientium denegaret.

ret. Denique Cardinalem confodiens, totum sacrum istud ac purpuratum Col-  
lagium violaret. Cui enim tandem sacro parceret qui caput petierit? qui sedem  
vestram, quam verbo si vereri fingit, facto oppresserit? qui Patrem, à quo \*ca-  
lesti oleo tinctus est occiderit? aut qua sub illa Christiano homini securitas esse  
potest? aut quo tandem processura est impietas, qua sic jam in praecepti  
stetit?

1589

Hen. III.  
was conse-  
crated at  
Rheims by  
Lewis Car-  
dinal of  
Lorraine.  
The story of  
the Sainte  
Ampoule  
and H ly  
Oyl kept at  
Rheims  
may be seen  
in Legend  
of French  
History.

Que cum sint ejusmodi ut jam vitam potius profundere, quam Tyranni  
dem hanc nostris atque Ecclesie universa cervicibus impendentem, & postrema  
omnia minitantem ferre parati sint omnes boni: eoque jam ventum sit, ut  
Francorum prisca fides virtus ac pietas hic se totam debeat explicare, vel ipsi  
exemplo praeantibus pueris atque infantibus, quos ingenti numero plusquam  
decem millium, non sine miraculo clamores sua sponte per vicos in caelum tol-  
lentes, & ultionem sceleris in Tyrannum poscentes; alios etiam Tyranni  
imaginem (sic enim vocabant) flagris caesam ac fratrem igni admoventes  
in hac urbe audivimus & obstupimus; id nimirum est in quo vestram (Bea-  
tissime Pater) opem imploramus, ut cum tria nobis à vestra Beatitudine pra-  
stari in hoc negotio necesse sit, ea nos ad beatissimos pedes prostrati vehementer  
flagitemus.

Primum, ut juramento quo nos *Henricum III.* quondam obstrin-  
ximus & soluti declaremur.

I.

Deinde, ut bellum quod cum publicae Religionis ac libertatis op-  
pressore necessario gerendum est, justum esse decernatur.

II.

Postremo, ut nequid tam necessario operi, tum precum apud Om-  
nipotentem Deum, tum facultatem humanarum, desit, ad utrun-  
que tum externi Principes, tum nostri praecipue homines Apo-  
stolicae vestrae gratiae, atque per *Jubileum Indulgentia* beneficio  
provocentur.

III.

Nam priora illa duo eo confidentius petimus, quod cum juris nihil in Chri-  
stianos ei esse debere, qui se Hæreticum aut fautorem Hæreseos manifeste pre-  
buerit, qui publicam fidem tum divinam tum humanam tam insigni parricidio  
fregerit, qui Regni & Sceptri iudices tam fæde violarit, qui per Assassinos Chri-  
stianum Principem occiderit, qui Sacerdotem, Pontificem, Cardinalem, & in  
Comitiis Ecclesiastici Ordinis praesidem trucidarit, qui Anathematis diras omnes  
ac fulmina incurrerit, qui parato ad perdendum omnia, & fæde conculan-  
dum animo sit, ipsa nos dudum ratio & vetus traditio docuerit, praesertim cum  
Gallia ipsa Reges quondam isto (quo pejorem nunquam habuit) longe tolera-  
biliore auctoritate vestra excluderet, imo etiam voce propria nos juramento  
hoc liberos, si quid præter promissa faceret, non semel pronuntiavit, tum vero  
in præcipiti negotio, cum responsum Beatitudina vestra expectandi tempus non  
esset, nec tamen quicquam dubia & fluctuante conscientia facere certum esset,  
gravissimo adhibito Theologorum Sorbonæ Parisiensis judicio, qui iterum &  
tertio, rogatu nostro, magno numero ad Septuaginta usque super hac re conve-  
nerunt, & rem accuratissime disceptarunt, secum nos in utraque agere, & tuto  
à vestra Beatitudine caput utrumque postulare ac sperare debere ab iisdem de-  
dicimus: Quinetiam eos ad vestram Beatitudinem suam ea de re sententiam,  
quibusque rationum momentis impellantur, scripturas accipimus.

Vestra vero (Pater Beatissime) sapientia erit, si quid fraus, si quid solita,  
qua dudum affligimur, Impostorum ars contrarium iis Beatitudina vestra ob-  
truserit, huic fidem adhibere nolle: aut si quid (quod plus timemus) nobis con-  
sternatis, & vix à tanto dolore animum colligentibus, praecipiendo impetra-  
rit, id ne Christianissimo Regno, ne Ecclesie nocet providere: imo irritum  
(quod tremantes & veniam petentes dicimus) urgente ac premente negotio sta-

Y y 2

tuere

1589

tuere, neve committere, ut in tanto Ecclesia periculo, in quo bis peccare jam non licet, illussisse se dignitati vestra, quod non semel factum antea est, versuta nequitia gloriari possit.

Tum nos qui loquimur, quos reliqui Gallix Catholici intuentur omnes, si quid Francorum quondam genus, si quid Gysiorum Principum virtus, & fusus toties pro Christi Ecclesia sanguine, si quid Parisiensium civium fides de republica Christiana atque adeo Apostolica sede promeruit, si quid notilissimi Regni pessum euntis, & jamjam haresi colla subdituri, universamque Ecclesiam eodem motu concussuri causa atque periculum, si quid bonorum omnium, & testamentum Patrum relantium fletus movere eum debet, qui in apice Ecclesia constitutus, ut confirmet fratres divinitus monitus est, vestram (P.B.) paternam providentiam per eum qui est, qui erat, qui venturus est omnipotens, obtestamur, ut in re tanta, tam periculosa, tanti in reddenda ratione apud summum judicem momenti futura, quam res ipsa necessariam esse clamas, sollicitudinem ac curam adhibere, & qua antea diximus, quaque iterum devotissime petimus donare ac tribuere non gravetur. Denique non committas, ut Sixto V. Pont. fidem in Christianissimo regno periisse, aut non satis per nos vestramque dignitatem tanto malo provisum fuisse posteri dicere jure possint. Quod nos impetraturos ut speramus, sicuti sperare certe debemus, ita post sanctissimorum pedum oscula, Beatitudinem vestram uti nobis Deus Opt. Max. sic diu incolumem servet, summis precibus ab eo perimus atque obsecramus.

Beatitudinis vestrae

Paris, 14 Jan. 1589.

Humillimi, Devotiss. & Obsequentiss. Filii, Cives Parisienses, pro reliquo Catholicorum & Fidelium in Gallia cetera.

And now the *Covenanters* run into all manner of extravagancies against their Sovereign, whom they no more call or acknowledge for King, terming him only *Henry de Valois*, Heretick, Tyrant, and what not: throw down his Arms and Statues, which they break to pieces, and drag along the streets: nay, so mad were they, that to have but his Picture or to call him King, was thought crime enough to deserve death: yet the Painters set themselves on work to draw him, but in the most ridiculous and shameful habits and postures their zealous phantasies could invent.

And their Priests were as wicked as the worst of them, thundering from their Pulpits all manner of falsities and accusations against him, accusing him of Magick and Witchcraft, persuading their Auditors to fight against that *Belial*, to give no quarter to him nor his friends; for the Kingdom was sick, and nothing could cure it but a good draught of *French* blood. Some made little Images of him in Wax, which they set on the Altars whilest *Mafs* was saying, then mumbling some old Wives Charms, prick'd the Images to the heart, thinking by that way of Witchery to kill the King. Others carried lighted Tapers up and down, repeating several superstitious words, and putting out their Lights, thinking so to hasten his death.

Others imployed their Wits to render him odious, making many wicked and malicious Anagrams of him, as

HENRI

\* *Scelus punitur*  
tabularum  
mortis plenam,  
et nunc, si quis  
Henricum R. gem  
appellaret,  
aut tabulam  
ejus pictam  
demi haberet. Jo.  
de Buff. to.  
4. p. 287.  
journal.

*De jure*  
Hen. III. ab-  
dic. l. 4 c. 38

HENRI DE VALOIS:

*Anagram,*Vilain Herodes: or Julian Herodes: or  
De hors le Vilain: or Ha, ruine de Loys!

HENRYC DE VALOIS:

*Anagram,*

O Crudelis Hyena!

HENRICUS TERTIUS DE VALLESIO:

*Anagram,*

O Deus! vere ille \* Antichristus:

\* This is  
may be was  
in opposition  
to that Ana-  
gram made  
formerly of  
this HEN-  
RICUS  
TERTIUS,  
*Anagr.*  
In te vere  
Christus.

and such like. And for Libells and Satyrs they were innumerable, the Press and Pen labouring continually with infamous Defamations against their Sovereign.

And now they consult how to carry on their designs; and first they run to the Parlement at *Paris*, seizing on all whom they thought to favour the King, clapping them up in the *Bastille*; the *Rump*, or those who comply'd with the people, being about CLX in number, chose *Barnabé Briffon* for their President, one of great Learning as his Works testifie; but whether his Zele or Fickleness might engage him in this action I know not, or whether his fear of the peoples fury should he refuse it; and I meet with a *Protestation* said to be his, and by him subscribed, declaring his Innocency, how he was forc'd to do what he did: Be it as 'twill, the *Leaguers* were pleas'd to have a man of his Repute, Honesty, and Learning, to seem to espouse their Cause.

*Journal,*  
1589,  
22 Jan.

To maintain this war and their designs, which they call'd THE HOLY UNION, the people contributed with abundance of freedom, insomuch that Moneys which had been whoorded up for many years, now flew plentifully abroad, and the Women or Holy Sisters are never behind in wicked Zele: most of the Cities and Provinces revolt from the King, and so the war is carried on against one another under divers Titles.

The Kings Party is sometimes call'd

*Royalists**Minions or Favourites**Huguenots**Hereticks**Navarrists**Politicks**Bearnoises* [K. of Navarre  
born in that Territory.*Les Mahentres*, or Mad Hack-  
sters, now corruptly *He-  
cters*.*Bandeés blanches* or *Escarpes  
blanches*, i. e. White For-  
ces or White Scarfs.The Covenanting Party is some-  
times call'd*Leaguers**Covenanters**Catholicks**Confederates**Rebels**Holy Union**Lorrainers**Guisards* or *Gushans*  
*Zealots**The Godly Party**White*

1589

White was the Colours of the Kings Party, especially the King of Navarre always wore it, he and those for him wearing white Ribands or white Scarfs: the Colour worn by the Leaguers was commonly Green, though some in imitation of the Spaniards wore Red.

Besides the former long Letter to the Pope, they sent others also to several Cardinals, in which they renounced all Acknowledgments to the King, still calling him in their Letters only *The late King of France*; and the same Complements they afforded the King of Navarre: and the better to gain their designs, they sent to Rome to agitate their Affairs with the Pope these four active Blades:

*Le Sieur de Dieu*, Knight, and Commander of the Order of *Saint John of Jerusalem*.

*Mr. Lazare Coquelei*, Counsellour in the Parlement of *Paris*.

*Jean de Piles*, Abbot of *Orbais*, who had formerly been at Rome in behalf of the League, 1586, 1587.

*Pierre Frison*, Dean of *Rheims*.

To these they gave several private Instructions (39 in number;) the summe of them being to this purpose:

*To wait upon the Pope, and tell him of their Affairs in France. To inform him of the Massacre at Bloys, and aggravate them by the circumstances, as the Time, Place, Manner, and Breach of promise. To justify all the actions of Guise, with the necessity of his former taking up Arms, with the willingness of the Leaguers to come in to the King, (though they were very powerful) when he promis'd to fight the Hereticks. How the designs of the contrary Party was to ruine the Clergy. To satisfy him of the Barricades in Paris, as that the King designed to murder the good Catholick people. How the Catholiques are very hardly us'd, whilst the Favourers of Hereticks are preferr'd; which plainly discovereth the heart of the late King, (i. e. Henry) whose abominable wickedness and hypocrisie they must also discover. How he hath now joyn'd himself with the Hereticks, is no good Romanist, hath no reverence for Religion, being at Church sometimes with his Hat on. To tell him the Reasons why they chose Mayenne for their Head or Chief. That for their parts they will neither spare their lives nor estates in this quarrel, and so to desire his assistance to afford them his spiritual and temporal Treasures, to pronounce some Decree against this cruel Tyrant, not to entertain or hear his Embassadors and Messages. To send forth a Jubilee through all Christendom, to implore Gods assistance. To grant a Croisado, that all good Catholicks might help them. To excommunicate all that oppose them. To send a Legat into their Army, that all may know that the Pope undertakes their quarrel. To desire that all Catholick Princes would enter into a League in defence of their Religion, &c.*

25 May, 1589.

SENAULT.

*Mém. de la Ligue, vol. 3. p. 557.*

Nay, the Sorbonists were so zealous, that some one or other having drawn up a short Paper, containing the reasons of taking up Arms against the King, and it concluding,

XIII.

## XIII.

1589

How one Bodille being no more then a Gentleman, yet because Childe- See back-  
 deric II. had caused him publickly to be whipped, the said Bodille word, l. 3.  
 took thence occasion to kill that King, for which he is commended c. 4. & 2  
 by Historians: and therefore may not the Injury done to a better  
 then Bodille, viz. to a brave Prince (Guise) be also reven-  
 ged:

So zealous (I say) were the Doctors of Sorbonne, that having read over  
 this Tract they approved it, affirming nothing was in it contrary to the  
 Roman Church,

17 May, 1589.

Julien de Moranne.

Nor is this all, for the people being obliged to pray for their King by  
 the Canon of the Missale, some of the City of Beauvois (in la France, about  
 mid-way betwixt Paris and Amiens) upon this made a scruple whether  
 they were not thereby obliged to pray for Henry de Valois, seeing they  
 used to pray for — Our King Henry.

Whereupon it was concluded by the Sorbonne, that in any prayer 5 Apr.  
 whatever the word Henry should not be expres'd, that he should not be 1589.  
 pray'd for, and that it should be dash'd out of all Prayers or Collects:  
 and further, if any of their Faculty of Paris agree not to this, they shall  
 also be held culpable and guilty of Excommunication, depriv'd of the  
 Prayers and Privileges of the said Faculty.

And it was also concluded, that instead of these words — For our  
 King — some prayers shall be drawn up for the Catholick or Leaguering  
 Princes, which accordingly was done.

In the mean time many places joyning with the Leaguers, amongst the  
 rest those of Lyons drew up a long and tedious Declaration, where-  
 in they say,

That Lyons hath formerly been one of the most Loyal Cities in 2 March,  
 France. 1589.

That Obedience may be wrong'd by being too much or too little.

That therefore for the future they will consider all the Kings commands,  
 whether they are for the better or worse, and accordingly obey or  
 oppose.

That Kings being appointed by God for two ends, to preserve Religion,  
 and keep the people from oppression, that therefore they will and  
 ought to oppose all commands contrary to these two ends.

That seeing he hath violated the Edict of Union, kill'd and imprison'd  
 the good Romanists, countenanced the Hereticks, favoured Esper-  
 non and his creatures, therefore they have entered into the Holy  
 Union, taken up Arms, resolving to take the King from his bad  
 Council, which if they had not done they had been worse then  
 Jews.

That to say Kings ought not to be resisted upon any occasion is false Do-  
 ctrine, seeing they are onely to be obey'd conditionally, viz. in that  
 which is not prejudicial to Religion, Gods Service, and the good of  
 the State.

Doubt

1589

*Doubt not but God will bleſs their good Undertakings : And ſo after the telling of ſome ſtorieſ conclude.*

12 March.

This done, they draw up a Form of an Oath, whereby they ſwear to theſe Articles :

*To continue in the Roman Religion.  
To defend their City of Lyons.  
To preſerve the Forein Merchants in their Privileges.  
To act in defence and behalf of thoſe of Paris.  
To obey no Command whatever that is prejudicial to their Union.  
To obſerve exactly the Edi& of Union.  
To obey the Duke of Nemours their Governour.  
To ſtick cloſe one to another.  
And deſire all good people to joyn with them.*

And for their further encouragement thoſe of Paris ſend a Letter to theſe Hotſpurſ of Lyons, wherein they mind them

*Of the Killing and Imprisonments at Bloys.  
That the Aſſſinates had no other deſign in it but to ruine Religion,  
bring in Hereſie, maintain their Tyrannies, and to bring all good  
people into ſlavery.  
So being Frenchmen and Catholiques we are bound to defend our  
Religion and Eſtate againſt any he who it will ; and by all Obliga-  
tions of Religion, Law, Nature, and Intereſt, we muſt not leave the  
Kingdom to the mercy of this prodigal, perjur'd, cruel, and mur-  
dering Prince.  
That the two Henries are agreed, Hereſie allow'd of, the Catholicks  
perſecuted, and all things ſeem to go as in England.  
Therefore rowſe up and take courage againſt theſe oppreſſions, and ſend  
ſome of yours to conſult with us, and afford us your aſſiſtance.*

Paris, 25 May.

SENAULT.

*Mem. de M.  
de Nevers,  
vol. 2, p. 205.  
— hors d'  
icelle, il n'y  
a point de  
ſalut, ſoit  
au Ciel ou  
en la Terre*

Nay, ſo confident were they in their courſes, that they ſent a Letter to the Citizens of Nevers, exhorting them to ſtick cloſe to this Cauſe, aſſuring them that without ſo doing — *There was no hopes for their ſalvation either in Heaven or Earth.*

Whileſt theſe things were doing, the Swordmen and their Counſellours were not idle ; for the Duke of Mayenne no ſooner hears of his brother Guiſe's death, but he conſults his own ſecurity, ſecureth many ſtrong places to his Intereſt, and at laſt gets to Paris, where he was received with all demonſtrations of joy and honour : and here he falleth to work how to carry on the war, and ſuch a vogue with the multitude had this Holy League, that ſtrong places and Cities daily ſubmitted themſelves to its Authority : nay, a Company of Bumkin Tatterdemallians in Normandy, to the number of Sixteen thouſand, having roſe on their own heads, and for their own Intereſt, reſolving to defend themſelves and

and goods against any whatsoever be he *Royalist* or *Leaguer*, that should come into their Country, were at last by the persuasion of some Priests and Jesuits wheel'd over to side with the *Covenanters*; but having no experience and but poorly armed, were quickly routed by the Duke of *Montpensier*. These Clubmen were afterwards call'd the *Gantiers*, from the little Town *la Chapelle Gantier* in higher *Normandy*, where they first began their Insurrections or Rendezvouz'd.

1589

The King in the mean time had writ friendly Letters to the Duke of *Mayenne*, giving him reasons for the death of his brother, persuading him to live quietly; but *Madam de Montpensier* (his zealous sister) and other thoughts would not let him hearken to the Kings desires: so at *Paris* he is made Head of the *Covenanters*, and declared *Lieutenant General* of the Crown of *France*: the *Sixteen* and others would have had him to take upon him the Title of \* *King*, but this he refused, however he \* *Prefixe* had all the Power. They broke the Kings Great Seal, making another *Hist. Hen. le Grand* in its stead, on one side of which was the Arms of *France*, with this Inscription:

THE SEAL OF THE KINGDOM OF  
F R A N C E.

On the other side was an empty Throne, about which was this:

CHARLES DUKE OF MAYENNE,  
*Lieutenant of the Estate and Crown of*  
F R A N C E.

*Mayenne* thus entered as it were into the Throne, appointed a Council consisting of \* *XL* of the chiefest *Covenanters*, and this was call'd The \* *Their* General Council of the Union, which with his assistance was to treat of *Names may* and conclude all the most weighty business; however the Council of *be seen in* *Sixteen* was left chiefly to look to *Paris*, and now was added to the former Oaths this new one: *Jan de Ser. res, l'Inventaire.*

*We do all swear to be obedient to the General Council of Catholicks newly appointed at Paris, and also engage as much as in us lieth to see it submitted to by others, and whatsoever shall be there ordain'd to be accomplish'd.*

But a little after *Mayenne* added some other of his Creatures to this Council, the better to bring them to his lieur.

And now the *Leaguers* prosecute the war against the King every where, though he freely offers all pardon that will acknowledge him for their King, and sends to *Mayenne* again and again to have Peace made, but this the Duke absolutely denieth, nor will allow so much as a Truce, though *Morefimi* the Cardinal Legat interposed for the gaining of it; so that the King is oblig'd to proclame *Mayenne* and all his Adherents Traitors, and to remove the Parlement and Courts of *Paris* to *Tours* by Proclamation, himself then residing there, and many of the Loyal Parlement-men had fled to him from *Paris*.

Z z z

Yet



1589  
Ant. Coly-  
net, p. 392,  
393.

Yet for all the low condition of the King, and the great power of the *Leaguers*, the City of *Senlis* testified their Loyalty; for though at first that place had adher'd to the *Guisards*, yet now upon honest thoughts they declare for the King, upon which it was closely besieg'd and batter'd by the Duke of *Aumale* and the *Parisians*; and being put to some straits, and summon'd to yield, they promis'd to make answer next morning, which they did by hanging out a Pourtraicture over the Walls, by them newly painted, wherein was represented the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Aumale* hanging on Gibbets, and their sister *Catharine* Dutches of *Montpensier* kneeling at their feet, tearing her hair, weeping and bewailing their sad misfortune: at last the Siege was rais'd, and so these Royalists escaped the fury of the *Leaguers*.

But not to trouble my self with their fights and skirmishes, the King seeing the *Covenanters* resolv'd to ruine him, and seeing no means for his own preservation but to throw his thoughts upon the King of *Navarre*, (though above all things he abhor'd an *Huguenot*) who had under his command a good experienc'd Army, and from whom he need not doubt of assistance, *Navarre* having by a *Manifesto* protested against the *Covenanting* Rebellion, and proffered his service to fight against them in behalf of the *French* King.

Vide d'Au-  
bigne tom.  
3. l. 2. c. 30,  
31.

In short: A Peace or Truce was concluded between these two Kings, at which the *Spanish* Embassadour *Bernardino Mendoza* forsaketh the Court without taking leave, goeth to *Paris*, resideth with the *Covenanters*, where he became an active Instrument to carry on the *Spanish* designs; and Cardinal *Morosini* (the Popes Legat) quits the Kingdom for *Rome*: And now was it that the Kings Name was dash't out of all Prayers as aforesaid. And though the King had used great means and Interest to get the good will of Pope *Sixtus V.* yet the Agitators of the *League* were so persuasive and prevalent at *Rome*, that the King is not only denied, but a *Monitory Bull* is thundered out against him, whereby he incurred the Censure if within 30 days he released not Cardinal *Bourbon* and the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and gave him notice of it, and within 60 days to make his due submission to the Pope for the death of Cardinal *Guisse*: and if these things were not done, he should then be no King, nor his Subjects bound to obey him, but absolutely free from their Oaths of Allegiance.

The *Bull* it self being not to be met with in any of the *Roman Bullaria*, and so very difficult to be had, take as followeth.

S I X T U S Episcopus,

*Servus servorum Dei, ad futuram rei memoriam.*

' Inscrutabilis Divinae Providentiae altitudo, cujus nutu caelestia simul  
' & terrena gubernantur, Apostolorum principi beato *Petro*, ejusque suc-  
' cessoribus *Romanis* Pontificibus, Claves regni Caelorum ac totius Apo-  
' stolicae tradidit plenitudinem potestatis, simulque supra soliditatem ejus  
' fidei suam sanctam aedificavit ecclesiam, secundum verax Domini ver-  
' bum, *Ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram aedificabo Eccle-*  
' *siam meam, & porta Inferni non prevalebunt adversus eam, & tibi dabo*  
' *claves regni caelorum; & quodcunque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum in*  
' *caelis, & quodcunque solveris super terram erit solutum & in caelis.*

Unde

‘ Unde nos ad sacrosanctam ejusdem Beati Petri Cathedram (meritis  
 ‘ licet imparibus) divina disponente clementia vocati, & in throno justi-  
 ‘ tiae constituti, & secundum Hierimiam propheticam vocem, *Ecce con-*  
 ‘ *stitui te super gentes & super regna, ut evellas & destruas, disperdas & dissi-*  
 ‘ *pes, adifices & plantes*; supremam in omnes Reges ac Principes uni-  
 ‘ versae terrae, cunctosque populos, gentes & nationes, non humana sed  
 ‘ divina Institutione nobis traditam potestatem obtinentes, ipsum Domi-  
 ‘ num imitari debemus, qui pius & misericors ultionem ei, qui illum  
 ‘ praeventit, paratam temperat, & quos impoenitentes videt non prius se-  
 ‘ vera vindicta coercet, quam antea comminetur: In assidue autem pec-  
 ‘ cantes & in peccatis perseverantes, cum excessuum gravitas misericor-  
 ‘ diae fines transferit, ut saltem timore poenae ad poenitentiam redeant, cœ-  
 ‘ lestia justitiae arma exercet. Ita & nos quoque pro commisso nobis à  
 ‘ Deo universalis Ecclesiae regimine, salubriter cogimur providere, ne  
 ‘ per insidias humani generis hostis, eorum salus qui curae nostrae crediti  
 ‘ sunt, in exitium ruat, aut in discrimen adducatur; sed peccatores pa-  
 ‘ terna nostra monitione & redarguatione, aut corrigantur ab erroribus  
 ‘ & ad poenitentiam revertantur, aut si charitatis zelus per exhortationis  
 ‘ & monitionis remedia nihil proficiat, ipsique incorrigibiles apparuerint,  
 ‘ tandem spiritualis gladii mucrone non ad perniciem sed ad salutem vi-  
 ‘ brato, veluti putrida membra à sincero Ecclesiae corpore (quod ab  
 ‘ omni macula purum custodire debemus) abscindantur & seperen-  
 ‘ tur.

‘ Sane cum superioribus mensibus ad aures nostras, non sine ingenti  
 ‘ animi nostri perturbatione & horrore, fama publica ita referente & in-  
 ‘ crebrescente, pervenisset; & deinde per literas dilecti filii nostri *Joan-*  
 ‘ *nis Francisci* (tituli Sanctorum *Nerei & Archilei*, Presbyteri Cardinalis  
 ‘ *Mairoceni* nuncupati, nostri & Sedis Apostolicae in Regno *Franciae* de  
 ‘ latere Legati) certiores facti fuisset, quemadmodum etiam notori-  
 ‘ um universis existit: Quod *Henricus III. Francorum Rex, Ludovicum*  
 ‘ bonae memoriae Sanctae *R. E.* Presbyterum Cardinalem *Guissum*, Me-  
 ‘ tropolytanæ Ecclesiae *Rhemensis* Archiepiscopum, seu perpetuum ad-  
 ‘ ministratorem, ac nostrum & Sedis Apostolicae Legatum natum, capi &  
 ‘ in carcere conjici, ac die sequenti in vigilia Nativitatis Domini no-  
 ‘ stri *Jesu Christi* necari: necnon dilectum filium nostrum *Carolum* (Ti-  
 ‘ tuli Sancti *Chrysogoni*, ejusdem Sanctae Ecclesiae Presbyterum Cardina-  
 ‘ lem *Borbonium, Avenionensis* Civitatis & Comitatus *Venaisini*, nostrum  
 ‘ etiam & Sedis Apostolicae de latere Legatum:) ac venerabilem fra-  
 ‘ trem nostrum Archiepiscopum *Lugdunensem*, pro quo nos eodem tem-  
 ‘ pore idem *Henricus Rex*, ut illum in Sanctae *R. E.* Cardinalem assu-  
 ‘ meremus instanter rogabat, similiter capi, ac etiam in carcerem de-  
 ‘ trudi, & in eo custodiri mandaverit, prout etiam capti & carcerati im-  
 ‘ praesentiarum existunt, detinentur & custodiuntur, in Excommunic-  
 ‘ tionis sententias & alias censuras Ecclesiasticas & poenas, in sacris Ca-  
 ‘ nonibus ac diversis Constitutionibus (tam generalibus quam particula-  
 ‘ ribus) Sanctorum Generalium Conciliorum & Summorum *Romanorum*  
 ‘ Pontificum praedecessorum nostrorum, ac in literis nostris die *Canae Do-*  
 ‘ *mini* legi consuetis, contentas & promulgatas, una cum consciis, com-  
 ‘ plicibus, fautoribus, defensoribus & receptoribus, ac iis qui consilium,  
 ‘ auxilium, opem, operam, custodiam & ministerium praebuerunt, tulerunt  
 ‘ & praestiterunt, incurrendo.

‘ Nos qui dictum *Henricum* Regem paterna charitate & praecipuo a-  
 ‘ more semper complexi & prosecuti fuimus, non potuimus ob hujusmo-  
 ‘ di delictorum & sacrilegiorum atrocitatem non maximo affici dolore

1589

& mœrore, prout alias in Consistorio nostro secreto coram venerabilibus fratribus nostris *S.R.E.* Cardinalibus retulimus, ac dolentes con-  
 'questi fuimus: dumque expectabamus quod idem *Henricus* Rex facti  
 'pœnitens, & culpam suam agnoscens ad cor rediret, & dictos *Carolus*  
 'Cardinalem & *Petrum* Archiepiscopum carceratos relaxaret & liberos  
 'dimitteret, & absolutionem à præmissis humiliter postularet, prout sæ-  
 'pe sæpius *Joanni de Vivonne* Marchioni de *Pisanni* Ordinario, & *Hiero-*  
 'nymo *Gondio* Extraordinario, suis apud nos Oratoribus, & etiam vene-  
 'rabili fratri *Clandio* Episcopo *Canomanensi*, ab eo ad nos specialiter de-  
 'stinato, paternò affectu significavimus, & vehementer hortati sumus,  
 'ipse *Henricus* Rex, non ut vere pœnitens, nec peccatum sincere confi-  
 'tens, nec ea cordis humilitate qua debebat, & quemadmodum fideles  
 '& pœnitentes Reges & Principes hætenus fecerunt, absolutionem hu-  
 'jusmodi à nobis postulare curavit, verum salutaria ac paterna nostra  
 'consilia non amplectens, usque in hodiernum diem eisdem *Carolus*  
 'Card. & *Petrum* Archiepisc. distulit dimittere & liberare.

'NOS igitur, qui licet ad Declarationem contra eundem *Henricum*  
 'Regem super prædictis antea procedere potuissemus, nihilominus pro  
 'paterna ac singulari nostra erga eum pietate, & pro Regii honoris di-  
 'gnitate benigne cum eo agendo, ipsum plusquam par erat (jam enim  
 'quintus agitur mensis) ut resipisceret expectavimus, non possumus nec  
 'debemus amplius differre, quin his malis pro ejusdem *Henrici* Regis ani-  
 'mæ salute & conservatione, quæ nobis præ omnibus charior & anti-  
 'quior semper fuit, Canonica & opportuna remedia adhibeamus. Sed  
 'cum ex debitò Pastoralis Officii cunctorum *Christi* fidelium, præsertim  
 'vero *S.R.E.* Cardinalium, etiam Prælatorum securitati consulere &  
 'providere teneamur, ne cum tanto Regni *Francia* & totius *Christiani*  
 'orbis scandalo, & nostræ Sedis Apostolicæ dignitatis discrimine, dicti  
 'Carolus Card. *Barbonius* & *Petrus* Archiep. *Lugdunensis* diutius in carce-  
 'ribus detineantur, neve à nobis de hujusmodi neglecta cura ac muneris  
 'nostri administratione in districto Dei judicio rationem reddere cogamur,  
 'de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum ejusdem *S.R.E.* Cardinalium  
 'consilio & assensu, ac matura deliberatione præhabita, prædictum *Hen-*  
 'ricum Regem per viscera misericordiæ, & asperisionem sanguinis Dei &  
 'Domini nostri *Jesu Christi*, quo & per quem humani generis Redemptio  
 'facta est, ex toto corde hortamur, atque autoritate Apostolica tenore  
 'præsentium primo, secundo, & tertio monemus, requirimus, ac eidem  
 'virtute Sanctæ Obedientiæ præcipimus & mandamus, quatenus ab hu-  
 'jusmodi carceratione & detentione dictorum *Caroli* Card. & *Petri* Ar-  
 'chiep. carceratorum, sive sub custodia, aut alias quomodolibet detento-  
 'rum desistendo, illo per se vel alium, seu alios intra terminum decem di-  
 'erum immediate sequentium à die publicationis præsentium, modo &  
 'forma infra scriptis faciendæ, omni postposita mora, exceptione vel ex-  
 'cusatione aut prætextu, libere dimittere & liberare, ac in pristinam &  
 'plenam libertatem cum omni securitate, tuto com meatu ac recessu, rea-  
 'liter & cum effectu restituere & reponere, teneatur & debeat, seu libere  
 'dimittat, liberet, atque in pristinam & plenam libertatem cum omni se-  
 'curitate, tuto com meatu ac recessu restituat & reponat, seu dimitti, libe-  
 'rari, restitui & reponi (ut præmittitur) faciat & mandet; ac de eorun-  
 'dem *Caroli* Card. & *Petri* Archiep. libera dimissione & liberatione, & in  
 'pristinam & plenam libertatem cum omni securitate, tuto com meatu at-  
 'que recessu, restitutione & repositione, per suas literas Regia manu &  
 'sigillo subsignatas, seu per publicum & authenticum Instrumentum, ad  
 'nos & Sedem Apostolicam transmittendas, intra triginta dies à die dicta  
 'dimissionis & liberationis, intra ipsos decem dies faciendæ, numerandos,  
 'doceat & certiores reddat.

Quod

Quod si prædictus *Henricus* Rex paternis his nostris exhortationibus, monitionibus & requisitionibus, ac mandato non paruerit, & intra prædictos decem dies eisdem *Carolus* Card. & *Petrus* Archiep. non libere dimiserit aut liberaverit, & in pristina plenam libertatem cum omni securitate, tuto commearu & recessu non restituerit vel reposuerit, seu libere dimitti, liberari, restitui & reponi non fecerit (ut præfertur,) & de libera dimissione, liberatione, restitutione & repositione prædictis nos (ut supra) intra dictos triginta dies non docuerit, aut certiores non reddideret, ipsum quidem *Henricum* Regem, ac omnes & quoscunque qui in notoria violenta manuum injectione, captura, carceratione, detentione & nece prædictis conscii, complices & fautores fuerunt, quive consilium, auxilium & opem, operam, custodiam & ministerium præbuerunt, tulerunt & præstiterunt, cujuscunque conditionis, status, gradus, ordinis & dignitatis tam Ecclesiasticæ quam mundanæ existant, in *Excommunicationis majoris* sententiam & Anathematis vinculum, & alias Censuras Ecclesiasticas, in prædictis sacris Canonibus & Constitutionibus generalibus & particularibus, atque in literis die *Cena Domini* legi consuetis, contentas & promulgatas damnabiliter incurrisse & incidisse, ex parte Omnipotentis Dei & beatorum *Petri* & *Pauli* Apostolorum ejus auctoritate & nostra, & nunc prout extunc dicimus, pronunciamus & declaramus, illumque & illos universis *Christi* fidelibus excommunicatos, & ab unitate corporis *Christi* seperatos, & ut tales ab ipsis omnimodo vitandos palam & publice denunciamus.

Et nihilominus eundem *Henricum* Regem, ac universos & singulos prædictos conscios, complices, fautores, defensores & receptores, quive consilium, auxilium, favorem, opem, operam, custodiam & ministerium in præmissis præbuerunt, tulerunt & præstiterunt, tam super dictis publica & notoria violenta manuum injectione in præfatos *Ludovic.* Card. *Guisum*, *Carolus* Card. *Borbonium*, & *Petrus* Archiep. *Lugdunens.* & illorum captura & detentione, quam nece ejusdem *Ludovici* Card. & aliis criminibus & excessibus desuper admissis, ac latius deductis, & deducendis & exprimendis, eadem Apostolica auctoritate, primo, secundo & tertio monemus, requirimus & citamus, quatenus ipse Rex perse, vel alium seu alios, suum vel suos, procuratorem seu procuratores, legitimum seu legitimos, sufficienti ad id mandato instructum seu instructos, reliqui vero personaliter per seipso, intra terminum 60 dierum à die executionis & publicationis præsentium computandorum, (quorum 60 dierum 20 pro prima, alios vero 20 pro secunda, reliquos autem 20 pro tertia & ultima canonica monitione, ac ultimo & peremptorio termino eisdem præfigimus et assignamus) coram nobis comparere teneantur et debeant, ad dicendum, opponendum et allegandum; quare non debeant declarari et denunciari propter hujusmodi violentam manuum injectionem, comprehensionem, necem, et detentionem personarum Card. et Archiep. respective et alia præmissa, in alias sententias et pœnas spirituales et temporales in prædictis sacris Canonibus et Constitutionibus contentas et inflictas, incurrisse et incidisse, et quare tam ejusdem *Henrici* Regis quam aliorum supradictorum feudatarii, subditi et vassalli propterea à *juramento fidelitatis*, quo ei vel eis quomodolibet astringuntur, absolvi, vel illi jam absoluti declarari non debeant, et alias super præmissis ad se legitime excusandos et defendendos.

Alioquin etiam ipso *Henrico* Rege, vel suo legitimo procuratore, seu legitimis procuratoribus non comparentibus, aut consciiis, complicitibus, fautoribus, et aliis præd. etiam in executione præsentium (si videbitur) nominandis personaliter non comparentibus, aut etiam compar. et nihil quod ipsos legitime excusare vel defend. valeat, aut relevare possit adducen-  
centibus;

1589

centibus : Nos nihilominus etiam nulla alia monitione vel citatione præcedente, (nisi forsan per officium Audientiæ contradictorum, si nobis visum fuerit) procedemus, justitia mediante ad omnes & singulos actus in præmissis quomodolibet necessarios & opportunos, etiam usque ad prædictarum sententiarum & poenarum in eisdem sacris Canonibus & Constitutionibus contentarum & inflictarum, seu illarum incursum declarationem & denunciationem, necnon ad Absolutionem seu Absolutionis declarationem fundatoriorum subditorum & vassallorum à *juramento Fidelitatis*, quo tam eadem *Henrico* Regi, quam aliis supradictis quomodo libet tenentur vel astringuntur, prout juris fuerit, & ordo dictaverit rationis.

‘Cæterum] ab *Excommunicationis majoris*, Anathematis vinculo, & aliis censuris prædictis, nec ipse *Henricus* Rex nec ullus alius prædictorum, neque etiam in foro Conscientiæ à quocunque seculari, vel cujusvis ordinis regulari Presbyteris, vel Prælato quavis dignitate & auctoritate fungente, nisi à nobis vel *Romano* Pontifice pro tempore existente, & præterquam in mortis articulo, nec tunc nisi de stando Ecclesiæ mandatis & satisfaciendo præstita cautione absolvi possint, etiam prætextu quarumvis facultatum & indultorum, etiam occasione *Fubilei* plenarii vel *Cruciatae sanctæ*, seu Confessionarium, quibuscunque personis Ecclesiasticis secularibus & quorumvis ordinum, etiam Mendicantium & Militiarum, Regularibus, etiam Episcopali, vel alia majori dignitate præditis, ipsisque Ordinibus, ac eorum Monasteriis, Conventibus & Domibus ac Capitulis, Collegiis, Confraternitatibus, Congregationibus, Hospitalibus & locis piis, necnon Laicis, etiam eadem *Henrico* Regi & forsan aliis *Franciæ* Regibus ac cæteris personis supradictis, per nos & dictam Sedem & cujusvis Consilii decreta, verbo, literis aut quacunque scriptura in genere vel in specie concessorum, innovatorum, etiam si in eis casus in literis die *Cana Domini* legi soliti expressi comprehenduntur, nisi de præsentibus nostris literis specifica & expressa, non autem per clausulam, quorum tenores, aut alias quascunque clausulas generales idem importantes, mentio fiat.

‘Nonobstantibus Privilegiis, Indulgentiis & literis Apostolicis generalibus vel specialibus, etiam ipso *Henrico* Regi, ac ejus prædecessoribus seu aliis supradictis, vel eorum alicui seu aliquibus aliis, cujusunque ordinis, status vel conditionis, dignitatis & præminentiae fuerint, etiam si Pontificali, Regali, seu quavis Ecclesiastica & mundana præfulgeant dignitate, vel eorum Regnis, Provinciis, Civitatibus, seu locis à prædicta Sede ex quavis causa, etiam per viam Constitutionis perpetuæ, contractus aut remunerationis, & sub quavis alia forma & tenore, ac cum quibusvis clausulis, etiam derogatoriis derogatoriis concessis & sæpius approbatis & innovatis, etiam continentibus quod Excommunicari, Anathematizari vel Interdicti non possint per literas Apostolicas, non facientes plenam & expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de Indulto hujusmodi, ac de ordinibus, locis, nominibus propriis, cognominibus & dignitatibus eorum mentionem, necnon consuetudinibus & aliis quibuscunque observantiis scriptis vel non scriptis, per quæ contra has nostras literas, sententias & censuras, quominus eis ligentur & afficiuntur, si juvare valeant vel tueri.

‘Quibus omnibus eorum omnium tenores, ac si ad verbum nihil penitus omisso infererentur præsentibus, pro expressis habentes, ad effectum præsentium duntaxat specialiter & expresse derogamus, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

Ut

1589  
 ‘ Ut autem præsentēs nostræ literæ ad ipsius *Henrici* Regis & aliorum  
 ‘ supradictorum notitiā facilius perveniant, seu pervenire possint, ad  
 ‘ quos personaliter monendos & citandos tutus his turbulentis tempori-  
 ‘ bus non patet accessus, prout nobis notorie constat, & præsentium te-  
 ‘ nore declaramus, easdem nostras literas, tam in alma urbe nostra, & in  
 ‘ Basilicæ Principis Apostolorum & Cancellariæ Apostolicæ valvis, ac  
 ‘ in acie Campi *Flora*, per aliquem ex Cursoribus nostris, quam etiam in  
 ‘ partibus regni *Francia*, in valvis duarum vel trium ex infrascriptis sex  
 ‘ Cathedralibus Ecclesiis, viz. *Pictavensi*, *Aurelianensi*, *Carnotensi*, *Mel-*  
 ‘ *densi*, *Agennensi*, & *Cænomanensi*, more solito legi & publicari, & inibi  
 ‘ affigi, & per aliquod temporis spatium affixas dimitti, eisque postmodum  
 ‘ inde detractis, earum exempla in eisdem locis pariter affixa relinqui  
 ‘ mandamus.

‘ Decernentes ut earundem literarum publicatio sic facta, tam contra  
 ‘ eundem *Henricum* Regem quam alios in præmissis conscios, complices,  
 ‘ fautores, defensores & receptores, ad eos qui consilium, auxilium, opem,  
 ‘ operam, custodiam & ministerium præbuerunt, tulerunt & præstite-  
 ‘ runt, supradictos & eorum quemlibet perinde arctet & afficiat, ac si li-  
 ‘ teræ ipsæ eis vel eorum singulis personaliter lectæ & intimatæ & insinu-  
 ‘ atæ fuissent : cum non sit verisimile ea, quæ tam patenter & publice  
 ‘ facta fuerint, ipsos posse quomodolibet ignorare.

‘ Quia vero difficile foret præsentēs literas ad singula loca deferri ad  
 ‘ quæ oporteret, **VOLUMUS**, ut earum transcriptis, etiam impressis,  
 ‘ manu publici Notarii subscriptis, & sigillo personæ in dignitate Ec-  
 ‘ clesiastica constitutæ obsignatis, eadem prorsus fides ubique gentium &  
 ‘ locorum in judicio & extra illud adhibeatur, quæ eisdem originalibus  
 ‘ adhibeatur, si essent exhibita vel ostensa.

‘ Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ Hortatio-  
 ‘ nis, Monitionum, Requisitionum, Præcepti, Mandatorum, Pronuntia-  
 ‘ tionis, Declarationum, Denunciationis, Citationis, Præfixionis, Affi-  
 ‘ gnationis, Decretorum, Derogationis & Voluntatis infringere, vel ei  
 ‘ ausu temerario contraire : Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumplerit,  
 ‘ Indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum *Petri & Pauli* Aposto-  
 ‘ lorum ejus, se noverit incursurum.

*Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis  
 Dominicæ MDLXXXIX. tertio nonas Maii, Pontifica-  
 tus nostri anno quinto.*

A. de Alexiis.

M. Vestrius Barbianus.

And so wonderfully powerful was this *Bull* against *Henry* and his *Dejusta* ab-  
 well-wishers, that they tell us by way of Miracle how one at *Venice* (but *die. Hen. III.*  
 offering to speak in behalf of the King) sunk presently down, and no *l. 4. c. 14. p.*  
 sooner was carried home but he died. 418.

CHAP.

1589

## CHAP. VI.

*King Henry III. murdered by Friar Clement. The Pope's  
Speech in Commendation of the Murder.*

**T**HE King as aforesaid being not a little perplext at the late Papal *Monitory Bull*, *R. de Beaune* (the Archbishop of *Bourges*) endeavoured to comfort him, by suggesting that the Pope would alter his mind when he better understood the bad Designs of the *League*. To whom the King after a deep sigh replied, — *He thought it very hard, that he who had ever fought and laboured for Religion should be rashly Excommunicated, because he would not suffer his own throat to be cut by his Rebell-Subjects; since those who had \* sack'd Rome, and kept the Pope himself prisoner, had never been Excommunicated* — But the King of *Navarre* (then present) gave him the best counsel and comfort by his Answer, — *But they were Victorious, Sir: Let your Majesty endeavour to conquer, and be assur'd the Censures shall be revok'd; but if we be overcome, we shall all die condemn'd Hereticks.*

\* Emperor  
Charles V.  
by his General  
Lewis  
de Bourbon,  
anno  
1527.

Accordingly it was resolv'd to augment their Army as much as they could, to lay siege to *Paris* (the Head of the *Leaguers*) which obtain'd would make all the Kingdom submit, and the design of that siege would draw multitude of Souldiers and Adventurers in hopes of good plunder. In short: what by the joyning of the two Kings Armies, by the coming in of the *Swisses* (rais'd by Monsieur de *Sancy*) to the Forces of the Duke of *Longueville*, and other daily Additions and *Voluntiers*, the King presently found himself at the head of above forty thousand fighting men.

With this strength he presently besiegeth *Paris*, which was such a cooler to the *Leaguers*, what by the fickleness and cowardise of the people then (as usually happens to such great Cities) what by the scarcity of Victuals, the not sufficient number of Souldiers, nor Pay to encourage them, with their stubbornness and threats to quit the Service if not presently paid and victuall'd; with these Inconveniences (I say) the People and Souldiers were so disheartened, that they were even ready to revolt, but that the Priests and Friars afforded them much encouragement, not only by their example in taking up Arms themselves, but also by their Seditious Preachments, which usually worketh very much upon the ignorant, and can countenance Knaves and Rebels to act for their Interest, (that is) to do any wickedness and villany whatever. And lest any badge of Royalty should remain to put them in mind of their Loyalty and Allegiance, the *Cordeliers* struck out the Head of the Figure of the King, which was painted kneeling before the High Altar of their Church; the *Jacobins* also defac'd the Kings Picture in their Cloysters.

*Journal.*

But nothing did more persuade the people from a Revolt, then the assurance which the Priests and other chief *Leaguers* gave them, that they should be freed from their Enemies within a few days, in hopes of which the Citizens were more active in opposition, though they understood not the means of such a delivery.

In



In the mean time the Council of *Sixteen* with some other Chieftains consult their deliverance; the plot is not long finding out: for there then living in *Paris* one *Jaques Clement* (a Friar of the Order of *St. Dominick*, commonly call'd *Jacobins*) one very ignorant, and so more sturdy, bold, and apt for any wickedness, of which he was more capable by his extravagant Zele, and not a little augmented by the daily Preachments he had heard against the King. Thus puff'd up they us'd to call him Captain *Clement*; and thus determin'd, he confesseth that *he is boldly inspir'd to kill the King*. The Father to whom he confest it imparted it to *Edmond Pourgain* (Prior of the Covent of *Jacobins*, and one of the chief Counsellours of the *League*) who bid *Clement* consider, whether it might not be a temptation of the Devil, and so that he should fast and pray, begging of God to enlighten him what to do.

A little after Friar *Clement* returneth, telling them that *he now found himself strengthened and confirm'd for the deed*: upon which they encourage and engage him to it, telling him that *he shall be well recompenced for the fact; if he die, he shall surely fly to Heaven as a Saint, and be enrolled amongst the Roman Martyrs on Earth; but if he live, he and his shall be provided for, that he shall have a Bishoprick if not a Cardinalship*. And that there might be some hopes of his life, 'tis said that the Dutchess of *Montpensier* and others assur'd him, that there were many *Leaguers* and their partakers in the Kings Guards, Camp, Court, Chamber, and his Council too, who would be ready to assist, defend, and rescue him, if any danger should happen.

The Friar thus resolved, three things are next consulted of, viz. Access to the King; The manner of Execution; And the Secresie. As for the first, it was concluded to get some Letters from Count *de Brienne*, or the Chief President *Achilles de Harlay* (then Prisoners for their Loyalty in the *Bastile*) the sight of which with the reverence of his Coat would get him admittance. As for the second, nothing like a Stab with a Knife, which might conveniently be hid in his wide sleeve. And lastly, to prevent that none should discover it before the blow be given, the Gates should be ordered to be strictly shut, with sure Guards and Watch at all *Avenues*, that none but himself should go out.

Well, the Monk hath a Knife given him by the aforesaid (a) Prior, which is impos'd, and (as (b) some write) he intreated the Popes Legat to bless it and him for his better speed; and (c) others say, that he acquainted Father *Cammolet* and other Jesuits with his design.

In brief: the Letters cunningly procured, as if to do the King some good service, and thus prepared he goeth to *St. Cloud* (a Village near *Paris*, where the King then quartered) where he is seiz'd on, examin'd, confesseth his business is to the King, to whom he hath Letters and other secrets to deliver, but such as he will discover to none but the King himself. The Monk thus believed is the next morning carried to the Kings Lodgings, where he presents him with a Letter, which whilst the King is reading *Clement* pulleth the Knife out of his Friars sleeve, \* stabb'd the \* King in the belly, of which wound he died that night. And this murder

Davila p. 815, 816, 817, 857.

And Favyn Hist. de Navarre, n. 949.

Hist. des derniers troubles de France, l. 5. fol. 6.

Satyre Menip. p. 125, 126, 127.

Laurence Bocuhel Hist. de la justice criminelle de France, tit. 11. ch. 12.

Ant. C. 1.  
net. p. 103.

(a) Il recoit de son Prieur un Couteau Favyn. ib.

(b) The mutability and mastering spirit of France, printed in folio Anno 1597. pag. 132. Ant. Colynet p. 405.

(c) Jan de Serres Inventaire.



1589 ther was well timed for the *Leaguers*, the King having determined to storm the City the next day. And thus ended the Line and Family of *Valois* by the murder of this King *Henry III.* whose Commendations have been undertaken by some of the *French* \* Poets, whilst others are as much against him.

\* V de  
c. Eff. inel. e  
le Parnasse,  
tom. 1. fol.  
315, 316,  
329.  
Delit. Poet. Anagram :  
Gal. vol. 3.  
p. 114.

As for the wicked Monk *James Clement*, he was [unadvisedly] instantly slain, his body thrown out of the window, burnt by the Souldiers, and his ashes scatter'd in the River, and upon him was made this

*Frere Jaques Clement :*  
Anagram,

\* C'est l'enfer qui m'a cree.

\* 'Tis Hell  
that created  
me.

Satyre Me-  
nip. p. 128.  
Vide Mem.  
de la Ligue,  
tom. 4. p.  
14, & c.  
Thua. 1. 96.

But on the other hand the *Covenanters* rejoyce, throw off the mourning which they had worn for *Guise*, appear'd in their greatest glory, clad themselves in flourishing green tossing Feathers, made Bonfires, had the Monks Picture made and shewed publicly, his Mother and Kindred sought out to be rewarded and gratified, the better to encourage others to the like murder; nay had thoughts to set up his Statue in their Churches instead of the Kings pull'd down. And no sooner was the Siege rais'd but a Company of them goeth in Triumph to *St. Cloud*, (call'd so from a son of King *Cledomire*) where the King and Monk were slain: and because the Friars body was burn'd as aforesaid, so that they could procure none of it, they pared off the ground which had been died with his blood, which as *Holy Reliques* they place in a Boat, intending to convey them to *Paris* to be worship'd as sanctified stuff by the people: but see the luck on't, and the end of themselves in the height of this their religious Trophy; a wind ariseth, turns over their Boat, where-by the people and their Reliques were lost and drown'd.

As for the Preachers, they magnifie the Action as Heroick and Noble: *Burgoin* the foresaid Prior of the *Jacobins* compared him in his Sermons to *Judith*, the murdered King to *Holofernes*, and the delivered City to *Bethulia*: Father *Robert* (a *Franciscan* at *Vendosme*) publicly commends the deed: Dr. *Boucher* cometh out in Print by Authority of the Union in vindication of it, affirming it to have been done \* to the unspeakable joy of all good men; comparing the Friar to *Ehud* for killing *Eglon* King of *Moab*; that he had done a greater work then *Judith* in killing *Holofernes*, *David Goliath*, or *Sampson* his thousand men; observeth a Providential Miracle for honour of the *Roman Church*, viz. that it was committed on the day of *St. Peters* Feast *ad vincula*, and another for the preservation and justification of the *Sorbonne* School and her Doctors, viz. that this Monk was born at a Village call'd *Sorbonne*, in the Territory of the City *Sens* by the lower *Champagne*; at last abuseth

\* Incredibili bonorum omnium gaudio & exultatione. De Hen. III. lib. 1. c. 23. Id. 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455.

(a) Quod factum nuper & probatum divinitus etiam gratulamur. Id. epist. de d.

(b) Tho. L. of Con. German. p. 281.

(c) A. l. p. a. Jean Chastel part. 3. c. 1. p. 122.

(d) V. d. Jesuit. Siscr. appendix, p. 271.

many Texts of Scripture in his commendation, and will have the action ascrib'd to (a) Heaven, to the no small comfort of the *Covenanters*: And we are also (b) told, that *Claudius Sanctius* writ in vindication of this murder.

Nor will (c) *François Veronne* let him pass without a favourable nod. (d) Another layeth it down as a brave subject for Historians, Poets, Orators, and Preachers to exercise their

their parts with, affirming it to be — \* *A generous and noble action, necessary for France, and profitable for Christendom, agreeable to and approved of by the Authority of Canons, with the reason, advice, and judgment of the wisest and godliest of men.* To give all the commendation and encomiums, which this Writer sets down at large of this (a) *best of Jacobins*, (as he calls the Villain) would be too tedious: nor need I here mention the impudence of *James Cammolet* the Jesuite, and the rest of the *Leaguers*, who (if we may believe some *English Roman* (b) *Priests themselves*) would not give *Absolution* to the Gentry of *France*, unless they would take Arms against their King *Henry III.* of whose murder thus one of their Poets :

*Qui Monachi virtutem habitu simulaverat olim,  
Hunc Monachi virtus non simulata necat.*

The counterfeited Monk his death doth feel,  
Being stabb'd by one was Monk as true as Steel.

Nor need we question their commendations of this Parricide, since they held him for a *blessed* \* *Martyr*, not only in Words and Writing \* *Spondan.* but in Pictures too, and this not only in *France* but at *Rome* it self. And *an. 1589.* further it was the opinion of some, that if this wicked Friar had been a *Franciscan* (Pope *Sixtus V.* being of that Order) as he was a *Dominican*, *Will. War-* he might have been declar'd a *Saint*. *mingtons*

And what opinion the Chieftains of *Rome* had of this action, may in part appear by the Letter sent to the *General Council* of the *Holy Union* the Oath of by Cardinal *Montalto*, Nephew to Pope *Sixtus* ; the which take thus : *Defiance of* *the Oath of* *Allegiance,* *p. 147.*

*Illustrissimi Domini,*

‘ Valde hic dubitabamus, num rumor de morte *Henrici III. Gallia Re-*  
‘ *gis* verus esset aut falsus. Nam licet is e diversis locis ad nos adcurreret,  
‘ autorem tamen clarum aut certum non habebat : quandoquidem id  
‘ quod narrabatur fabulæ similis videbatur quam veritati. Verum ad-  
‘ ventus \* *Nicolai Nivelii*, civis *Parisiensis*,  
‘ qui adhuc adpulit 25 die mensis præsentis,  
‘ cum literis quarto die scripti à Duce *May-*  
‘ *ennio* ad sanctitatem ejus, omne nobis du-  
‘ bium exemit. Idem attulit secum instru-  
‘ menta publica Monitorii Apostolici, in effe-  
‘ ctum illic producti : non habebat tamen  
‘ literas ullas à vobis ad sanctitatem ejus, quod *ingratum* sane ei ac-  
‘ cidit.

‘ Quanquam autem dicta sanctitas ejus libenter cognovit liberatam  
‘ esse *Lutetiam*, & imminutas vires *Hugonotorum*, tristitia tamen non par-  
‘ va perfusa est, & summe obstupescata, audians tam magnum admodum  
‘ & nobilem Regem, mort: tam miserabili peremptum, adeoque finem  
‘ ejus conformem non fuisse illi, quem sortiti sunt tot antecessores ejus,

A 2 2 2 2

qui

\* Tam generosum, tam gloriosum, tam necessarium *Gallia*, tam utilem atque fructuosum, toti Christiano orbi tam acceptum & approbitum ab auctoritate Canonum, à Ratione, Consilio & Sententia tot hominum sapientissimorum & devotissimorum in mundo. *Id.* p. 272.

(s) Optimus ille *Jacobinus*.

(1) See their Preface to the *Jesuit Catechism*, ¶ ¶ 3. p. 2.

1589

qui longa serie per plurima secula gloriose regnarunt in Gallia, & posterâ ex hac vita in meliorem transiverunt cum gloria sempiterna.

Verum quia sanctitas ejus desiderat: (vel ut copiosius nomine ejus ad Ducem *Mayennium* perscripsi) videre tandem, & quidem durante tempore Pontificatus sui finem imponi turbis, tempestatibus, & miseris funestissimis potentissimi illius regni, utque extirpatis hæresibus, pristinam recuperet Majestatem suam, floreatque ibi usus S. Catholicæ, Apostolicæ, Romanæ Religionis nostræ; ideo notum vobis facio, sanctitatem ejus paratissimam esse (siquidem necessarium à vobis judicetur) ad mittendum *Legatum Cardinalem*, qui necessitatibus vestris succurrat, partim suppeditando vobis milites & pecunias (quas per Dei gratiam alibi mutuo sumere haud oportebit) partim autoritate & consilio suo complures principes alliciendo; ut ita eodem consilio juretur, conservetur, & promoveatur causa Dei, Fidei, & Religionis nostræ.

Sed quum apud nos, qui vestro nomine rem agere possit tam arduam sit nemo, sanctitas ejus exhortatur vos, ut tempore provideatis, & quoad ejus primum fieri potest; idque aut per literas, aut per Deputatum quempiam nostratum, cui res vestræ omnes probe notæ sint; aut mittendo ex professo quempiam e vestris partibus, qui autoritate & ingenio polleat sufficienti tractando negotio tam gravi & primario. Et quandoquidem constat, adversarios attonitos valde esse, & quasi divino ictos fulmine; antequam unire iterum se, & consilium atque vires corroborare possint: omnis ideo lapis movendus erit, ut TAM PRÆCLARA ET RARA OCCASIO ne amittatur, de qua dici aliud non possit, QUAM DIVINITUS A POTENTI ET BENIGNA MANU DEI oblatam esse.

Et proinde sanctitas ejus exhortatur vos non tantum ut conservetis, sed etiam amplificetis & propageris concordiam & unanimatem IN SANCTO VESTRO FOEDERE; omnia siquidem pessum ac perditum irent, cum perpetuo nostro dedecore atque damno, si inter vos & alios unitis vincula pacis & unionis firma atque fortia non essent. Dominus noster adsit vobis spiritu sancti consilii sui, & concedat vobis PLENAM VICTORIAM IN HOSTES NOSTROS, & Divinæ ipsius Majestatis.

Roma,  
26 Augusti, 1689.

Vestri studiosissimus ut Frater,

A. Cardinalis MONTALTUS.

Though by this Letter and what hath been said it appears plainly, that the Pope sided with the *Covenanters*; yet to summe up all, take here the Popes own Speech, which he made in the Consistory to the Cardinals upon the Kings murther.

\* 1. 5.

Animo meo sæpe ac serio revolvens, mentisque aciem intendens in ea, quæ nuper Dei voluntate acciderunt, videor mihi vere posse illud Prophetæ\* *Abacuch* usurpare, — Quia opus factum est in diebus vestris, quod nemo credit cum narra-

Considering oftentimes with my self, and applying my whole understanding unto these things, which now of late by a just judgement of God are come to pass, I think I may with right use the words of the Prophet *Habakkuk* — I have wrought a work in your days, bisur

*bitur*—— Mortuus est Rex *Francorum* per manus Monachi; nam ad istud potest recte applicari, licet de alia re, nempe de incarnatione Domini, quæ omnia mira ac mirabilia superat: Propheta proprie locutus sit, sicut & Apostolus *Paulus* eadem verba \* *Actuum* 13. ad *Christi* resurrectionem verissime refert.

Quando Propheta nominat opus, non vult innuere aliquid vulgare vel ordinarium, sed rærum, insigne, ac memorabile facinus, quomodo de creatione mundi, — *Opera manuum tuarum sunt Cæli*—— Item, — *Requievis die septimo ab omni opere quod patrarat*—— Cum vero factum ait, eo verbo tale aliquid in Scripturis exprimi, quod non temere, casu, fortuna, aut per accidens evenire dicitur; sed quod expressa Dei voluntate, providentia, dispositione ac ordinatione obvenit. Ut cum dicit *Salvator*, — *Opera qua ego facio vos facietis, & majora horum facietis*—— & similia in sacris literis plurima. Quod autem loquatur in præterito factum esse, id more aliorum Prophetarum facit, qui propter certitudinem eventus solent sæpe de futuris, ac si jam facta essent prædicere. Dicunt enim *Philosophi* res præteritas esse de necessitate, præsentis de ineffe, futuras de possibili tantum; ita illi loquuntur. Propter quam certitudinem *Isaias* Propheta longe ante vaticinatus est de morte *Christi*; sic dixit, sicut in *Act. Apost. c. 8.* etiam recitatur, — *Tanquam ovīs ad occisionem ductus est, & sicut agnus coram tondente se non aperuit os suum, &c.*—— Atque hoc de quo nunc verba facimus, & quod his diebus nostris evenit vere insignis, memorabile, & pene incredibile opus est, nec sine Dei Opt. Max. particulari providentia & dispositione perpetratum. Occidit *Monachus Regem*, non pictum aut fictum in charta aut pariete, sed *Regem Francie*, in medio exercitus

1589 which no man will believe—when it is told him—— *The French King is slain by the hands of a Friar*; for unto this it may justly be compared, although the Prophet spake of another thing, namely of the Incarnation of our Lord, which exceedeth and surmounteth all other wonders and miracles whatsoever: As also the Apostle S. Paul referreth the same words most truly unto the resurrection of Christ.

\* v. 41.  
When the Prophet said A work, his mind was not to signifie by it some common or ordinary thing, but a rare and notable matter, worthy to be remembered, as that of the creation of the world, — The Heavens are the works of thine hands— And again, — He rested the seventh day from all the works which he had made— When he saith, I have wrought, with these words the Holy Scriptures are wont to express things not common to pass by casualty, fortune or accident; but things befallen by the determined providence, will, and ordinance of God, as our Saviour said, — The works which I do you shall do also, and yet greater— and many more such like in the holy Scriptures. And that he saith that it is done in times past, herein he followeth the use and order of the holy Prophets, who for certainty of the event are wont to prophesie of things to come as if they were past already. For the Philoſ. say, that things past are of necessity, things present of being, & things to come only of possibility. For which certainty the Prophet *Isaiah* long before prophesying of the death of *Christ* hath thus spoken, — He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and like a lamb before his shearer so opened he not his mouth— And this whereof we speak at this present, and which is come to pass in these our days, is a famous, notable, and almost incredible thing, not done or achiev'd without the particular providence and disposition of Almighty God. A Friar hath kill'd a King, not a painted one, or one drawn upon a piece of paper or a wall, but the King of France, in the midst of his

1589

sui, milite & custodia undique septum, quod revera tale est, & eo modo effectum, ut nemo nunc credat cum narrabitur, & fortasse apud posteritatem pro fabula reputabitur.

Præc. Com-  
parisons.

Quod Rex sit mortuus, vel etiam peremptus, facile creditur; sed eum sic sublatum, vix est credibile: sicut *Christum* natum ex femina statim assentimur; sed si addas porro ex femina virgine ortum esse, tunc secundum hominem non assentior: ita etiam quod mortuus sit *Christus* facile credimus, sed quod mortuus jam resurrexerit ad vitam, quia ex privatione ad habitum non fit regressio, redditur secundum intellectum humanum impossibile, & propterea incredibile: quod homo ex somno, ex morbo, etiam ex Syncope vel Extasi resuscitatur, quia id sæpe secundum naturam fit, humanitus credimus; sed resurrexisse à mortuis ita secundum carnem videbatur incredibile, ut *Paulo* apud Philosophos *Athenienses* de hac resurrectione differenti improperarent, quod esset novorum demoniorum annunciator: & alii (sicut *D. Lucas* narrat) irridebant, alii dicebant — *Audiemus te de hoc iterum* — De talibus igitur, quæ secundum naturæ leges & ordinarium cursum fieri non solent, dicit Propheta, — *Quod nemo credet cum narrabitur* — sed hujusmodi tantum fidem adhibemus ex consideratione Omnipotentiae Divinæ, & per subjectionem intellectus nostri in obedientiam Fidei & obsequium *Christi*. Nam hoc modo quod erat incredibile naturaliter fit credibile. Igitur qui secundum hominem non credo *Christum* de virgine natum, tamen quando additur, hoc factum esse supra naturæ terminos per operationem Spiritus Sancti, tunc vero assentior & credo. Ita quando dicitur, *Christum* ex mortuis resurrexisse, humanitus non credo, sed cum id factum esse per divinam

Army, compassed and environ'd round about with his Guard and Souldiers: Which truly is such an act, and done in such a manner, that none will believe it when it shall be told them, and perhaps hereafter it will be held but for a fable.

That the King is dead or slain, is easily believed, but that he is kill'd after this manner, is hardly to be credited: even as we presently agree unto this, that *Christ* is born of a woman, but if we adde of a Virgin, then according to natural reason we cannot assent to it: even so we easily believe that *Christ* died, but that he is risen again from death unto life, is according to humane understanding impossible, and therefore incredible: that one is awakened again out of sleep, extasie, or a swoond, because it oft happens so according to nature we naturally believe; but to be risen again from the dead, it seemeth so incredible unto flesh, that *S. Paul* disputing at Athens of this point was disliked, and accused to be a setter forth of new Gods; so that many (as *S. Luke* witnesseth) did mock him, and others said, — We will hear thee again of this thing — Of such things therefore which befall not according to the Laws of Nature, and the ordinary course thereof, speaketh the Prophet, that none shall believe it when it shall be told them. But we give credit to it by consideration of the Omnipotency of God, and by submitting our understanding under the obedience of Faith, and the Service which we owe unto *Christ*. By these means this that was incredible by Nature becometh credible by Faith. Therefore we that believe not after the flesh that *Christ* is born of a Virgin, yet when it is added unto it, that this was done supernaturally by operation of the Holy Ghost, then truly we agree unto it, and faithfully believe it. So likewise when it is said, that *Christ* is risen again from the dead, as we are onely flesh we believe it not; but when it is affirmed, that this was done by the power of Divine Na-  
(quæ

(quæ in ipso erat) naturam affirmatur, tunc omnino credo.

Eodem modo licet tantum Regem in medio exercitus, tot stipatum militibus, ab uno simplici & imbelli Religioso occisum esse, secundum prudentiam carnis & intellectum humanum sit incredibile, vel omnino impossibile; tamen considerando ex altera parte gravissima Regis peccata, & specialem Dei Omnipotentis in hac re providentiam, & quam inusitato & mirabili modo justissimam voluntatem suam erga ipsum impleverit, omnino & firmiter credo.

Rem etenim istam tam grandem & inusitatam alio referre, quam ad particularem Dei providentiam, (sicut quosdam ad alias causas ordinarias, vel etiam ad fortunam & casum, aut similes accidentarios eventus perperam referre intelligimur) prorsus non licet: sicut ii, qui totius facti seriem pressius observant, facile videre possunt, ut plurima intervenerunt, quæ ab homine nisi Dei speciali concurrente auxilio, expediri non quiverunt. Et sane Regum ac Regnorum rationes, cæteraque tam rara tantique momenti negotia, a Deo temere administrari non est existimandum.

Sunt in Sacra Historia nonnulla hujus generis, nec eorum quidquam potest alio quam ad Deum authorem referri: tamen nihil est, ubi magis claret superna operatio, quam in isto de quo nunc agimus. Lib. Maccab. 1. cap. 6. legimus, Eleazarum, ut Regem populi Dei persecutorem ac hostem tolleretur, seipsum certæ morti obtulisse. Nam in conflictu conspiciens Elephantem cæteris eminentiorem, in quo videbatur Rex esse, concito cursu in mediam hostium turmam se conjiciens, hinc inde viam vi sternens, ad belluam venit, atque sub eam intravit, subjectoque gladio peremit, quæ cadens oppressit Eleazarum & extinxit.

ture in him, then without any doubting we believe it. 1589

Even so when it shall be told us, An infallible that such a mighty King was kill'd by b'e Comp'a poor, simple, and weak Friar, and risen that in the midst of his Army, environ'd with his Guard and Souldiers, to our natural reason and fleshly capacity it will seem incredible, or altogether improbable; yet considering on the other side the grievous sins of the King, and the special providence of Almighty God herein, and by what accustomed and wonderful means he hath accomplish'd his most just judgment against him, then most firmly we believe it.

Therefore this great and miraculous work we must ascribe onely to the particular providence of God, not as those who refer all things amiss unto some ordinary causes, or unto fortune, or such like accidentary events; but as those who (more nearly observing the course of the whole matter) easily see, that here in this befell many things, which could in no wise have been brought to pass without the special help of God. And truly the state of Kings and Kingdoms, and such like rare and weighty affairs, should not be thought to be governed by God rashly and unadvisedly.

In the Holy Scripture some are of this kind, and none of them can be referred unto any other thing but unto God the onely Author thereof: yet there are none wherein the Heavenly operation is more seen, then in this whereof we speak at present. We read in the Maccabees, how Eleazar offered himself unto a sure death to kill the King, who was an enemy and persecutor of the people of God. For in the battel espying an Elephanti more excellent then the rest, whereon it was likely the King himself was, with a swift course casting himself in the midst of the troops of his enemies, here and there making a way per force, got to the beast, went under her, thrust his sword into her belly and so slew her, and she falling upon him kill'd him.

Hic

1589

James Cle-  
ment a bet-  
s. r m m  
then Elea-  
zar.

Hic quoad zelum & animi ro-  
bur, rei que tentatæ exitum, ali-  
quid hujus nostri simile cernimus,  
tamen in reliquis nihil est compa-  
rabile. Eleazarus erat miles, armis  
& pugna exercitatus, in ipso prælio  
constitutus, ardoreque animi & fu-  
rore (ut fit) accensus: iste Monachus,  
præliis ac pugnis non erat assuefact.  
& a sanguine vitæ suæ instituto ita  
abhorrens, ut nec ex venæ incisione  
fusum cruorem forsan ferre potue-  
rit. Ille noverat genus mortis, si-  
mulque locum sepulturæ suæ,  
nempe quod ruina bellæ inclusus  
magis quam oppressus suo sepeli-  
retur triumpho: iste mortem ac  
tormenta crudeliora & incognita  
expectabat, sepulcroque se caritu-  
rum non dubitabat. Sed & alia  
multa dissimilia sunt.

Nota quoque est insignis illa hi-  
storia sanctæ mulieris *Judith*; quæ  
& ipsa ut obsessam civitatem suam  
ac populum Dei liberaret, cepit  
consilium (Deo sine controversia  
suggestore) de interimendo *Holo-  
ferne* hostilis exercitus principe;  
quod & perfecit. In quo opere li-  
cet plurima, & apertissima super-  
næ directionis indicia appareant, ta-  
men longe majora divina providen-  
tia argumenta in istius Regis occasione,  
ac civitatis Parisiensis liberatione;  
sicut certe quoad hominem, hoc fu-  
it illo magis difficile vel impossi-  
bile. Nam illa sancta femina in-  
tentionem suam aliquibus urbis  
Presbyteris aperuit, portamque ci-  
vitatæ & custodiam pertransiit illis  
præsentibus ac approbantibus, ut  
proinde scrutiny vel explorationi,  
quæ obsidionis tempore solet esse  
tam exacta, ut ne musca fere sine  
examine egredi queat, non potue-  
rat esse subjecta. Apud hostes ve-  
ro, per quorum castra & varias ex-  
cubias transeundum erat, sæpius ex-  
plorata & examinata cum femina  
esset, nec quidquam haberet vel  
literarum vel armorum, unde su-

The Monk  
more assist-  
ed by God  
then Judith.

Here we see some things as to zele,  
valiantness of mind, and the issue of  
the enterprise, not unlike unto ours,  
though in the rest there is no compar-  
ison to be made. For Eleazar was a  
souldier, exercis'd in weapons, train'd  
up in arms, set in battel, emboldened  
with courage, and inflamed with rage  
and anger: whereas this Friar was  
not used to fighting, and so abhorring  
of blood by order of his profession, that  
perhaps he could not abide the cutting  
of a vein. Again, Eleazar knew the  
kind of his death, as also the place of  
his burial, namely, that he should be  
entombed under the fall of the beast,  
and so buried in his own triumph and  
victory: but this Monck look'd onely  
for death, and expected nothing but  
unknown and most cruel torments, yea  
and doubted that he should want a  
grave to rest in. But in this are yet ma-  
ny other things that can suffer no com-  
parison.

The famous history of the holy wo-  
man Judith is sufficiently known, who  
consulted how to deliver her city and  
the people of God (no doubt but by  
Gods inspiration) to kill Holofernes,  
Chieftain of the enemies forces, which  
she also accomplished. Wherein al-  
though appear many and most mani-  
fest tokens of heavenly direction, yet  
far greater arguments of Gods  
providence are to be seen in the  
killing of this King, and the deli-  
vering of the city of Paris, as being  
more difficult and harder to be brought  
to pass. For this holy woman d'sclo-  
sed part of her intention unto the Go-  
vernours of the City, and went out  
with the approbation and in the pre-  
sence of the said Elders and Gover-  
nours, and by that means was not sub-  
ject to the examination and searching,  
which in time of siege is used so strict-  
ly, that a Fly can hardly without exa-  
mining get by. She being come to  
the enemy, through whose Camp and  
Watches she was to go, and often exa-  
min'd and search'd, yet being a wo-  
man, carrying no letters nor arms,  
whence any suspicion might arise, and  
yielding probable reasons of her co-  
spicio

spitio oriri potuit, deque adventu in castra, & à suis, fugæ probabiles reddens rationes, facile dimittebatur. Sicut tam propter easdem causas, quam propter sexum & formæ excellentiam ad principem impudicum introduci, & in temulentum facile quod designavit perficere valuit: ita illa. Hic vero Religiosus aggressus est, & confecit rem longe majorem, pluribusque impedimentis ac tantis difficultatibus periculisque obsitam, ut nulla prudentia aut astutia humana, nec alio modo, nisi aperta Dei ordinatione ac succursu confici potuerit. Debebant obtineri literæ commendatitiæ ab iis, qui erant contrariæ Factionis, transeundum erat per eam urbis portam, qua itur ad castra hostium, quæ ita sine dubio in illis obsidionis angustiis custodiebatur, ut cuncta haberent suspecta, nec cuique sine curiosissima exploratione, de literis, nunciis, negotiis, armis pateret exitus. Sed iste (res mira!) vigiles pertransiit sine examine etiam cum literis credentitiæ ad hostem, quæ si fuissent interceptæ à civibus, sine mora ac sine ulteriori judicio de vita fuisset actum, atque apertum hoc Divina providentiæ argumentum. Sed majus miraculum est illud, quod idem mox sine omni exploratione transiit quoque hostium castra, varias militum excubias, ipsamque corporis Regis custodiam, ac totum denique exercitum, qui fere erat conflatus ex Hæreticis, ipse Religiosus existens, & in habitu ordinis sui, qui ita erat exosus talibus hominibus, ut in illis locis quæ paulo ante prope Parisius vi ceperunt, Monachos quosque vel occiderint vel pessime tractaverint. Fudr̃ erat fœmina, minimeque odiosa; tamen examinata illa sæpe, illa nihil

ming there and abandoning her own country, was easily discharged. As also for the same causes, and for her sex and exquisite beauty, being brought before that lascivious and drunken Prince, might with ease perform what she had determin'd. But this Religious man had undertaken a matter of greater weight, and also perform'd it, though it was compassed with so many impediments, difficulties, and dangers, that by no humane means it could have been brought to pass without the manifest ordinance and aid of Almighty God. For Letters of Commendation were to be procured from the contrary (a) Faction, then was he (a) Here the constrained to go through that gate of the City, which directly went to the enemies camp, which without doubt was so narrowly kept and watch'd in the extremity of that siege, that every trifle bred suspicion, and none were suffer'd to go forth without curious searching touching their letters, business and affairs. But he (a wonderful thing!) went by the Watch unexamined, yea with letters of commendation to the enemy, which if they had been intercepted by the Citizens, without delay or further sentence he had suffer'd death, and therefore this is a manifest (b) argument of Gods Providence. But yet behold a greater (c) miracle, that he without searching went through the enemies camp, by divers Watches and Centinels, yea and past the Kings Life-guard, and finally through the whole Army, compos'd almost of none but Hereticks, he being a Religious man, and habited according to his Order, which was so odious unto them, that they (e) kill'd, or at least grievously misused, the Friars they found in the places not long before taken by force about Paris. Judith was a woman, and so nothing odious, yet often

1589.

Let vs he had to the King, so they carried him to Sior de la Guelle, the Kings Attorney General and Auditor of the Camp, who kept him all night, and next morning had him sent to the King.

(d) As this miracle is for the King of Navarre and his Huguenots kept different Post and Quarters from those under the French King.

(e) None more merciful than Navarre, though quarter and favour is seldom shown in places storm'd, nor had the prating Rebels reason to expect equal favour with the simple Laymen, by them mislead and seduced.

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1589

secum tulit unde sibi oriretur periculum: iste *Monachus*, & propterea odiosus ac suspectissimus, etiam cum cullello ad hoc propositum preparato, non in vagina condito (unde poterat esse probabilis excusatio) sed nudo, ac in manica abscondito, quem si invenissent, mox fuisset in crucem actus. Ista omnia clariora sunt particularis providentiæ divinæ argumenta, quam ut negari queat: nec aliter fieri potuit, quam ut à Deo occiderentur oculi inimicorum ne agnoscerent illum.

Nam (ut antea diximus) licet quidam ista absurde tribuunt fortunæ aut casui, tamen nos hoc totum non alio referendum censemus, quam in Divinam voluntatem. Nec profecto aliter factum crederem, nisi captivarem intellectum in obsequium Christi, qui hoc modo admirabili & liberare civitatem *Parisiensem* (quam variis viis intelleximus fuisse in summo discrimine, maximisque angustiis constitutam) & istius Regis gravissima peccata punire, eumque tam infesta & infami morte e medio tollere statuit.

Atque nos (dolentes sane) aliquoties prædiximus fore, ut quemadmodum erat familiæ suæ ultimus, ita aliquem infuetum & dedecoratum vitæ exitum esset habiturus. Quod me dixisse non solum Cardinalis *Foiosæ*, *Lenocortius*, & *Parisiensis*, sed etiam qui tunc apud nos residebat Orator, testes esse possunt. Neque enim hic mortuos, sed viventes in testimonium huiusmodi verborum nostrorum adhibemus, quorum isti omnes probe meminisse possunt. Quicquid tamen in hunc infelicem Regem hoc tempore dicere cogimur, nullo modo volumus ut pertineat ad nobilissimum illud *Galliæ* Regnum, quod nos in posterum, sicut hætenus, semper omni paterno amore ac honore prosequemur.

examined, though she carried nothing about her that might have endangered her. But this was a Friar, and therefore hated and most suspected, having also a Knife prepared for that purpose, not put up in a sheath (which might have afforded him a probable excuse) but it was bare, and hidden in his Monkish sleeve; which if it had been found about him, he had presently suffered death. All these are such clear arguments of the particular providence of God, that they cannot be denied: and it could not be otherwise, but that God blinded the eyes of his enemies, so that they could not see or know him.

For (as we said before) although some absurdly ascribe this to fortune or chance, yet we think fit to refer all this to nothing else then the will and ordinance of God. And truly I could not believe this to have been done otherwise, unless I should captivate and submit my understanding under the obedience of Christ, who had determined by these miraculous means to deliver the city of Paris, (which as we have heard hath been in great danger and extremity) and justly punish the heinous sins of that King, and take him away out of this world by such an unhappy and infamous death.

And truly we (not without grief) have often foretold, that as he was the last of his family, so he would make some strange and shameful end of his life. Which that I have often said, not onely the Cardinals Joyeuse, Lenocurtius, and he of (a) Paris, but also the (b) Embassadour at that time here resident, can sufficiently testify. Nor do we here call those who are dead to witness our words but the living, of whom some yet can very well remember them. However, what we have here been forced to speak against this unfortunate King, we would in no wise that it should reflect against that most noble Kingdom of France, which we shall cherish hereafter, as we have hitherto done with all fatherly love and esteem.

(a) Card. Gondi Bishop of Paris.

(b) Marquis de Pisani.

De persona ergo Regis tantum ista cum dolore diximus, cujus infestus finis eximit quoque ipsum ab iis officiis, quæ solet hæc sancta sedes (quæ est pia mater omnium fidelium, & maxime Christianorum Principum) Imperatoribus & Regibus post mortem exhibere: quæ pro isto libenter quoque fecissemus, nisi id fieri in hoc casu sacræ Scripturæ vetarent. Est, inquit Joannes, peccatum ad mortem, non pro illo dico ut roget quis — Quod vel intelligi potest de peccato ipso, ac si diceret pro illo peccato, vel pro remissione illius peccati nolo ut quisquam roget, quoniam non est remissibile: vel quod in eundem sensum redit, pro illo homine qui peccat peccatum ad mortem, non dico ut roget quis. De quo genere etiam Salvator apud Matth. Quod illi qui peccat in Spiritum Sanctum non remittetur, neque in hoc seculo neque in futuro. Ubi facit tria genera peccatorum, nimirum in Patrem, in Filium, & in Spiritum Sanctum; atque priora duo esse minus gravia & remissibilia, tertium vero irremissibile: quæ tota differentia (sicut ex Scripturis: cholæ tradunt) oritur ex distinctione attributorum, quæ singula singulis personis Sanctissimæ Trinitatis appropriantur. Licet enim, sicut eadem est essentia, sic eadem quoque est potentia, sapientia, & bonitas omnium personarum (sicut ex Symbolo S. Athanasii didicimus, cum ait — Omnipotens Pater, Omnipotens Filius, Omnipotens Spiritus Sanctus) tamen per attributionem Patri applicatur potentia, Filio sapientia, Spiritui Sancto amor: quorum singula eo modo quo attributa dicuntur, ita sunt propria cujusque personæ, ut in aliam referri non queant. Ex quorum attributorum contrariis, & distinctionem & gravitatem peccatorum dignoscimus. Contrarium potentia, quæ attribuitur Patri, est infirmitas, ut proinde id quod ex infirmitate seu naturæ nostræ imbecillitate committimus, dicatur committi

*This therefore which with grief we have now spoken concerneth onely the Kings person, whose unhappy end depriveth him of those Duties which this Holy See (the tender mother of all the faithful, but chiefly of Christian Princes) is wont to afford unto all Kings and Emperours: which we most willingly would likewise have bestowed upon him, if the Holy Scriptures in this case had not altogether forbidden it. There is, saith S. John, a sin unto death, I say not that any should pray for it — Which may be understood either of the sin it self, as if he should say, for that sin or for the forgiveness thereof I will that none should pray, because it is not pardonable: or else in the same sense, for that man who committeth such a sin unto death, I say not that any should pray for. Of which our Saviour himself hath spoken in S. Matthew, saying that He that sinneth against the Holy Ghost shall not be pardoned, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. Where he setteth down three sorts of sins, viz. against the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and that the two first are less heinous and pardonable, but the third unpardonable. All which difference proceedeth from the distinction of the attributes, as the Divines teach, which severally are appropriated unto every several person of the Holy Trinity. And although as the essence of all the three persons is but one, so also is their power, wisdom, and goodness, (as we have learned by Athanasius his Creed, where he saith — The Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty) yet by attribution power is ascribed unto the Father, wisdom unto the Son, and love unto the Holy Ghost: whereof every several as they are termed Attributes, so are they proper unto every several person that they cannot be referred to another. By the contraries of which attributes we can discern the distinction and greatness of sin. As the contrary to power, which is onely attributed unto the Father, is weakness; and therefore that which we do amiss through infir-*

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1589

An infallible and charitable Doctrine and Expectation of his Holiness. But if the King was so damnably, what was the Friar that murdered him, and the rebellious Convent, whose Faction and Treasonable Actions the Pope favours?

1589

in Patrem. Oppositum sapientiæ est ignorantia, ex qua cum quis peccat, dicitur peccare in Filium, ita ut ea quæ vel ex humana infirmitate vel ignorantia peccamus, facilius nobis condonari soleant. Tertium autem attributum quod est Spiritus Sanctus, nempe amor, habet pro contrario ingratitudinem, vitium maxime odibile. Unde venit, ut homo non agnoscat Dei erga ipsum dilectionem aut beneficia, sed obliviscatur, contemnat, ac odio etiam habeat. Ex quo tandem fit, ut obstinatus reddatur atque impœnitens. Atque his modis multo gravius & periculosius peccatur in Deum, quam ex ignorantia aut imbecillitate: proinde hujusmodi vocantur peccata in Spiritum Sanctum; & quia rarius ac difficilius, & non nisi abundantiori gratia condonantur, dicuntur irremissibilia quodammodo, cum tamen sola impœnitentia sit omnino & simpliciter irremissibilis. Quicquid enim in vita committitur, licet contra Spiritum Sanctum, potest per pœnitentiam deleri ante mortem: sed quis perseverat usque ad mortem, nulum locum relinquit gratiæ ac misericordiæ. Atque pro tali peccato, seu pro homine sic peccante, noluit Apostolus ut post mortem oraremus.

Jam ergo quia magno nostro dolore intelligimus, prædictum Regem ex hac vita sine pœnitentia, seu impœnitentem excessisse, nimirum in consortio Hæreticorum, ex talibus enim hominibus confecerat exercitum suum, & quod commendaverat moriens Regnum in successione Navarre, declarato Hæretico & excommunicato; necnon in extremis, ac in ultimo fere vitæ spiritu, ab eodem & similibus circumstantibus petierit, ut vindictam sumerent ab iis, quos ipse judicabat fuisse causas mortis suæ. Præter hæc & similia manifesta impœ-

nitentia of nature is said to be committed against the Father. The opposite to wisdom is ignorance, through which if any man sinneth he is said to sin against the Son; therefore that which we commit through natural infirmity or ignorance, is more easily forgiven us. The third attribute, which is the Holy Ghosts, is love, and hath for its contrary ingratitude, a fault most odious; for hence it happens, that men do not acknowledge the love and benefits of God, but do forget, despise, and hate them; whence it followeth that they become altogether obstinate and impœnitent. And this way sin is committed against God with greater danger and peril, then if it were done through ignorance or weakness of the flesh, and therefore it is termed a sin against the Holy Ghost. And because such sins are seldom or difficultly pardoned, and that not without a great abundance of grace, and so in some sort are said to be unpardonable, whereas indeed they become simply unpardonable only through unrepentance. For whatsoever is done amiss in this life, although it be against the Holy Ghost, yet by repentance may be forgiven before death: but they that persevere therein till death are excluded from all grace and mercy. And therefore for such sins and sinners, it is that the Apostle hath forbidden to pray after their decease.

Now therefore because we understand, not without our great grief, that the aforesaid King is departed out of this world without repentance and impœnitent, to wit, in company of Hereticks, his (a) army consisting of such men, and that by his last will he had commended the Kingdom and Crown to the succession of (b) Navarre, a declared Heretick and excommunicated, as also when dying and ready to yield up his Ghost, he desired of him and such like standing by him, that they would (c) revenge his death upon those whom he judged to be the cause thereof. For these and such like manifest mani-

(a) Suppose it did, would any wise man use his Kingdom, rather than

borrow another mans sword, who agrees not with him in

(b) And good reason, being the lawful next Heir.

(c) That this is false, read Davila l. 10. p. 818.

circumstance in Religion?

Spondan. anno 1589. 15.

nitentia

nitentiæ indicia, decrevimus pro ipso non esse celebrandas exequias.

Non quod præsumamus quidquam ex hoc de occultis erga ipsum Dei judiciis aut misericordiis, qui poterat secundum beneplacitum suum in ipso exitu animæ suæ convertere cor ejus, & misericorditer cum illo agere; sed ista loquuti sumus secundum ea quæ nobis exterius patent.

Faxit benignissimus Salvator noster, ut reliqui hoc horrendo justitiæ supernæ exemplo admoniti, in viam salutis redeant: & quod misericorditer hoc modo cæpit, benigne prosequatur ac perficiat, sicut eum facturum speramus, ut de erepta Ecclesia de tantis malis & periculis, perennes illi gratias agamus.

*few tokens of unrepentance, we have decreed that his death be not solemnized with Funerals.*

1589

*Not that by these we would seem to determine any thing concerning the secret judgments of God against him, or of his mercies; who could according unto his good pleasure at the point of his expiring convert and turn his heart; and deal mercifully with him: but this we have spoken, moved by these external signs and tokens.*

*God grant therefore that the rest being admonished by this fearful example of Heavenly judgment, may repent and amend: and that it may further please him to continue and accomplish that which he hath so mercifully begun, as we put our trust he will, to the end we may give everlasting thanks to him, for delivering his Church from such great and imminent dangers.*

Thus with his blessing he brake up the Consistory; and by this may appear with what *\* great demonstrations of joy* he received the news of *\* Davila's* the Kings murder. p. 868.

But here it may be we may meet with a blunt and bold *Objector*, who possibly may affirm, that there was never any such Speech made by the Pope.

To answer this we shall take *Bellarmino* for our Adversary.

First, then the *\* Cardinal* doth not positively deny there was any *\* Under the* such Speech, and if he had known there had been no such thing, he *name of* would at this time (being pleaded against him by King *James*) have *Mac. Tor-* boldly denied it, and he could not be ignorant, being then famous and *tus, Respon-* *Prælector of Controversies at Rome*, intimate with the Pope and Cardinals, *ad Ap l.* and so not willing to be catch'd in a lie, he endeavours to shuffle it off as *Angl. p. 70,* well as he can.

One time he saith, it was onely published by the enemies to the *Roman Church*. But to this we answer, that it was first published by the *Romanists* themselves, presently after it was spoke and *\* printed at* *\* Ant Six-* *Paris 1589.* by *Nicolas Nivelles* and *Rollin Tierry*, by Authority of the *Ho-* *tus in an-* *ly Union*, and the approbation of these three *Sorbonne* Doctors, *Boucher*, *Speech was* *Decreil*, and *Anceline*. *London,*  
*1590.*

Then again the Cardinal argueth, that the Pope himself did neither publish the Speech, nor command it to be published. This we may grant, and yet never the worse, this being no argument to prove he never spoke it.

*Bellarmino* proceeds, intimating no such Speech could be divulged seeing none took notes of it as it was spoke.

To this may be answer'd, that it is true that the Cardinal, whose office it was to have noted the Popes Oration, not dreaming of such a design, neglected the providing of Pen or Ink; but yet how it was taken this following story will tell. The

1589

The Oration and Consistory being ended, and the Pope departed towards his Chamber, certain Cardinals with a greedy desire flocked about Cardinal *Allan* (an *Englishman*, created 1587) there in the Chamber, intreating him that he would call to remembrance, and write down what he had heard there spoken. *Allan* won by their importunity (they being his friends) promised to do his best. The same Afternoon he began to write the Speech as near as he could remember. Which done, he commanded Mr. *Warmington* one of his Chaplains, and two other his Gentlemen, to write out Copies thereof, which he afterwards presented to the Cardinals his friends, for which they thanked him, and upon perusal affirm'd it to be the very Oration which *Sixtus* had utter'd in the Consistory. And (as his Chaplain confesseth) it is said, the Pope liked his doing therein, acknowledging it to be really his Speech. And all this the said \* Mr. *William Warmington*, Chaplain to Cardinal *Allan*, and an honest and loyal *Roman* Priest, doth publicly confess and testifie. And so we need trouble our selves no more about it, since *Bellarmino* at last doth in a manuer acknowledge it, and falls a vindicating of it.

\* *A Moderate Defence*, p. 148.

\* His brother was called — De justa Christianæ Reipub. in Reges impios & Hereticos auctoritate.

Amongst the rest, who in these troubles set themselves to scribe down obedience, was an *Englishman*, viz. *William Reynolds*, then in the *Low Countries* under the *Spanish* Dominion, what he writ on this subject was by the desire of some of the chief *French* Covenanters, and under the false name of \* *Guilielmus Rossius*, Mr. *Warmington* sent a Copy of the Popes speech from *Rome* to him, for which *Reynolds* returned him many thanks, glad that he had so got the approbation of the *Roman* Bishop to vindicate his Arguments of a Conditional subjection; of whom (I hope by the way) will not be taken amiss this following story as we find it.

This Mr. *William Reynolds* was at first a Protestant according to the Church of *England*, and of *New College* in *Oxford*, and Brother to him was *John Reynolds* (him of *Corpus Christi* College in *Oxford*, famous for his great Reading) who was bred up in Popery beyond Sea. *William* (as the story goeth) with an intent to reclame his brother *John* makes a journey to him beyond Sea, where in a Conference it so fell out, that *John* (as they say) being overcome by his Brothers Arguments returns into *England*, and (as people use to love and run into extremes) was a little tending to Puritanism, as his siding in *Hampton Court* Conference may somewhat testifie, yet he died a true Church of *England* man, every way conformable to the Canons, nor was he ever but peaceable and moderate, loving obedience and his studies more then frantick zeale and innovations, according to the giddy fury of our hot-headed Puritans. On the other side his brother *William* (as they say) being convinced by the reasons of his brother *John*, staid beyond Sea, where he proved a violent and virulent Papist, by his writings declaring that Protestants were no better then Turks, nay that they were worse then Pagans.

Of this strange change Dr. *William Alabaster*, an excellent Poet, and one who had made trials also of both Religions, made this following Epigram.

*Bella inter geminos plusquam civilia fratres  
Traxerat ambiguus Religionis apex:  
Ille Reformatæ fidei pro partibus instat,  
Iste reformatum denegat esse fidem.*

Pro-

*Propositis cause rationibus, alterutrinque  
 Concurrere pares & cecidere pares.  
 Quod fuit in votis, fratrem capit alteruterque ;  
 Quod fuit in fatiis, perdit uterque fidem.  
 Captivi gemini sine captivante fuerant,  
 Et victor victi transfuga castra petis.  
 Quod genus hoc pugni est, ubi victus gaudet uterque,  
 Et tamen alterpiter se superasse dolet.*

1589

Which is thus rendered by the Ingenious Doctor Peter Heylyn :

*Cosmogr.  
 l. 1. p. 267.*

In points of Faith some undetermin'd jars  
 Betwixt two brothers kindled civil wars.  
 One for the Churches *Reformation* stood,  
 The other thought no *Reformation* good.  
 The points propos'd they traversed the field  
 With equal skill, and both together yield.  
 As they desir'd, his brother each subdued ;  
 Yet such their fate, that each his Faith doth lose.  
 Both Captives, none the prisoners thence to guide,  
 The Victor flying to the vanquish'd side.  
 Both joy'd in being conquer'd (strange to say)  
 And yet both mourn'd because both won the day.

I have been the longer upon this *William Reynolds*, because he was a great stickler in the *French Covenant*, after the murder of the King, coming from the *Netherlands* to *Paris*, where he vindicated their actions by finishing his former book, and dedicating it to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and it was sometimes after printed at *Antwerp*, with great applause of the *Roman Party*.

**CHAP.**

1589

## CHAP. VII.

*Cardinal Bourbon declared King by the Leaguers. Paris besieged, and its Famine relieved by the Duke of Parma.*

Andre du  
Chesne les  
Antiquitez  
de France,  
p. 109, 632.

**HENRY** III. a little before his death declared *Henry of Navarre* to be next Heir to the Crown of *France*, desir'd all the Nobility so to acknowledge him, and advis'd him himself to turn a *Romanist*, as being the onely way both to gain and continue without danger in the Throne. And some will tell us of some prophetick observations in behalf of the Family of *Bourbon*.

As how *Louis de Bourbon*, the third Duke of that Line, (who died 1410) building his house call'd *Hôtel de Bourbon* near to the *Lowvre*, caused to be written over the Portal in Capital Letters this word *ESPERANCE*, viz. *Hope*; as if he expected some of his Race would ascend the Throne, and joyn the two Houses. And 'tis further observed, that in the fine Chapel of *Bourbon l'Archambant de Lys*, that the same day that the former *Henry* was stabb'd, a clap of thunder whistketh away a Bar, which cross'd and touch'd the said window, without any damage or harm to the Glasse or Painting.

But leaving these guesses as nothing to our purpose, we shall find our *Henry IV.* (no more call'd *Navarre*, but King) in great perplexities how to behave himself at this mishap. For though the *Huguenots* freely acknowledged him as King of *France*, yet he was not to trust too much to them, lest he should offend the *Romanists*, some of whom shewed also a willingness to allow him for their King without any conditions, but the greater part absolutely denied it, unless he would assure them to maintain the *Roman* Religion, and give hopes of his own Conversion; whilest others of them absolutely renounced him, and presently ran over to the *Leaguers*: By which jealousies and Factions this conquering great Army was on a sudden so dwindled away, that the King was necessitated to raise the siege, and retire for his own security.

On the other side the Covenanters rejoyce and daily increase, many of them perswade the Duke of *Mayenne* to take upon him the Title of King; but this for the present he waveth, as thinking his own Interest as yet not strong enough, and so with a general consent of the *Leaguers* old Cardinal *Bourbon* (then in prison at *Chinon*) is declared in their *Paris* Parlement, and publicly proclam'd in the streets of *Paris* King of *France*, under the names of *CHARLES the TENTH*, coyning their moneys with the Effigies, Name, and Title of King, yet is not to this day held or reckon'd amongst their Kings.

And the better to make all cock-sure the Duke of *Mayenne* sendeth forth an Edict or Declaration, wherein

*He desires all to stick close to the Holy Union for the preservation of Religion and the Crown. And seeing it hath pleased God of his mere goodness, singular providence and justice, to deliver us from him who had joyn'd himself with the Hereticks, contrary to the holy admonitions of the Pope: Therefore waiting for the liberty and presence*

*sence of our King and Sovereign Lord, we desire and command all good people to joyn themselves with us, and to swear to die in the Roman Religion.*

1590

*Paris, 3 Aug. 1589.*

SEN A U L T.

And the Parlement of *Tholouse* is as brisk as any; for no sooner had they news of the Kings murther, which was committed on the first of *August*, but they put forth a Decree, wherein

*They command all to unite in defence of the Roman Religion.*

*That all Bishops within their Churches give thanks to God for the deliverance of Paris and other places.*

*Ordain that the first day of August shall for the future be every year celebrated with Processions and publick prayers, in acknowledgment of the great benefits they received that day.*

*Forbid any to accept or allow of Henry de Bourbon for their King, or to assist him.*

*Tholouse, 2 Aug. 1589.*

du TORNOR.

Nor is it the French onely, but other busie people will not by any means allow this *Henry* to be King. Amongst the rest I find our Father *Persons* or *Creswell* (if not both) layeth it as a grand fault upon Queen *Elizabeth* for acknowledging him to be King, of whom they are so confident as to affirm, that 'tis not possible for him to be truly King of *France* by any Law either Divine or Humane.

But to return to *France*, where the war is carried on vigorously, but to the loss of the *Covenanters*, to whose aid Pope *Sixtus* sends Cardinal *Cajetano* as Legat into *France*, and with him amongst other Scholars came *Bellarmino*; but what was most powerful, they brought with them Bills of Exchange for large summes of money, to be disposed of as the Legat thought best for the advantage of the Cause.

King *Henry IV.* being inform'd of the Legats coming, caused to be publish'd, that if he came towards him, that then he should be received with all honour and safety; but if he went towards his enemies the *Covenanters*, then none should acknowledge him for a Legat, or receive him under pain of Rebellion. But *Cajetan* after many turnings and windings at last arriveth at *Paris*, where he is received in great pomp, lodged in the Bishops Palace, richly furnished with the Kings goodstaken out of the *Louvre*.

In the mean time the Kings Parlement met at *Tours*, declareth against the Legat: on the contrary, the *Paris* Parlement or *Rump* with the *Sorbone* Doctors stand for him, order all to acknowledge to him; and that he being then the supreme Spiritual Authority in the Kingdom, no power there could meet and act in opposition to him. For the Legat did not a little fear that the *Royalists* (considering how much the Pope favoured the Rebels) would chuse a \* *Patriarch* for that Nation, which would have spoild his Holinofs markets. And now concerning this Legat the Pens on both sides are more busie then the Swords.

—Fit manifestissimum, nullo jure neque Divino neque Humano, Regis Galliae nomen aut dignitatem Navarrae posse competere. Responso ad Edictum Reginae Angliae  
148, 153. p.  
184, 190.  
1590

\* Jac. Fuligott v. Card. Bellarmine, .1. c.9.

C c c c

Amongst



1590

Amongst the rest who expected to gain by these Troubles was the King of Spain, who also had assisted the Leaguers, and for their further encouragement sets forth a Declaration, the summe of it being :

*Philip by the grace of God King of Castile, Leon, Arragon, &c.  
Is sorry for the Troubles and Heresies in France.*

*Therefore commands all Christian Catholick Princes to joye with him  
to extirpate Heresie, and deliver the most Christian King of France  
Charles X. that (France being once cleared of Heresie) they may  
proceed to purge other Heretical Countries, all which being exter-  
minated, they may recover the Holy Land from the Turks.*

*Protesteth that he designs nothing but the exaltation of the Roman  
Church, the repose of all good Catholicks under their lawful Prin-  
ces, the extirpation of all Heresies, the peace and concord of Chri-  
stian Princes, to obtain which he is willing not onely to imploy his  
means but his life also.*

*Madrid, 8 March 1590.*

*Juan de Vasquez.*

A little before this some of the Royallists spread abroad such like Pro-  
positions as these following :

*That Henry of Bourbon might or ought to be King.*

*That with a safe conscience the people might assist him and pay Tri-  
bute.*

*That an Heretick, though relaps'd and put out of the communion of the  
Church, may have right to the Crown of France.*

*That the Pope of Rome hath not right to excommunicate Kings.*

*That now it is not onely lawful but necessary to make a Treaty or League  
with the Bearnois and his Hereticks.*

20 Feb.  
Spand. an.  
1590. 3.

Which Propositions were presently condemn'd by the Sorbone Do-  
ctors, the Decree of theirs was confirm'd by the Cardinal Legat, and sub-  
scrib'd and sworn to by the Bishops and Curats.

Yet their courage was somewhat cool'd by the Kings success, nor was  
the League prosecuted with that eagerness as was expected, by reason  
that the Duke of Mayenne and the Spaniards mistrusted one another, be-  
sides the great jealousies amongst the Covenanting Chieftains them-  
selves, every man seeking his own Interest, all expecting to make them-  
selves great, and several designed the Crown for himself. Adde to  
these the unwieldiness of Mayenne their General, being very fat, heavy  
and slow in all his actions, and one that spent much time in eating and  
sleeping. And the truth is, the most vigorous and earnest promoters  
of the League were the Priests and Women, the first acting as well by  
the Sword as their Seditious Preachments, the later encouraging and  
gaining by their boldness and insinuations; nay, so zealous were they in  
this Cause, that from the highest to the lowest they were not ashamed to  
act any thing to gain Profelytes; so that the King suppos'd, that what  
his Armies wan in the Field they lost by these Love-tricks, several of his  
Officers being now and then wheedled over to the League, when they  
came under the lieur of such attractive baits at Paris.

Yet

Yet the *Leaguers* were quite crest-fallen after the King had totally routed *Mayenne* and his great Army at the battel of \* *Tory* (of which *Du Partas* hath a long Poem.) But as a little before, when *Henry* conquered the same Duke at \* *Arques*, the better to keep up the hearts of the people and *Parisians*, the Dutcheff of *Montpensier* had the confidence to publish abroad that the *Covenanters* were Conquerors, that *Navarre* himself was taken and conducting to *Paris*, which was so far believed, that many Ladies hired Windows in *S. Denis* street to see him pass by: but they were convinced of the error when a little after they saw the said King take their very \* Suburbs of *Paris*.

1590  
\* 14 March,  
2590.

\* Septemb.  
1589.

\* 1 Novemb.  
1589.

So after the aforefaid battel of *Tory* the Leaguering Chieftains fearing lest the *Parisians* would mutiny at the sad news of it, gave out many lies concerning it, and at last perceiving all could not conceal the story, to make the best of a bad market the Legat, the *Spanish* Embassadour, and the Archbishop of *Lyons*, got the Priests to use their cunning in the Pulpits to deceive the people, who as yet were not certain of the De-feat.

Amongst the rest Father *Christino de Nizza* from these words — *Those whom I love I rebuke and chasten* — seem'd to foretell them, that God would prove the Faith and Constancy of the *Parisians*, as he was wont to try the courage of his children, for which he clapt together a great store of Examples out of Scripture; and then making a shew as if Letters were just then delivered to him, he shewed them to the people, saying that he was very sorry that he had done the office of a Prophet, and that God had been pleased by his mouth to advertise the People of *Paris* of that Temptation which was to fall upon them, as now it troubled him to relate it; and so told them that the Catholick Army had lately come off with the worst. To all which he added such effectual prayers and exhortations, that the people seem'd rather heartned then discouraged. The same trick was used by *Guillaume Rose* (Bishop of *Senlis*) *Fean Boucher*, *Prevost*, *Feu-ardent*, *Peletier*, with the other Preachers: amongst the rest was *Francisco Panigarola* Bishop of *Asti*, who came along with the Legat, who (though he preach'd in the *Italian* Tongue) was continually follow'd by abundance of people, being famous for his great eloquence. And to these stories may be added the former zealous Widow *Montpensier*, who said, that truly the Duke had lost the battel, but that the *Bearnis* was dead; which by many was believed for some days, which satisfied to restrain their first fears, and so to gain some time to give orders, and to send to raise new succours.

The Parlement at *Rouen* proceed desperately, putting to death some prisoners they had, because they were Servants to the King, and then make an Act that all should be guilty of High Treason who joyned with the King of *Navarre*, and did not side with their King *Charles X.* as they termed him.

10 April.

However King *Henry* goeth on prosperously, and with his Victorious Army layeth close siege to *Paris* it self, which so cool'd the fury of those people, that many of them began to stagger in their resolutions to prevent which the chief of the Citizens and Leaguers drew up these three following *Quares*.

## I.

If it should happen (which God forbid) that the most Christian King *Charles X.* should die; or, if whilst he is unjustly kept in prison, he should yield up his right of the Kingdom to *Henry de Bourbon*:

C c c c 2

Whe-

1590

*Whether then the French be bound to or may with a safe conscience receive for their King the said Henry, or any other Prince who favours Heresie; although it were supposed that he were absolved from his crimes and censures, considering the evident danger of his falshood, of the destruction of Religion and the Kingdom?*

II.

*Whether he may be said to be suspected of Heresie, or a Favourer of it, who procureth or permitteth a peace to be made with the said Henry, when the said Party may hinder it?*

III.

*Whether these things be of Divine Right, and may be neglected by Catholicks without mortal sin and pain of damnation? And on the contrary, Whether it be meritorious to oppose with all ones endeavours the said Henry? And if the said Opposer be kill'd in this cause, Whether he may not be call'd a Martyr?*

With these Proposals they wait upon their Assembly of Divines at the Sorbone, desiring their Resolutions and Determinations of them, which take in their own words as followeth:

7 May.

Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo ineunte mense Maio, &c.

Super quarum dubitationum determinatione *Sacra Facultas* per juramentum convocata, sæpiusque cum publice in Collegio Sorbonæ post Missam de Spiritu Sancto, tum privatim vocato selectorum Magistrorum cœtu congregata, matura deliberatione præhabita, cunctisque capitibus serio sigillatim ac diligenter, quoad fieri potuit, examinatis & discussis, in hunc tandem modum censuit.

Jure Divino prohibentur Catholici Hæreticum hominem, aut fautorem Hæresios & hostem Ecclesiæ notorium, multoque magis relapsum, & à sancta sede nominatim excommunicatum, ad Regnum admittere.

Quod si ejusmodi quispiam absolutionem à criminibus & censuris in foro exteriori impetraverit, & tamen subsit manifestum simulationis & perfidiæ, & eversionis Religionis Catholicæ periculum, is nihilominus eodem jure excludi debet.

In the year of our Lord God One thousand five hundred and ninety in May, &c.

Upon the determination of which doubts the Sacred Faculty being called together by oath, and many times assembled, as well in publick congregation at the College of Sorbone, having celebrated the Mass of the Holy Ghost, as also privately at the meeting of the Delegates, mature deliberation being had, all the particulars being carefully, truly, and severally examin'd (as much as could be) at last have declar'd their judgments in manner following.

All Catholicks by Divine Law are forbid to admit any into the Throne that is an Heretick, or a favourer of Heresie, and a known enemy to the Church, much more one that is relapsed; and by name excommunicated by the Pope.

If it should chance that any guilty as aforesaid, should procure a sentence of Absolution from these crimes and censures, yet if there be evident danger of his hypocrisie, perfidiousness, and the ruine of the Catholick Religion, he then for all his said Absolution is (by the said Divine Law) to be excluded from the Kingdom.

Qui-

Quicumque autem satagat ut is ad Regnum perveneat, aut ei studet ac faver, aut etiam ad Regnum promoveri permittit cum impedire possit, & ex officio debeat, scilicet Canonibus est injurius, de Hæresi merito suspectus, & Religioni atque Ecclesiæ perniciosus, contra quem eo nomine agi potest & debet, cujuscunque gradus & eminentiæ sit.

Cum igitur *Henricus Borbonius* Hæreticus, fautor Hæresios, hostes Ecclesiæ notorius, relapsus & nominatim excommunicatus sit, & si forte absolutionem in foro exteriori impetraret, manifestum appareat simulationis ac perfidiæ, & everisionis Religionis periculum, eum Christianissimi Regni aditu, etiam absolutione obtenta, & quovis alio legitimo Hærede mortuo vel cedente, *Franci* prohibere, & à pace cum eo facienda abhorrere tenentur, & qui ei favent, Canonibus injurii, de Hæresi suspecti, & Ecclesiæ perniciosi, ac ut tales serio seduloque coercendi ac puniendi sunt.

Ut autem qui dicto *Henrico* ad Regnum aspiranti favere, suppetiæ quovis modo ferunt, Religionis desertores sunt, & in continuo peccato mortali manent: sic qui se illi quocunque possunt modo zelo Religionis opponunt, plurimum apud Deum & homines merentur: & ut illos, Satanz regno stabiliendo pertinaces, æterna pœna damnandos: sic hos, si ad sanguinem usque resistent, æternum in præmium & ut fidei propugnatores Martyrii palmam consecuturos judicare par est.

*Conclusum (nemine repugnante) in tertia congregatione generali super ea re facta in majore Aula Collegii Sorbonæ, omnibus & singulis magistris per juramentum vocatis, septima die Maii, MDXC.*

Whoever also endeavours that he should be King, or doth partake with or favour him, or doth suffer him to be set in the Throne, when he might prevent it, and was oblig'd so to do; he for so doing doth violate the holy Canons, is justly suspected of Heresie, and is mischievous both to Religion and the Church, therefore he may and ought to be oppos'd, be he of whatsoever degree or quality.

Therefore seeing *Henry de Bourbon* is an Heretick, a favourer of Heresie, a known enemy to the Church, is relapsed and by name excommunicated; and though he might obtain sentence of Absolution, yet there being evident danger of hypocrisie and perfidiousness, with the ruine of Religion; and though he had Absolution, or any other lawful heir dead, or yielding up his right, yet are the French obliged to keep him from the most Christian Crown, and to abhor the thoughts of making peace with him; and those who do favour him are violators of the Canons, may be suspected of Heresie, are enemies to the Church, and as such ought to be earnestly and carefully chastized and punished.

As therefore those who favour the said *Henry* in his aspiring to the Throne, and do any ways afford him any help, are deserters of Religion, and remain in a perpetual mortal sin: so those, who for their love to Religion do oppose him as much as in them lieth, do very much merit both of God and Men: And as on the one hand it must be suppos'd, that those people so obstinate in strengthening the Kingdom of darkness will be eternally damn'd; so on the other, it is most meet to conclude that these, who are slain in this cause against the said *Henry*, as Champions of the Faith, shall obtain an everlasting reward, and be crown'd with the Trophies of Martyrdom.

And this is concluded on (not one gainsaying it) in the third general congregation held upon this business, in the great Hall of the College of Sorbone, all and every one of the Masters being summon'd thither upon oath, 7 May 1590. In

1590

In the mean time *Mayenne* was very busie in raising Forces, in consulting with the Duke of *Parma*, then Governour in the *Spanish Netherlands*, to get Supplies from him, the better to force the King to quit the siege: and the truth is, this affair did greatly perplex him; for if he lost *Paris* the Cause was undone, and if he relieved it by the *Spanish* assistance (and without them he could not do it) his own Interest might be lost. For the *Sixteen* wish'd him not well, because he had broken up their Council of *Forty*, (which contrary to his expectation bridled his Authority) and they thinking to introduce a *Commonwealth* Government, he had cross'd that by creating another Council, a Keeper of the Seals, and four Secretaries of State, with which he governed affairs, without calling them, except when he had need of money. And thus having displeas'd the *Sixteen*, he fear'd they would engage *Paris* under the *Spanish* Yoak, if they saw *Spaniards* enough to deal with all: But of two evils the least is to be chosen; and so he resolveth to reinforce his Army with *Spanish* Supplies.

\* Their  
names in  
d'Aubigne  
10.3.1.3.c.7.

In his absence he appoints his Brother the Duke of *Nemours* (a courageous young man) to command the City, and assign'd him a \* Council: care is taken to fortifie all suspected Avenues, and the people are sermon'd up to such an height of madness, that a great scarcity of provisions being in the City, some for letting slip but some words, as if peace were better then to be starv'd with hunger, were by the fury of the Zelots either executed in publick, or cast headlong into the River as damn'd persons, enemies to the Catholick Faith, and infected with the poison of Heresie.

9 May,  
1590.

Whilst the *Parisians* were thus eager for the Cause, their Kingling *Charles X.* or Cardinal *Bourbon* dieth in prison at *Fontenay*, being 66 years old, much troubled with the Stone, and greatly addicted to old Wives Prophecies, which pleas'd him the more because now and then he was told some which denoted his Kingship. His death troubled some of the Leaguers, having now no King, and so one of their grand pretences vanished; yet they continue resolute; *Mayenne* keepeth to himself the Title of *Lieutenant General of the State and Crown of France*, and the States General are ordered to meet for the Election of a new King; the *Sorbone* renew their Decrees against the King as an Heretick, and so not capable of the Crown.

31 May, A-  
fter fast-day.

And the better to keep the people up in their humours, by order of the Legat a Procession is made of the Clergy to implore Gods assistance: at the Head of these went *Roze* Bishop of *Senlis*, with a Cross in his left hand and an Halbert in his right; then followed the Monks and Friars according to their several Orders, *Capuchins*, *Minims*, *Franciscans*, *Dominicans*, *Fuillans*, *Carmelites*, &c. In the Procession the Prelates, Priests and Monks walked in their severall accustomed Habits, but over them armed openly with Head-pieces, Croslets, Coats of Mail, &c. all of them with Swords girt to their sides, and in their hands carrying some sort of Arms or other; some with Guns, some with Spears, others with Halberts. Thus marched they along singing Hymns, shooting off their Guns, with which one was slain by chance; and with them they carried all their Reliques, as notable Assistants and Well-wishers to their *Solemn League and Covenant*; and thus they foot it to the great Church.

After

After this followeth another Procession of the Duke of Nemours, the Officers of the Army, the Magistrates of the City, with the Archbishop of Lyons, and some other valiant Bishops. These trudge also to the great Church, where upon the great Altar laying their hands upon the Gospel, they swear to defend the City to their utmost, and to oppose the Heretical Prince. And a little after, to make all sure, their Parliament at Paris by Act forbid any upon pain of death to talk of any Agreement of Peace or Composition with Henry of Bourbon, for so they called him. 15 June

By this time the City began to be in great want by reason of the Kings cutting off all assistance from them; therefore to encourage the people Cardinal Pietro Gondi Bishop of Paris (twas made an Archbishoprick 1622) pitying the poor, had all the Church-plate turned into money for them, the Legat caused all his own Plate to be melted and coined, Mendoza the Spanish Embassadour promised them six score Crowns a day in bread, and of all his Plate he left himself but one Silver Spoon, the Ladies and richest Nobles sold their Household-stuff, Jewels and Ornaments; the Legat also got fifty thousand Crowns for them from the Pope.

But all these helps were not enough for two hundred thousand persons then in the City, provisions growing so scarce, that a Bushel of Wheat was sold for one hundred and twenty Crowns, the flesh of Horses, Dogs, Asses, Mules, &c. are publicly vended; but the poorer sort wanting money to buy such dainties, were forced to feed upon such Herbs and Grass as they found in the Yards, Ditches, and along the Ramparts, which made them die in heaps, yet were the Chieftains (as if they were related to the old *Saguntines*) so far from yielding, that they caused several to be executed for desiring Bread or Peace.

And here we need not trouble our selves with the stories of former great Famines, as of *Hierusalem*, amongst the *Turks* 1595, in *Poland* and *Bohem* 1312, in *Transylvania* 1604, at *Leyden* 1574, at *Sancerre* and *Rochel*, of *Pégu* 1598, of *Caisung* in *China* 1642, and several others, since (as is confess'd by all) this Famine at *Paris* was not inferiour to any of them, many being forced to make bread of dead mens bones, and not onely feed upon Skins, Tann'd hides, &c. but men eat one another, and some women their own children; and we may justly suppose a grand scarcity, when there was but one little \* Dog in all the City, which the Dutche's of *Montpensier* kept for her self, and refus'd two thousand Crowns onely for its brains, though it was to preserve the life of *Monsieur d'Orlan* one of her friends. In short, above twelve thousand died of very Famine, yet did the people really think themselves *Holy Martyrs* for dying in so good a Cause. At last the King for mere pity permits as many to depart the City as would; at one time there crawled out above four thousand, glad they were delivered from such a misery; then he sent Passports to the Scholars, Churchmen, Ladies, and even to his greatest enemies. \* *Mem. de la Ligue. tom. 4. p. 332, 333.*

In the mean time the King presseth more upon them, taketh *S. Denis*, (the *Leaguers* before their yielding it up having \* poison'd the Wells, the better to destroy the Kings Forces) at which siege the King himself was so vigilant, that he sat on horse-back forty hours together. Being entered *S. Denis*, in the Presence-chamber were two *Franciscan* Friars and another Priest seiz'd on in the habit of Gentlemen, who being imprison'd and strictly examin'd, confest that they were three of the six and twenty who had sworn the Kings death, for which they were hang'd. 7 July \* *d'Aubigne, tom. 3. l. 3.*

Then

*Ant. Colybet, p. 476.*

1590 Then the King assaults and takes the Suburbs of *Paris*, which so startled the *Leaguers*, that they desire a Treaty onely to spin out time, daily expecting relief; the King grants it, but their Propositions are so extravagant that nothing is done.

However the King having now the *Parisians* as it were by the throat, the Doctors of *Sorbone* are at their wits end, suspect the Integrity of the Legat, grew angry at the Pope for not affording them more assistance, and in this pet and fury drew up a Letter to be sent to his Holiness; but the City was so closely besieged, that the Letter and Messenger were seized on, and so never got as far as *Rome*; which the better to shew what fears, jealousies and distractions they were possesst with at the writing of it take as followeth, as I meet with it *then* translated into *English* out of the *Latin* Copy.

*Most Holy Father,*

\* Card.  
Caetan.  
(a) Nephew  
to this Pope  
Sixtus V.  
(b) The old  
Translator  
might as  
well have  
said The Bi-  
shop of Asti.  
His name  
was Francis-  
co Paniga-  
sola. He was  
an eloquent  
Preacher,  
and came  
into France  
with Gar-  
rano the  
Legat.

By those continual Letters, partly touching the cruel and lamentable slaughter of our most Christian Brethren, which your Holiness at sundry times hath received, was easily to be known that all *France* hath fixed her eyes onely upon the See of *Rome*, the Cause concerning the state of the whole Church; and therefore the rather because it hath been always the chiefest refuge of those that were afflicted for the defence of Religion in their greatest misery and extremity. Besides, the good report that we daily hear of your Holiness Zele, Wisdom, Sincerity, Justice, and Hate of all Ungodliness, did not a little increase our hope, the tokens whereof being brought unto us, were very severe against all the wicked, as are the heavy Censures and Sentences pronounced by your Holiness own mouth against the *Hereticks* and *Politicians* of our time, and the Orations made in the sacred Assemblies of the Cardinals, which we read with a great desire, being now printed: and also because there is ordain'd a Council of most reverend Cardinals for the redress of the state of *France*, and favourable and Fatherly Letters written to the Princes and Magistrates of this Realm, and moreover to many of sundry degrees and qualities; whereby we perceive that your Holiness did commend and approve our purpose and enterprize, promising us all aid and assistance to the furtherance thereof. And lastly, the sending of your Holiness \* *Legat* through such long and dangerous ways, being a man of great parentage and singular wisdom, with the full consent of all the most Honourable Council of Cardinals, nothing more comfortable and to be desired in this our general and common grief.

We of our side, for to encourage the hearts of the common people, have caused to be printed in both the Languages (that every man might understand them) those Letters, the which (with great commendation of our College) the renowned Cardinal of (a) *Montalto* hath vouchsafed to send, wherein was specified that your Holiness *Legat* was sent with men and money: and that the onely and chiefest care of your Holiness was touching this Realm, how best to refresh and succour the afflicted and distressed people thereof, that therefore we should not doubt but that your Holiness will out of hand in this our distress send us sufficient relief. The private Communication of your Holiness *Legat* did also confirm your singular good will and affection towards us, and the exquisite eloquence of (b) *Astensis* did greatly enlarge and commend it in the Pulpit. Wherefore we cease not daily to publish and declare unto all the world this

this your great benefit so ready and certain, and are not afraid with a wonderful contentment to assure our selves in our publick and private communications of your Holiness favourable inclination towards us.

But seeing that our grief daily increaseth; and that honest and godly men daily sustain and receive hourly great loss and damages, that it lacketh but little but that we (God punishing our sins in his heavy judgment) begin to feel the ruine of the State of *France*, and (which worle is) the uttermost decay and overthrow of Catholick Religion; the people beginning to waver, and to be removed from their accustomed constancy, suspecting that the goodwill of your Holiness, and the Credit and Authority of your Preachers; and which is more (not without our great grief) almost esteem little or nothing of the Legacy of the most renowned Cardinal *Cajetan*; that wheresoever we can turn our selves, are importun'd and wearied with these continual complaints, that our want is not relieved by the plentifulness of the See Apostolick,; and that these fifteen moneths (somewhat more or less) being spent in hoping and Watching, the foresaid *Legat* hath not had or used a particular power of *Excommunicating* and *Deposing*, therewith to bridle and subdue all the ungodly and enemies of the Church, of what Quality or Condition soever they be: seeing that as yet no special *Excommunication* of *Henry* of *Bourbon* and his Favourites hath been published, which long ago should have been done they say, before they being hardened in their impiety would have despised it: so that it is very easie to persuade unto the weak, wavering, and discontented people (being already discouraged with long wars, with poverty and need almost dismayed and dead) that which the *Politicians* whisper in their ears, namely, that your Holiness either favoureth *Henry* of *Bourbons* side, or at the least will not contraid or displease them, or else that you make but a small account of our affairs: and that to content the minds of honest and good men your Holiness hath sent your *Legat*, as to Adversaries void and destituted almost of power and money: and therefore being infected with the pestilent policies of this time, (for this the wicked ones seek to persuade) endeavoureth to please both Parties, and therefore cease not to affirm that your Holiness hath excogitated and invented onely these delays. And to that intent\* *Luxenburg* (the greatest enemy of the Catholicks) hath been received at *Rome* with such humanity, and was entertained so liberally; and in great dissimulation excluded, but afterwards most friendly recalled again, unto whom they say your Holiness hath promis'd that *Navarre* should be used favourably, and that another shall be sent (the first Cardinal being called back again) in a most honourable Legacy.

\* Francis Duke of *Luxenburg* (a strict Roman Catholic) sent to Rome to see if he could get the Pope and King *Henry* reconciled, 1589.

Moreover we are not a little grieved that some of the better sort (astonished and dismayed through the imminent dangers unto the Catholick Religion, and wearied with long delays) foreseeing partly the issue of our affairs by the present state thereof, begin (to confess that which is true) to have an ill opinion of our actions, and to interpret all things to the worst. And further to testifie that which we have seen, we know that not long since out of *Italy* Letters have been written in plain words by men of Authority and Account, whose Credit was never yet suspected in like or greater matters, that in vain we look for money and assistance from the See of *Rome*, because all things are not done there plainly and sincerely as they should be. Whereby as much as we can guess it is probable enough that all things stand in danger of Schismi, and that a most perilous fire (unless God provide otherwise) is already kindled to the overthrow of the whole Church.

D d d d

O what



1590.

O what a painful and troublesom striving and wrestling sustain we against those noisom rumours and tidings? O with what a great labour is this to be drawn again out of the peoples minds? (if in any wise it can yet be rooted out again) which if it go further and take faster hold, we pray your Holiness to judge what shall at the end become hereof, and likewise to consider if there can be any cross more grievous unto honest and good-zeal'd-men then this: so that not without cause our lives are unto us altogether unsavoury and unpleasant.

And although we invent certain probable causes of your Holiness delay, therewith something contenting the peoples minds and easing their griefs; notwithstanding we cannot satisfie our selves herewith, ceasing not to bewail these long delays, but chiefly when we remember the words of the Poet, saying,

*A wound which at first was to be cured with ease  
Wish lingering is come a dangerous disease.*

But this is far worse, that all things almost are come into an extremity, as much as any mortal man is able to judge; and, which is worst of all, now every one saith that this is come to pass through the negligence of the See of Rome, and we are not able any longer to disprove their objections. To no other end tend our daily and mighty Meetings and Assemblies with the most renowned Cardinal Cajetan and his Assistants, (whereof they will perhaps complain unto your Holiness) inquiring importunately, and with full Assembly daily desiring to know what there is done at Rome as touching our matters, and the occasion that we are kept thus long in suspence, and if there be yet any hope left where to rest upon; which as often as we do and bring home nothing else but the common answer, and always one song, namely, that his Holiness hath a great care of our affairs, and that he will never abandon our Cause, being our most loving and careful Father, very wise and expert in that he hath to do, and that ere long will quench this burning Fire, and that he hath not in vain ordain'd this worthy Legasy, and such like things many more. We see, and not onely we but every particular man, that this is told us but to drive us off, as those that mask their faces with mirth and cheerfulness, but being sifted narrowly, this which the Poet saith fitteth them of right:

*In sight they feign good hope, and mirth in countenance bear,  
But pinching grief in heart and mind closely they wear.*

Of what mind thinketh your Holiness we should be, or how to repose any trust in those answers which are altogether without substance and frivolous? Well, to what end soever this Council tendeth, this generally we fear, that whiles you in lingering seek for fitter opportunity, and in the mean time the Romans take council, \* *Saguntum* shall be assaulted and won, and your Instruments and Engines of war (as Brutus said) shall come too late after the battel. In the mean while the \* Heretick prospereth in his succeeding, and the unconstant people speak well of him, but we must often with grief approach near unto the gates of death.

\* Meaning  
as is.

\* Henry IV.

Moreover (most holy Father) they sow and cast out every where these spiteful and disdainful scoffs, that at Rome are oftentimes rehearsed and remembered the singular and great benefits of this Realm unto the See

Apo-

Apostolick; but now the same Kingdom being grievously distressed, is not once requited with like, no not with necessary thanks and reward. That this Realm is honoured with the Title of *The First begotten of the Church*, but that it is altogether handled as a Bastard, and abandon'd as an untimely Fruit. That the Bishop of *Rome* challengeth unto him the name of a Father, and succoureth not his most obedient and dutiful Children, enduring now extremity, and stretching forth their humble intreating hands, but rather provoketh them to anger. Finally, that all these lingerings are of small effect, and these excuses not worthy to be written in water.

It is also very grievous to hear, and is now upon every mans tongue, that it cannot be done without our great shame, that all the Treasure of *England*, *Germany*, and other Heretical Nations, is spent, wasted, and consumed in an ill and an ungodly Cause; and that from every place power is sent, and cometh in favour and aid of the Hereticks: But that the Catholick Princes (\* one onely excepted, of whom *France* receiveth a great and continual succour in such important Affairs, but notwithstanding insufficient) look one upon another careless, being in a most just and weighty Cause altogether faint, cold, and unwilling. Which as it is in great grief to be lamented in other, yet especially in him unto whom it belongeth to surmount them all in this kind of duty, for to encourage them with word and deed to defend the Cause of that particular member of the Church, whereof he is set and appointed by God a Governour and a general President, and always armed with present money wherewith to defend her. And rather should by Letters and Messengers pawn and engage his Credit, for to encourage the hearts of the Catholicks, then to abate and dismay their hope, in fearing in vain to look for that, whereunto reason and equity doth persuaide and bind him; chiefly by that the Bishop by whom *Navarre* himself, and other attending unto Divellish Doctrines, and other walking after the design of the flesh in impiety, scoffing the name of Catholicks, the wisest and most learned men have always judged were excommunicated and cursed.

*Philip King of Spain.*

For what is he (most Holy Father) that with one eye cannot see, that they onely gaze after the Goods and Possessions of the Catholicks, by all means seek to entrap their lives, greedily thirst after their bloud, and onely with the destruction of Christian souls, and utter decay of true Religion: This the conquer'd Cities do witness, this the sacked and spoiled Goods of honest and godly men, this the rewards granted or at last promised unto the Hereticks; this the Consecrated Reliques, nay rather the most sacred body of *Jesus Christ* cast before Dogs; this the hard and impenitent hearts of the corrupted Nobility, this the Souldiers ready to the spoil and overthrow of Churches, this the new established Synagogue of the Ministers of Sathan corrupting and falsifying the pure Word of God, this the manifold Gibbets of Preachers, this the bodies of sundry Captains and Souldiers beheaded, this in great heaps the murdered Catholicks, this the members of the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans* quickly torn in pieces with wild horses, this finally the cruel slaughters of Christians, and chiefly of Ecclesiastical persons, manifestly declare and confirm. Amongst whom the bright and shining Lights, and worthy to be beloved and desired, and the stays and pillars of their Orders, \* *Cheffaux* President in his Country, and one of *S. Francis* Family, drawn by violence from Gods service and committed unto the Hangman, being at *Vendisme*, not without great grief of all good Christians, in the spring

\* It may be his name was *Robert Cheffaux*. Davila pag. 861. he had publicly commended the Murther and of *Henry III.*

1590

\* He ad-  
dressed  
to the  
Hon. III.

and prime of his age, hang'd and depriv'd of his life. The Director and worthy Reg. nt of the *Dominicans* at *Paris*, *N. Demonte*, threescore and ten years of age, first in infinite places stabb'd, and not far from the City almost torn in pieces. And of the same calling before a most worthy and valiant *maintainer and defender of the truth*, \* *Eurgenius*, after divers torments with horses at *Tours*, being dismembered, have all (now laureated and crown'd with their innocent blood) yielded up their Ghosts into the hands of the Almighty.

\* Card.  
Montalto.

Whereupon when we think, we have thought good, diligently to do two things by the liberty which *Christ* freely hath bestowed upon us. The first is, which although others can do it better, yet after our small and slender skill to declare unto your Holiness the whole state of *France*, whose earnest zeal and desire to aid us, we doubt not shall be driven in the rest, as the Letters of your most Renowned \* Nephew written unto the whole body of the Holy League, most plainly witness. The other, that we by all means will seek to comfort and strengthen the careful minds of the people, partly heavy and wavering by the subtilty of the *Politicians*, and partly by their own natural weakness, and move and stir them up with all diligence and earnestness to *expell and drive out Navarre*, and refuse and deny him boldly even in the midst of Sword, Flame, and Fire, all service and obedience, and exhort them to prefer rather what misery soever, before an ungodly and wicked peace, although he should seem to have forsaken and forsworn his Heresie, and for it should have obtain'd a Pardon, (whereunto yet notwithstanding his is nothing near) and should profess himself a Catholick again, submitting himself under the Holy See, for the manifest danger which might ensue and befall unto the true Religion by this deceitful Conversion and feigned repentance: and he that shall favour him counselling any to agreement, or else consenting and according thereunto, when by any means shall be able to stay and hinder it, to be esteemed dangerous and suspected of Heresie, and altogether unworthy of mens company.

Whereupon our minds and heads are altogether so occupied, that we are fully determined ere long to put in print to the view of the world certain Articles concerning these points, and send them first unto your Holiness, and afterwards disperse them in all places of the world, partly to a perpetual reproach and upbraiding of the Inhabitants of this Realm, if (so often times admonished) with baseness and cowardliness of heart, they should consent to submit themselves under the yoke and bondage of an Heretick; partly to stir and raise up every mans affection, to send with all expedition aid and relief unto our distressed Affairs. And lastly to leave behind us for our Successours sure witnesses and tokens of our care and loyalty to our Country, and so to disburthen our Consciences, and purge and discharge our selves before God, his Angels, and the World, not to have forgotten our duties in time of persecution, but constantly to have confessed the name of Christ.

It therefore concerneth your Wisdom (most Holy Father) to foresee (seeing we are now in these dangerous days, whereout we cannot escape without great miracle) that this evil turn not to the destruction of your Holiness, and the utter overthrow of the Apostolick See; and that the judgment of God (as *S. Peter* saith, and the continual and known threatenings of *Navarre* seem to confirm) begin not at his house, and that that Serpent (which hath till now been nourished, defended, and by those unto whom it did not become most courteously used) spit and cast not his poi-

1590

poison and venom upon him, by whom it was expedient his head should have been broken and bruised, to the perpetual reproach and shame of *Sixtus V.* but notwithstanding by a just revengement and secret judgement of God.

And while there is any hope remaining, that with all speed your Holiness linger not to draw the two-edged sword, although too late we fear (but who knoweth if God will be appeased and forgive us our offences?) upon this *noisom beast*, and display all force and power against it. For it is now long enough, nay we fear too long tarried, delayed, lingered, and loitered. And this is that we crave of your Holiness for the tender love and mercy of God, if there be left any regard of duty, fame and estimation, or any care of the publick, or the particular health and welfare, deeply to think and consider, that it concerneth the uttermost danger of the Church, and the safety of Christ his flock so dearly bought, and committed unto our charge; and whiles you are able to *slay this wilde Boar*, that consumeth the Vineyard of the Lord, and drive away, bridle, and repress with thy double Sword all the small Foxes breaking and throwing down the same; for fear this being wilfully neglected, his anger be not ready to punish and chasten us, who will reproach us the hardness of our hearts, and require at our hands the innocent blood-shedding, and the great quantity of souls lost for ever; who because his flock is become a prey, and his sheep a spoil unto the wilde beasts, and his Vineyard trodden under foot, and made waste, will grievously complain, and we be not snared and wrapt in his just but most fearful and terrible judgement, eternally to be lamented and bewailed.

Wherein we protest before the same Almighty and High God, and his Angels, that herein we have performed our charge and duty; and therefore if here be written any thing somewhat *bitterly*, we pray your Holiness to take it in good part, as coming from a *burning zeal*, towards the Church now periclitating and ready to fall; and therefore the rather, because it becometh that all our thoughts be fixed in the defence of *Sion*, whose duties we judge it to be to leave nothing undone, whereby we might by all means possibly both things above and beneath, and all that is in Heaven and Earth move and provoke for to pity her distressed estate, because it is more then full time so to do.

Farewel, *And as your Holiness pitieth the French, nay, the Universal Church, ready to fall; so God be favourable and merciful unto you.*

In Paris, from your Holiness  
Colledge of Sorbonne,  
1590. 29 July.

Your Holiness Affectionate Orators, and most Humble Servants, the Dean and the rest of the Sorbonne at Paris.

The Duke of *Mayenne* intent (as aforesaid) upon the relief of *Paris*, at last joyneth with *Alessandro Farnese* Duke of *Parma*, and marcheth towards the City; the King with a Resolution to fight them raiseth the Siege; but *Parma* carried his designs so cunningly, that in spite of all opposition he conveyed great store of Provisions into the City, nor could the King force or oblige him to a Battel; yet the King resolved to give one lusty storm to the City, to which purpose Ladders being provided, and silently be in the night set to the walls, the City had been won,

1590 won, if by chance a *Jesuit* (as \* *Davila* saith) or a few *Jesuits* (as \* *de*  
 \* Pag. 958. *Bassieres* saith) who stood Centinel without the *Corps du Garde*, which  
 \* Pag 343. was kept by those Fathers, and *Nicholas Nivelles* the Covenanting Booksel-  
 ler, (all the rest being asleep and negligent) had not discovered them,  
 given the Alarm, and fought stoutly against them upon the walls.

The King seeing himself disappointed by *Parma*, the *Parisians* well  
 stored with Victuals, and a Sickness in his Army; raiseth the Siege,  
 disposeth his Forces into Quarters; the Duke of *Parma* returning also  
 to his Government in the *Low-Countries*.

Many Stories are we told of some mens foolish contempt and scorn  
 over their supposed Superiors, some whipping their Gods if not agree-  
 able to them, *Augustus Caesar* could defie *Neptune*, The *Thracians* would  
 rant against the Heavens if Thundred, *Xerxes* would shackle the *Helle-*  
*sport*, and though the Ancient Poets and *Lucian* villified their Gods  
 (it may be upon good reason) by making them guilty of all the villanies  
 in the world; yet none could be so extravagant as that which the Inge-  
 \* Les Essais nious † *Montaigne* tells us of one of the late Kings (neighbouring to  
 l. 1. c. 3. *France*) of *Spain* as some think, who having his Expectations disap-  
 pointed by Heaven, swore to be revenged on God himself, and (if the  
 story be true) he commanded his subjects not to pray to God for ten years,  
 nor to speak of, or believe in him. I shall not say that these Covenanters  
 proceeded so far, but may justly affirm that never any people acted more  
 against Gods Vice-gerent then they. Their stubbornness may here be  
 seen by their miseries, and thus their contempt of favour, law, life,  
 duty and obedience, doth shew their disrespect to the Divine Oracles,  
 and God himself.

## CHAP. VIII.

*The Thirdlings. Young Guise escapes out of Prison. Barnaby Briffon*  
*Strangled. The Duke of Mayenne overaw'd the Sixteen. The Mock*  
*State General meet at Paris. King Henry the Fourth declares himself*  
*a Romanist, and received absolution at St. Dennis.*

27 August. **W**HILEST *Parma* is returning to the *Netherlands*, Pope *Sixtus* the  
 Fifth dyeth; upon which the Cardinal Legat departeth *France*,  
 leaving behind him in *Paris*, *Filippo Sega*, Bishop of *Piacenza* (he came  
 from *Italy* with him, and was also a Cardinal) to act as Vice-Legat. *Ur-*  
*ban VII.* is elected Pope, who dying thirteen days after, *Gregory XIV.*  
 5 Decemb. is \* chosen to sit in the Chair.

In the mean time the King is pinched on all hands, the *Parisians* va-  
 pour as Conquerors, *Emanuel de Lorraine* Duke of *Mercoeur* carryeth all  
 for the *League* in *Brittain*, with whom above four thousand *Spaniards*  
 joyn: the Duke of *Savoy* conquereth in *Provence*, and by the Parlia-  
 ment of *Aix*, is Declared Head of their Government, having also some  
 Intentions for the Crown; nor was the Duke of *Lorraine* idle. But  
 these prosperous proceedings did not altogether please *Mayenne*, fearing  
 their greatness would Eclipse him: Yet by these was the King brought  
 so low that he borroweth aid from *England*, *Holland*, and the *German*  
*Princes*, and *Mayenne* sendeth to desire the like from the Pope and King  
 of *Spain*.

By

By this time *Barnaby Briffon*, chief President of the Covenanted Parliament at *Paris*, for some reason or other, was more agreeable to the King then formerly, and several in the City began to wish a Reconciliation with him. The King himself knew, that he had some friends in the City, by whose assistance he had a design to surprize it, by having several of his Captains disguised in Countrey habits, pretending to carry Horse-loads of corn or meal into it by night [the usual time so to steal in, by reason of the Kings Forces scouring the ways and Countrey:] But this plot being discovered, it fail'd, and is yet call'd the \* *Day of Flour or Meal*. These caused the *Parisians* for the more strengthening themselves against any such like attempts, to receive into their City Four thousand *Spaniards*, to the displeasure of *Mayenne*, who feared that Nation and Faction might in time be too strong for him there.

But he was very male-contented with the forwardness of the new Pope *Gregory XIV.* who espoused the quarrel of the *League* with a great deal of earnestness, sendeth *Marsilio Landriano* of *Milan* Nuncio into *France*, with two \* *Monitory Bulls*.

## I.

One relating to the Clergie, whom he interdicted if within 15 days they forsook not the obedience and part of the King. And further, if within 15 days more they departed not from him, then to be deprived of their Livings, Benefices, and Functions.

## II.

The second concerned the Princes, Nobility, and the rest of the Laity, wherein under great pains he also warned them to depart from the King, whom he call'd Heretick, Persecutor of the Church, an Excommunicated Person, and therefore depriv'd of all his Dominions and Possessions.

To these the Pope addeth Arms and Money, sending his Nephew *Mercole Sfondrato* (newly for Honours sake made by him Duke of *Montemarciano*) with an Army, which he will maintain with the moneys gathered up by *Sixtus V.* and kept in *Castel St. Angelo*; and besides this he alloweth 15000 Crowns a moneth to the *Leaguers*.

The *Royalists* are greatly offended at these Papers and Proceedings. Those of the *Sovereign Court* (for conveniency then sitting) at *Chaalons*, by Decree declare that the former *Bulls* and actings against *Henry III.* as also these against the present *Henry IV.* to be odious, seditious, false impostures, contrary to all holy Decrees, Canons, Constitutions, Councils, the Rights and Liberties of the Gallican Church, and so to be idle, vain, null and void, and to be burnt by the hands of the Hangman. Ordain also that *Landriano* calling himself *Nuncio*, to be seiz'd on, and suffer according to Law, forbid any to entertain him; declare that all Cardinals, Prelates and other Ecclesiasticks, who any way promote a Consent to these *Bulls*, or approve of the late Murder of *Henry III.* shall be deprived of all their Benefices in this Kingdome, and that none hereafter carry any money to *Rome*, or procure any Benefices thence, &c.

\* 10 June 1599. The same in effect was decreed by the Parliament then sitting at *Tours*, but with this addition, prohibiting any upon pain beaving of *High Treason* to publish and obey any of the aforesaid *Bulls*. And which

\* 20 Jan, Journee des farines. Farinarum dies, or Nōx farinarum.

\* They may be seen at large in a Book, call'd de Christiānissimi Regis periculis, or de periculi Henrici IV. Printed 1591.

\* Yet I have a Copy of it (that year printed.)

date 29 Aug.

\*...A de- which was best of all — \* *Hath declared, and doth declare Gregory*  
 clare & de- (calling himself Pope) *the XIV. of that name, an Enemy to the Peace, to*  
 clare Gre- *the Union of the Chatholick-Apostolick-Roman Church, to the the King and*  
 goire, sedi- *his Estate, a Partaker of the Spanish Conspiracy, a favourer of Rebels,*  
 tant Pape, *guilty of the most cruel; most inhumane, and most detestable Parricide, Tray-*  
 quatori- *terously committed on the Person of the most Christian King, and most Ca-*  
 esme de ce *tholick King Henry III. of most happy memory — 5 August, 1591.*  
 nom, enne-  
 mie de

la paix, del' union del' Eglise Catholique Apostolique & Romaine, du Roy & de son Estat :  
 adherant a la Conjuracion d' Espagne, & fauteur des Rebelles, coupable du tres cruel, tres  
 cruel, tres inhumain, & tres detestable parricide, proditoirement commis en la personne de  
 Henry III. Roy de tres heureuse memoire, tres Christen & tres Catholique.

1591  
 \* 3 Aug.

The same Language was used by the Parliament sitting at \* *Caen* :  
 on the contrary the Parliament at *Paris* thunder out their Decrees, com-  
 manding the *Nuncio* and *Monitory Bulls* to be received and obeyed, as  
 proceeding from an Authentick Authority, threatening severe punish-  
 ments to all those who submit not to them.

And here having mentioned several Parliaments, the common Rea-  
 der may understand once for all, that *France* had then, and hath now,  
 several Seats of Parliament (or rather *Courts Judicature*) having com-  
 mand within their respective Precincts, and instituted by several Kings,  
 as this following Scheme will shew,

Order	Where	Settled by	Anno
I.	<i>Paris.</i>	<i>Philippe IV. le Bel.</i>	1302.
II.	<i>Tholouse.</i>	<i>Charles VII.</i>	1443.
III.	<i>Grenoble.</i>	<i>Charles VII.</i>	1453.
* <i>Wuscon-</i> <i>stituted</i> 1447, and so it was then the third Parliament, but it lost that rank and order by a rebellion.	IV. * <i>Bourdeaux.</i>	<i>Louis XI.</i>	1462.
	V. <i>Dijon.</i>	<i>Louis XI.</i>	1476.
	VI. <i>Rouen.</i>	<i>Louis XII.</i>	1499. some say 1503.
	VII. <i>Aix.</i>	<i>Louis XII.</i>	1501.
	VIII. <i>Rennes.</i>	<i>Henry II.</i>	1553.
	IX. <i>Pau,</i> said first to be instituted afterwards confirmed.	<i>Louis XIII.</i>	1620.
	X. <i>Mess</i>	<i>Louis XIII.</i>	1633.

In order and time these as they were made, fixed, or sedentary ; other-  
 wise we might say that Parlements were had at *Paris* 577, at *Tholouse*  
 1302, and at *Rouen* 1443. In the time of this *League Paris* and *Rouen*  
 being in the hands of the *Covenanters*, King *Henry III.* removed the Ses-  
 sions of those Parlements to *Tours*, *Caen*, &c. whither accordingly as  
 many of the Royal Members as could go went and sate, acting for their  
 Kings, whilst those of the other persuasion staid, and were as busie and  
 zealous for the *Leaguers*.

But to return ; the *Nuncio*, the *Embassadours* of *Spain* and *Savoy*, the  
 Lords of the House of *Lorraine*, *Nicolas de Pellevé*, then Archbishop of  
 Sens (and not of \* *Rheims* till the year after, as † *Davila* mistakes) with  
 some others meet at *Rheims*, where every man seeming for the *League*,  
 yet under that vizard to carry on their own designs and Interest, their  
 Consultations broke up without any determinations,

\* *Card. de*  
*Lenoncourt*  
*was now li-*  
*ving and*  
*Archbishop*  
*of Rheims.*

† *Pag. 1014.*

For

In the mean time spang up a third Party, which had like to have foild both King and League. Charles Cardinal of Bourbon, who whilst the old Kingling Cardinal Bourbon lived was called Cardinal of Vendosme, he seeing the Pope, Spaniard and Covenanters, and all resolved to exclude King Henry the IV. if he turn'd not presently Romanist, hoped that change would never be, and so doubted not (being of the Royal blood) to get the Crown to himself. This Plot he carried on secretly by his Favorites, amongst whom was Jacques Davy Sieur du Perron (though now but young, and of mean birth, yet of great parts and Learning, and afterwards a Cardinal :) This Plot being discovered, Mayenne was not a little troubled at it, as aiming to take away his greatness, and the King not satisfied as offering to rob him of the Crown: However, though his Party was potent, and in the Opinion of the Romanists, grounded upon good reason, yet the King seemed outwardly to despise and slight it, by jeeringly calling them the \* Third-  
 1591. \* Les Tiercelets.

And another accident did not a little trouble Mayenne; viz. The escape of Charles the young Duke of Guise from his Imprisonment at Tours, for he had been secured ever since the killing of his Father at Blois; but whether this escape was by the Kings desire and permittance, the better to divide, and so weaken the Leaguers, or by Bribery, or chance, is nothing to our story. The truth is, Mayenne, though he seemed pleased at his Nephews liberty, yet he liked not the great rejoycings the Covenanters made at it, by Bells and Bon-fires, whereby he feared himself might be neglected, and by such divisions and jealousies, the King might assure himself no loser.

Mayenne himself also dreading the event of these distractions, procureth a Private Meeting with the Duke of Lorraine, and some others; where it was secretly concluded to unite together, never to permit (if they could prevent it) any to the Crown, but of their Family; but if they should be constrained to yield further, yet that no stranger should be, but a Prince of the Blood, and of the Roman Religion: This is signed and sealed by them, and of it they inform the Duke of Guise, who desires time to consider.

Nor is Paris free from sidings and fear; for the Council of Sixteen (which had been the foundation of the League, and the raising of the Duke of Mayenne) began now to distrust his proceedings, as a man thwarting their greatness, not active and fierce enough against the King and Hugonots, and one that regarded self more than the Publick: And he of late being commonly far absent from them, had not that awe and respect as formerly; so they began to neglect him, and cry up the young Guise: And considering themselves strong enough, having the Preachers, the People, the Spaniard, the Bishop of Piacenza (lately Vice-Legat) on their side, resolve to have things carried as they please. To this purpose, they send their demands and complaints to Mayenne; who not consenting to them, vext their Worshipps so much, that they resolved to lay him aside, and consult some other Head or Chieftain. And to this purpose, (being also instigated by Mendoza the Spanish Ambassador) in the Jesuits Colledge (where their deepest Plots used to be made) a Letter is drawn up, and by the Sixteen and others, sent to Philip II. King of Spain, by one called Father Matthieu, and by \* Thomas, and Davila, nominated Claude Mathen.

But because François Montagne, Rene de la Fon, and Louis de Beaumanoir; or if you will have the plain truth of it, the Jesuit Lays

E e e e

Richcome

\* Lib. 107;  
 \* p. 1041.



1591

(a) but these with his other Apologies are not printed amongst his Works in 2 vol.

(b) Play-days.

(c) Book 3. fol. 200, 201.

(d) Memoirs d'Etat en suite de ceux de Monf. de Villars, tom. 3. p. 44. where you may also see the whole Letter is self-

*Richeome* (for he was the French Author that writ the (a) *Apologies* for the *Jesuits* under the former false names) Because, I say they deny his name to be so, alledging, that *Claude Matthieu* dyed above two years before, viz. 1588. at *Ancona* in *Italy*, though there might be others of that name besides him, and because *Matthieu* may as well be a Christian Name as a Sirname, as the Advocate (b) *Arnould* and the Author of the (c) *Jesuits Catechism* do intimate, that this was so; and the

late (d) Prints from *Paris* assure us that his name was *Matthieu Aquarius*. I shall say no more, this being enough to overthrow one objection, and *Davila*, *Thuanus*, *Arnould*, *Perefixe* and others, being enough to testify the truth of the thing, supposing the name were not in all things exactly set down. Part of the Letter take as followeth,

Most High and Mighty Prince,

‘Your Catholick Majesty having been so gracious unto us, as to let us understand by the most religious and reverend Father *Matthem*, not onely your holy intentions for the general good of Religion, but more especially your great affections and favours towards this City of *Paris*, &c. Then after great commendations of young *Guise*, and the telling of their own miteries, they go on to tell him——

‘We trust in God, that before it be long the Forces of his Holiness and your Catholick Majesties being joynd together will free us from the oppressions of our enemies, who have hitherto for an year and half so block’d and hem’d us in on all sides, that nothing come into the City but by chance or force of Arms, and would press further, should they not in fear of the Garrisons your Majesty was pleas’d to send us. We can boldly assure your Catholick Majesty, that the prayers and desires of all the *Catholicks* are to see your Catholick Majesty sway the Scepter of this Kingdom and Reign over us. As we most willingly cast ourselves into your arms as into the arms of our Father. Or that your Catholick Majesty would be pleased to appoint some of your posterity.

‘And if it shall stand with your good pleasure to appoint any other

(a) The Duke of *Guise*, or some other Frenchman, to marry his daughter *Isabel*. Clara Eng.

(b) Daughter to *Alphonso IX.* of *Castile* and *Leon*, married to *Louis VIII.* of *France*, and so Mother to *St. Louis IX.* She was a wise Queen Regent, quelling all the Conspiracies of the Crown and Kingdom.

(c) *Doña Izabella Clara Eugenia*, eldest Daughter to *Philip II.* (by his third wife *Elizabeth* or *Izabel* of *France* Daughter to *Henry II.*) Her they would have to be Queen of *France*, and to marry with some French Prince or Nobleman to be King.

besides your self, that it may please you to make choice of a (a) Son in Law, whom we will receive as King with all our best affections, all the Devotions and Obedience that a good and loyal people can, and are bound to yield to their Liege and Sovereign. For we hope so well of the blessing of God upon this Alliance, that what we have already received of that most puissant and most Christian Prince (c) *Blanche* of *Castile*, Mother to our most Christian and most religious King *St. Louis*, we shall receive it, yea twofold, of this great and vertuous Prince (c) daughter of your Catholick Majesty; upon whom for her rare Vertues the eyes of all men are fixed and set

set, as a most pleasant object, and in whom most gloriously shineth the Bloud of *France* and *Spain*, to no other end or purpose, but by a perpetual Alliance to fraternize and joyn in one brotherhood, as it were these two great Monarchies under their Government, to the advancement of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, the beauty of his Church, and union of all the Inhabitants of the world under the Ensigns of Christianity.

As your *Catholick Majesty* with so many notable and triumphant Victories by the favour of God and his aid hath mightily prevail'd and advanced the same; so we most heartily pray to God (who is the Lord of Battels) to continue your proceedings therein, with such accomplishment, that the whole work may be finished and perfected in all points. To which end and purpose that it would please him to prolong your *Catholick Majesties* days in perfect and happy health, accompanied with daily success of Victories and Triumphs over all your Enemies.

From Paris this second of November,  
1591.

*The reverend Father Matthew this bearer, who hath greatly comforted us, and fully instructed with the state of our affairs, shall satisfy your Catholick Majesty in all things which may seem defective and wanting in our Letters: Beseeching your Majesty most humbly to credit him in whatsoever he shall report unto you from us.*

Whether this *Matthew Aquarius* the Agent of the League was a *Jesuite* or no, I shall not positively affirm, though there be good Authority for it, but the best Authors may have their mistakes. I shall onely observe by the by, that there was at this time one *Matthaus Aquarius* a *Dominican*, and in vogue as well for his Philosophy as Schoolmanship, both in *Rome* and *Naples*, so a trusty servant both to *Pope* and *Spain*. And though the *Jesuites* will attribute the title of *Fathers* to themselves, yet I find this *Aquarius* (as oftentimes others are also) before his printed books so intitled, that any might mistake him for a *Jesuite*, because called *Father*; I shall not say, nor can I affirm that this *Aquarius* the *Dominican* was the same man with the Leaguers Agent.

This Letter was intercepted near *Lyons* by *Gilbert de Chaseron* Governour of the Province of *Bourbon*, and by him sent to the King, whereby their Honesty, Religion, and Loyalty was discovered.

Now as the *Sixteen* and their Associates had laid the Design to humble the Parlement of *Paris* to them, which they thought to depend too much upon *Mayenne*; they began to stir up the people, persuading them Religion was betrayed, their Cause and good Covenant quite undone; that the Parlement intended to deliver the City into the hands of the *Navarrois*, i.e. the King. And to obtain their designs with greater ease and facility, they consulted about a new Oath, whereby all that favoured them not should be driven out of the City, and all the *Floud Royal* to be excluded from the Succession and the Crown.

In the meantime they take an occasion to be stark mad; for one *Brigard* (once a violent *Covenanter*) being suspected by them of too much favouring the King, was hurried to prison, resolving to have him hang'd

E e e 2

for

\* 5 Novemb.  
Jo. de Buffieres vol. 4. p. 364, 365.  
Gomberville Mem. de M. de Nevers Tom. 2. pag. 623.

1591 for it; but the Parlement not agreeing in this with their humours, cleared him in a full trial; and he at last finding means to escape from their fury out of the City, they in a giddy zeale turn their malice upon his Judges.

15 Nov.

Thus resolved they hurry the people to Arms, seise upon *Barnaby Briffon* the Chief President, *Claude l'Archer* Counsellour of the *Chasteler*, with *Jean Tardif*, whom they carry to the Sessions-house, there in a haste condemning them without rule or reason. *Briffon* desireth them to spare him a little time, till in prison he had finished his book *De Formulis* (so much cried up by learned and knowing men) but no favour or mercy being granted, they are all three instantly strangled in prison, scarce a quarter of an hour being allow'd to *Briffon* to confess in. Thus murder'd, he is presently hung out of his own Chamber-window, and the next day hung on the Gallows publickly to be seen of all. Such was the end of the learned but unfortunate *Briffon*, who before had in \* verse bewail'd the mischiefs of a Civil war, and it may be in relation to this *League*.

\* *Poet. Gal.*  
v. l. 1. p.  
713, 714.

17 Nov.

This done, they meet at the house of *Pellettier*, the *Covenanting Lecturer* of *S. Jacques de la Boucherie*, where they conclude that a Court of Justice shall be form'd of men of their Faction, to proceed against Hereticks and the Favourers of the King, that the moneys and Treasuries how expended shall be look'd into, that the Council of State shall be fill'd up, and the men were there named by them; that a Council of war shall be chosen, upon whose consent the Governour (*de Belin* left by *Mayenne*) should act nothing; that the Seals of the Crown which *Mayenne* carried about with him, should for the future always remain in the City, &c. To these they adde the sending of the Letter to the King of *Spain* formerly writ, with which they now forthwith dispatch *Mathieu*.

\* *Memoires*  
en suite de  
ceux de  
*Villeroy*,  
tom. 3. p.  
24, 25.

Yet *Thuanus* dates the Letter the 20th. of *November*, and \* another the 20th. of *September*; but herein I follow *Arnauld*, who maketh a particular observation upon the timing or dating it, the *Jesuits* themselves not objecting any thing against his date, viz. 2 *Novemb.* and *Davila* saith it was sent this day, viz. 17 *Novemb.* and so most probably writ before, this day they being too busily implied in other mischiefs. However the day is no great matter, the difference being but small, and probably a mistake in the writing or printing.

28 Nov.

This done, they arise from Council, get the Council of State presently to assemble, to whom they propound the Articles, to the end to have them confirm'd and executed: but at this time they are put off, it being alledged the day was too far spent, and the Dutches of *Nemours* carried her self so powerfully with them, that they were willing to let the execution of them alone till they had heard from her son the Duke of *Mayenne*, who being inform'd of these hurly-burlys, thought it best to quell them before they went any further, for which purpose well guarded he hastes towards *Paris*: at whose approach the *Sixteen* discouraged, crave pardon, let him enter the City, the *Bastile* is also yielded to him, then he seizeth on *Lauchort*, *Emmenot*, *Auroux* and *Ameline*, great Sticklers amongst the *Sixteen*, whom he caused to be strangled in the *Louvre*, and publickly hung on the Gallows, and others had tasted the same sauce had they not fled for it.

3 Dec.

At this the Priests and Doctors of *Sorbonne* were wonderfully terrified, but he not willing to lose them quite, knowing such men to be dangerous enemies amongst the people, waited upon them himself, gave them good words, told them all was pardoned, and Justice satisfied, which

1592

which he ratified by an Edict. At the same time he also decreed, that upon pain of death no more Councils, Meetings or Conventicles, should be had any way, except the Ordinary one of the *Union* with the sense of the lawful Magistrates, which being registred in full consent of Parliament, put an end to the power and greatness of the *Sixteen*; and somewhat spoil'd and cool'd the designs of the *Spanish* Ministers. And an Oath was also drawn up and read in Parliament for all the Souldiers in the City to take, the better to keep them in Obedience.

Whilst these things were acting, Pope Gregory XIV. dying, *Innocent IX.* succeedeth him, who allowed the *League* fifteen thousand Ducats a month, desiring them to fall to work, and chuse a King of the *Roman* Religion, aiming (as 'tis thought) at Cardinal *Bourbon* (the Head of the *third party*) but what his other designs were, his \* death after a two months Popedom, would not let be known. And after him succeeded \* 30 Dec.  
*Clement VIII.*

The Parliament at *Rouen* now puts forth a severe \* Edict against any \* 7 Jan.  
that shall adhere to *Henry* of *Bourbon*, as they call'd him; yet the prosecution of the *League* was somewhat hindred by the Jealousies arising betwixt *Parma* and *Mayenne*, the latter fearing to be out-vapoured by the *Spaniard*, was not so averse as formerly from an Agreement with the King, to carry on which the great Statesman *Villeroy* (who as yet kept himself with the Leaguers) and *du Plessis Morney* (the Kings faithful friend) had divers meetings, but the *Covenanters* Propositions were so high and lofty (getting all into their own hands, leaving his Majesty a meer shadow) that it brake off without any determination, though the King was willing to grant much to be at rest and quiet. 1592

This Treaty was presently made known, thinking to do *Mayenne* a displeasure, and so it did, both the *Spaniards* and *Leaguers* being offended at him, in offering to treat without their consent or knowledge, and so made jealous as if intended to leave them in the lurch. But on the other side, the King gain'd not much by the bargain, the *Romanists* who followed him (next that it should be carried on by an *Huguenot*, viz. *Morney*) began to have the same suspicions of His Majesty. And in this zeal and humour having consulted themselves, they forthwith gave *Mayenne* to understand that it was fitting for the common safety, that all the *Romanists* should be united, and so to require of the King to change his Religion within a prefixt-time, and then they would acknowledge him, otherwise they would joyntly proceed to the Election of a King of the *Roman* persuasion, for such an one (and none other) they would have.

Add to this Pope *Clements* favour of the *League*, allowing it 15000 Ducats a moneth, exhorting them to chuse a new King of the *Roman* belief, alledging none to be capable of a Crown but one of that Religion, commanding the *Nuncio* Cardinal *Piacenza* to forward the Election. Upon all these and other such like considerations the King is perplexed beyond measure, now clearly perceiving that all of them were gone to that height of Conditional Subjection, as never to receive him for King unless he would be of their Religion, nor was his force sufficient to oppose. The case is hard, but a Kingdom is not to be lost, yet the war goeth on vigorously on both sides.

In the mean time the Pope having sent to his *Nuncio* in *France* to hasten the calling of the *States General*, that a Catholick King, an enemy to Hereticks, and a Defender of the Church, might be chosen; the Duke

1593. Duke of Mayenne took heart, fancying that the Pope might aim at him, and thus entertaining some thoughts of being King, he resolved to convocate the *States General*; the Spaniard would have it at *Soissons*, that *Parma* might the sooner assist or awe them from *Flanders*; the Duke of *Lorraine* desires *Rheims*, where his greatest Interest lay; but *Mayenne* thought *Paris* best, his own Authority being greatest there by his former weakening the *Sixteen*.

October.

Mem.de M.  
de Nevers  
vol.2.pag.  
634.

\* 18 No-  
vemb.

In the mean time all care is taken by them to exclude *Henry*, and nothing could thwart them more then his turning *Romanist*, of which they had some fears, several earnestly soliciting him to it. To prevent this 'tis spread abroad, how unlawful it is for any to desire his Conversion; how it is against *Divine, Civil, and Canon Law, the Decrees of the Popes, the Fundamental Law of the Kingdom, the Holy Union, &c.* and therefore conclude, that those who propose or endeavour such a thing are wicked Citizens, unstable perjur'd Politicks, seditious Disturbers of the Commonwealth, favourers of Hereticks, suspected of Heresie, Excommunicated, ought to be driven out of the City, lest they should corrupt the rest.

And those of *Chaalons* having put forth a \* Decree against Cardinal *de Piacenza* the Popes Nuncio, as also the Popes Bulls, as they did formerly against Pope *Gregory XIV.* Those of the *Parlement of Paris* publish an Act, whereby they

*Declare the said Decree of Chaalons null, of none effect or force, being published by those of no Right or Authority to be a Parlement, being Schismaticks, Hereticks, Enemies to God and his Church, disturbers of the State and publick peace of the Kingdom.*

*Order the said Decree as full of Scandal, Schism, Heresie, and Sedition, to be torn and burnt by the Hangman.*

*Forbid any to receive or obey the said Decree.*

*Injoyn all to honour and obey Pope Clement VIII. and acknowledge his Legat.*

*Affirm that their intended General States design nothing but the Preservation of the Roman Religion, and to choose a true Christian Catholick French King.*

*Forbid any to hinder or molest the members, coming to the said meeting of States.*

Paris 2 Decemb. 1592.

DU-TILLET.

1593.  
5 Jan.

Accordingly to summon the said *States-General*, the Duke of *Mayenne* Publish'd a large Declaration, in which he undertakes

*To Vindicate himself.*

*Desireth the Romanists to unite.*

*That though the Leaguers had too much cause to desire the late Kings death, yet they had no hand in it, it being a blow from Heaven.*

*That Navarre could not be King, because an Heretick, Obedience being only founded upon the of the Roman Religion.*

*So they cannot be blamed for their Actions, nor can be Rebels, seeing they fight only against Hereticks, and their Associates, who have despised the Popes Bulls, and Admonitions, &c. And so throwing an odd blot upon the King concludes.*

To this the Popes Legat *Piacenza*, thinking that of *Mayenne's* not plain and severe enough, added another Declaration,

*Desiring*

*Desiring all to be obedient to the Pope, who will never assent to an Heretical King, or the ruine of the Church or that Crown.*

*Affirming that to think that the Priviledges of the Gallican Church extendeth so far as to admit of an Heretical King, is the dream of a Madman, and an Heretical Contagion.*

*That those who had acknowledg'd Navarre, had forgot the Piety of their Ancestors, the Reputation of their Countrey, and the safety of their souls, their salvation being desperate.*

*That Navarre had violated all Laws both divine and humane.*

*And that the Parliament of Paris is a true and lawful one, and so perswadeth them to proceed to an Election.*

1593  
\* 15 Jan.

To these the King returning Answers, endeavoring to clear himself from their Accusations, not forgetting also to shew what a favour he had for the *Roman* Religion.

And though the death of the Duke of *Parma* had been no small Hindrance to the *Spanish* designs, yet now *Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa* Duke of *Feria* cometh Embassador to manage the Interest of that Crown at the meeting of the *States*, several at this time aiming at the Throne, and every one not despairing of their Cause or Interest: The *Spanish* daughter *Izabella Clara Eugenia*, the Dukes of *Guise*, *Lorain*, *Nemours* and *Mayenne* having all hopes.

In short, the *States-General* meet at *Paris* in the Great Hall of the *Louvre*, amongst the rest of the *Drolleries* of these times, nothing took more then a Book call'd *Satyre Menippe* or *le Catholicon d'Espagne*, Compos'd in abuse of this Convention. \* *Justus Lipsius* will have a fling at this Book, but the greatest honour it received was from *Rome*, where their *Wisdomes* there, (as if they had nothing else to do) did many years after very gravely call it to remembrance, and at last thought it fit to pass under their (\*) Censure of Reprobation. The profe of it was made by the Almoner to *Cardinal de Bourbon*; the Verses were compos'd by *Nicholas Rapin*, commended by \* *Johannes Passeratius*, (\*) *Scavola Sammorhanus* with others, and *Rapin* himself hath some \* Poems out in *Latin*.

\* Debit.  
Pret. Belg.  
Tom. 3. p.  
339.  
(\*) 16 Mar.  
1621. vid.  
Ind. Expur.  
gat. Alex.  
Andri VIII.  
p. 218.  
\* Poet.  
Gall. vol. 3.  
p. 165.  
(\*) b. p.  
420, 421.  
\* lb. p. 204.  
&c.  
28 Jan.

The *States* being met as aforesaid, *Mayenne* (King-like) sitteth under the Cloth of State, desiring them to choose a Catholick King, an Enemy to Heresie, which was seconded by others. The next day at a private meeting the *Legat* moved, that at the next Sessions of the *States* all should take a solemn Oath never to acknowledge *Navarre* for their King, though he should turn *Romanist*, but this was quasht at the Proposal, as to swear against the *Popes* Authority, suppose he should turn, and his Holiness command him to be received.

The next day the *Romanists* with the King (with his consent) send Propositions to the *States* for a Treaty with them, at which the *Legat* stormeth, affirming the Proposal to be Heretical, and so not fit to be Answer'd, *Cardinal Pelleue* and *Diego d'Ivarra* one of the *Spanish* Agents agreeing with him, but this was oppos'd; and because the Paper was directed to all the *States*, 'twas judg'd fit to be communicated to them, which so nettled the *Legat*, that he got the Colledge of *Sorbonne* to declare it Heretical, as intimating a declared Heretick might be King, and ought to be obeyed. Yet the Proposal is shewn to the *States*, a Conference with the *Royal Romanists* is contented to, but in their Answer they had this odd Conclusion, — That to oppose an Heretical King is not Treason. The place agreed on is *Surenne*, between *Paris* and

1593. and St. Denys, and Persons are nominated on both sides.

In the *States* the *Spaniards* carried high for the *Infanta*, many seeming willing to it for interest-sake; but when they named *Ernest* Arch-Duke of *Austria*, the Emperors Brother, for her husband, it was rejected, as not fitting to give the Kingdom to a stranger. The *Spaniards* smelling the design, offered to admit of a *French* Prince to be married to *Philips* daughter, which took pretty well, *Guise*, *Nemours*, *Lorraine*, and *Mayenne* his sons, each of them hoping to be the Man and King. Nay, some who seem'd to be the Kings Friends and Allies, as Cardinal *Bourbon*, Count *de Soissons*, the Prince of *Conti*, with some others, began to hearken to this Proposal, every one fancying to make the Crown his, upon which conceits they were not so earnest in the Kings Cause and Interest as they seem'd to be.

The King perceiving that the Authority of the Pope was one of his greatest Enemies or Pretences, had a great minde to have him pacified, to which purpose he formerly had the Republick of *Venice*, and *Ferdinando de Medici* Grand Duke of *Tuscany* to use their interests in his behalf at *Rome*; and to further it had also been sent Cardinal *Pietro de Gondi*, Bishop of *Paris*, and the Marquess *de Pisani*, in the name of the *Romanist* with the King upon the same Errand. But the Pope commanded them not to enter into the Ecclesiastical Territories, as being Favourers of Hereticks, well-Wishers to *Navarre*, with whom they had presumed to speak and treat, to which some Reasons and Excuses being returned, the Pope at last permits them to enter *Rome*. And at last the King himself gave fair Signes and Proffers to the Conference at *Swenne*, not only of his being willing to be instructed in the *Roman* Religion, but as it were ready to be of it.

This amazeth the *Covenanters* to the purpose, the *Legat* protesteth against the Conference as dangerous, that they could neither treat with, nor admit of a peace with *Navarre*, being a declared Heretick, and that if they did either, he for his part would quit the Kingdom; and this he publish'd in Print that every one might take notice of it. Nor were the *Spaniard* less concerned, who (fearing the Kings Conversion, would make haste and be excepted of, thinking to spoil it) Nominates the Duke of *Guise* for Husband to the *Infanta*, shewing it was so in his Instructions.

At this *Mayenne* is stung to the heart, nor could he so much dissemble but his thoughts were perceived; however he thanks them for their kindness to his Nephew, and desires time till things were better prepared; But this Nomination being known, the Embassadors, Nobles, Citizens, and every one flock to pay their service to *Guise*, and give him joy, his Palace is fill'd, himself cried up, and now they vapour of a new Kingling, \* *Charles XI*. At all this the Dutchesse of *Mayenne* is mad, she frets, storms and weeps three days, and not able any longer to endure, she falleth upon her troubled husband with Sighs, Exclamations, Threatnings and Railings, jearing him as one that hath lost all his labour and pains, if he who had hitherto borne the brunt, must at last only thus truckle to his young Nephew.

\* Charles de Guis.

The Duke also (thus perplexed to see himself as it were laid aside) puts many into young *Guise* his head, demands strange and exorbitant Conditions of the *Spaniard* for performance; yet thinking these not sure enough, designeth a Treaty with Cardinal *Bourbon*; and lest this also should fail, cunningly dealeth with the Parliament of *Paris*, to make a Decree, that the Crown should not be transfer'd to strangers, and the nulling

nulling of all Treaties held to that purpose, as contrary to the *Salique Law* (which some think a Cheat) and other Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. And this trick was soon obtain'd by the hands of *Jehan le Maistre* chief President, who (as if the Duke knew nothing of the business) waited upon *Mayenne* with a good Company of Councillors, to inform him of their Order, which Action and Decree, the Duke seemed to take in ill part, as if they had been too bold in meddling, and this had some effect, not a little dashing the Confidence and Plots of the *Spaniard*. 1593 28 June:

The King understood all this *Cabal*, and also he perceived, that though they agreed not amongst themselves, yet were they all resolved against him, and to adde to his trouble, the *Romanists* whom he most trusted, were falling from him as a Prince not to be converted. These and other \* Inconveniencies, forcing him to be more apprehensive, he thinks himself now necessitated so far to comply with them in securing the Kingdom to himself, as to hint the Roman Religion to be the best; and so at *Mante*, having talked between \* five and six hours with some Prelats, he seem'd well enough satisfied, and thus thrust from his failings, he declareth he will publickly go to receive *Absolution*, and hear Mass at St. *Denys* within two days. \* *Camden* an. 1593. \* *Spind.* 1593. sect. 17. 23 July.

Now is *Mayenne* at his Wits end, he had been at some pains and trouble to lay aside his Nephew, his Dutchess perswading him rather to make peace with *Navarre*, then to be a subject to young *Guise*. But here he perceives himself out-witted, all his Pretensions against the King being because he was an Heretick, but now by this declared Conversion he is left without excuse. Well, finding no other remedy, he consults to get a Truce with the King for some time, to which his Majesty shews himself willing, hoping by the sweetness of a little peace to gain upon the people, though *Mayenne* had other designs against him. As for the Duke of *Guise*, considering well how things went, he excused his Election to the *Spanish* Embassadors, as a thing that would prove ridiculous to others, and ruinous to himself.

In the mean time, the *Legat* inform'd of the Kings design, to convert and be absolved at St. *Denys*, pulls out his Paper-Tools, and falls to the old Work, declaring *Navarre* to be an Excommunicated Heretick, being so pronounced by *Sixtus V.* and therefore not to be absolved or admitted into the Church, but by the Pope himself. That all shall be null and void, that they shall do that waywards; and that those who shall appear there, shall be excommunicated and deprived: to these *Mayenne* addeth his good-will, by forbidding any man to go to St. *Denys* under great penalties. 25 July.

But all to no purpose, for the day being come, all sorts of people croud thither, the King clothed in white, with a black Hat and Cloak, nobly attended, goeth to the Great Church, the Gates being shut, the Lord Ghancellor knocks, they are opened, and within appeareth *Remond e Beaune* Archbishop (or if you will \* Patriarch) of *Bourges*, sitting in his Chair in his *Pontificalibus*, environ'd with a great number of Prelats. He ask'd who he was, and what he would have? The King replied, that he was *Henry* King of *France* and *Navarre*, desiring to be received into the bosome of the Church, the Arch-bishop ask'd him if he heartily desired it, and was truly sorry for his former Errours: which the King affirming on his knees, repeating the Confession of Faith, with some Prayers, and being sworn, after secret Confession he received *Absolution*; then sat under the Cloth of State to hear Mass; so all being Gloss.

F f f f



1593

being done, he returned an excellent *Romanist* to his Palace, but with what bad words and maledictions the Priests of *Paris* could throw upon him.

Spond. on  
1593. sect. 9.

In the mean time at the Conference of *Surcin*, a Truce being concluded between the King and *Mayenne*, the *Legat* shewed himself very zealous and furious against it, threatening to be gone, but he was somewhat appeas'd by *Mayenne's* getting a Decree from their illegal *States* for the receiving the Council of *Trent*, though a little before, the *Council* being treated on, in the same *States* the Parliament oppos'd its Reception, producing XXVI. Articles in it, contrary to the *Gallick Church*.

8 August.

*Mayenne* seeing the Covenanting Cause thus at a stand, if not quite lost, thanks the *Spaniards* for the honour they had done his family, by honouring their *Infanta* to his Nephew *Guise*, and for their assistance to the *League*, but tells them withal, that it is fitting to defer the Election to a more convenient time, then Assembling the *States*, he made them all take an *Oath* to persevere in the *Holy Union*, and so adjourn'd them for some months, and then to meet again at the same place, hoping yet with himself rather to raise then diminish his greatness.

Vid. Gomberville Memoires de M. de Nevers vol. 2. p. 405. &c. p. 638. Davila, p. 1220.

The King having as aforesaid taken away all Objections at home about his Religion, endeavours the same at *Rome*, to which purposes he sends *Lodovico Gonzago* Duke of *Nevers* Embassador thither, with several Divines, amongst whom was *Jaques Davy*, *Sieur du Perron* the Elect Bishop of *Eureux*, who had already thrown off the interest of his former Master *Cardinal Bourbon* (the Head of the third Party) for whilst he Negotiated the Cardinals designs with some great ones at Court, he grew acquainted with the King, pleasing him with his Learning, Eloquence, Mirth, Wit and Poetry: thus commanding the Kings Ear and Humour; and perceiving his own greatness might more easie be attain'd to by the King (especially his Conversion) then the Cardinals Exaltation, quitted his old former service, and became very active for his Majesty.

*Nevers* and his Company go towards *Rome*, whilst *Arnand d'Offat* (though but of mean Parentage, yet of great Wit and Judgment, as his Negotiations and Letters testifie) now living at *Rome* (and afterwards a Cardinal) secretly and wisely on his own head, agitated for the Kings advantage. The Pope sends *Possivino* (the known *Jesuit*) to *Nevers*, not to approach, the Duke returneth many Reasons, and goeth on; at last the Pope allow'd him, but he must enter the City privately, and not stay in it above ten days. He waiteth upon the Pope; but *Clement* will grant him nothing, nor absolute, nor confirm the former Absolution of *Henry*, nor permit the Bishops who came along with him to kiss his *Toe*, because they had presumed to absolve *Navarre*, though they alledged it was but *ad futuram Cautelam*, reserving his Obedience and Acknowledgment to the Pope, which he now rendered him. The Duke and Prelats seeing nothing to be done, depart the City and go to *Venice*.

In the mean time *Mayenne* carrieth on his designs, sends into *Spain*, desiring that their *Infanta* might be married to his eldest son; but the *Legat* is mad at him for spoiling the cause, by crossing the Promotion of *Guise*: nor had the *Spaniards* any great kindness for him, perceiving that he favour'd and made use of them only for his own advantage. Besides these, the *League* was now also somewhat weakned by the Ambitious thoughts of the Duke of *Nemours*, who thinking to canton out

or

or make himself absolute Lord or Prince of *Lyon* (where he was Governour) and the Territories adjoyning was by *Mayenne's* Directions turn'd out of the City and Government, by which affront (as his Brother in law *Nemours* thought it was) one grand prop of the Covenant was thus discontented and laid aside. Upon which *Mayenne* and *Guise* (thus conceiving their own Relations and Confederates to plot against them) thought it behoved them to be more cunning and wary, and so they joyn more strictly together, for the more sure preservation of themselves, Family and Faction.

1593

## C H A P. IX.

*The Several Plots of Pierre Barriere against the King. Paris yielded to the King. Chastel stabs the King in the Mouth. Charles Ridicove a Friar sent to kill the King.*

**W**HILST the Leaguers (as aforesaid) were grievously perplext by their own Jealousies, Divisions; and the Kings Conquests, the Murther of his Majesty, (his life being the main Obstacle to the Covenant) is zealously contrived. There was one *Pierre Barriere* or *la Bar*, first a Boatman in *Orleanse*, and after a trusty Souldier for the *Solemn League and Covenant*; he some way or other instigated, took up a Resolution to kill the King, thinking thereby to do God good service, and meritoriously to make his way more easie for Heaven, their Preachers from the Pulpit having continually thundred into the peoples ears the lawfulness and gallantry of such an Action.

1593

His design he communicateth to some Friers, who encourage him in it; then he must needs reveal it to *Seraphino Banchi*, a *Florentine Dominican* then living in *Lyon*; *Banchi* honestly abhorring the Fact, discovereth it to *le Sieur de Brancabon*, a servant of the Queen Dowagers, and sheweth him the fellow to the end he might use his direction in informing the King.

*Barriere* resolv'd on his business, goeth to *Paris*, conferreth about the business with *Christopher Aubre*, Curat of *S. Andre des Arcs* (or *en Laas*) who seem'd well pleased with the noble Resolution, made the fellow drink, telling him, *That he should gain by that Act both great Glory and Paradise*; and so sendeth him for further Instructions to *Ambrose Varade*, about three weeks before chosen Rector of the *Jesuits* Colledge. *Varade* entertaineth him friendly, telling him, that the Enterprize was most holy, and that with good Constancy and Courage he should Confess himself, and receive the blessed Sacrament. Then led him to his Chamber, gave him his blessing, received the Sacrament in the Colledge of the *Jesuits*, and was confest also by another Jesuit by *Varade's* Order.

The Villain thus encouraged buyeth a Knife for Eighteen pence, a lusty knife with a blade, some seven inches long, edged both ways with a long Poyniards Point. Thus prepared he went to *St. Denys* (where the King then was) watching opportunity to give the blow; but prevented there, he followed him to *Fort Gournay*, then to *Bricnotrez Robert*, where he confess'd again, and communicated with *Thomas Boucher*,

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(where

1594. (whether akin to *Jean* I know not) the Curate of that place; here the King passed by and escaped him, as he was drawing out his knife; so losing that opportunity he followed His Majesty to *Melan*, whither *Brancaleon* being come, and seeing the fellow, he is discovered, and taken; and carried to prison, where he desired of *Anne Rousse* the Gaolers wife some poison. Being examin'd, confess'd all, is condemn'd, led to the Scaffold in the Market-place, where he further confesseth, that two Black Friars went from *Lyon* also upon the same design: so his right Hand is burned in a flaming Fire, his Arms, Legs, and Thighs broken, so put upon the wheel and strangled, the next day his body was consumed to ashes, and they thrown into the River.

31 August.

1594  
\* 27 Jan.

The King now goeth on prosperously, taking several places, and others yielding freely to him, which success troubled not a little the *Covenanters*. But to keep up their hearts the *Nuncio* put forth a \* Declaration, exhorting all the Catholicks to unite and oppose *Navarre*, telling them that the Pope will not absolve him, nor admit of his Absolution; that the Duke of *Nevers* is disregarded at *Rome*, his *Embassie* is despised by the Pope; that they owe no obedience to the King, his Conversion being but a Cheat, and himself not received into the bosom of the Church.

In the mean time *Aix* in *Provence* yields to the King, to the great trouble of *Gilbert Genebrard* the Hebrician and Chronologer, who the year before had this Archbishoprick given him for his great zeal to the League by Pope Gregory XIV. and so vext was this old *Covenanter* at the re-dition of this place, that he forthwith departed the City, scorning to breathe amongst such Royallists. *Mayenne* having sought help from Pope, *Spaniard*, and every where else, and now growing jealous of Count *de Belin* his Governour of *Paris*, he removed him, putting in his room Count *de Brissac*, and so marcheth out to try his fortune in other places.

27 Feb.

*Brissac* having thus *Paris* under his command, thought it best to consult his own advantage by making peace with the King, whom he saw to carry all. Whilest this Capitulation went secretly on, the King had himself crown'd at *Chartres*, by *Nicholas de Thou* Bishop of that City, and for his Sacreeing or Anointing, because *Rheims* was possess'd by the *Covenanters*, and so they could not procure the *Sacred Ampoule* or holy Vial of Oyl (of which their Legends talk much) they had recourse to that kept in the Abby \* *de Marmontier* near *Tours*, which they say was brought from Heaven by an Angel († *Gonovius* saith the Virgin *Mary*) to cure the broken bones of St. *Martin* the Archbishop of that City. For the Ceremonies of this Coronation I shall refer you to (a) *Andre Puvyn*, (b) *Theodore Godefroy*, and the story of it was the same year printed in *French* as also in *English*.

\* Monast.  
rium major  
is Mona-  
st. ii.  
† Pag. 57.  
(1) Hist. de  
*Navarre*.  
(b) Le Ce-  
rimonial de  
*France*.

22 March.

Well, the Treaty is concluded about the delivering up of *Paris*. *Brissac* upon feigned excuses sendeth out of the City the Souldiers he could not confide in, then having prepared all things for the best, the King and his Forces are secretly let into *Paris*, the Souldiers and Citizens upon notice crying *Vive le Roy*, all things are carried peaceably, all pardon'd and kept in their Places and Offices; but Cardinal *Pelleve* Archbishop of *Rheims* a furious *Covenanter*, now lying sick in *Paris*, and inform'd what was a doing angrily said, that — *He hoped yet the Arms of the Spaniards and good Catholicks would drive that Huguenot out of Paris* — which said he died. All the Kings enemies had liberty to depart. The *Legat* (though the King desired him to stay) returned for *Rome*, the *Spanish Embassadors*

dours and Forces marched away, and several \* *Frenchmen* jealous of their own Villanies quitted the City, and others the Kingdom. And now \* *Their* 1594. both Parlement of *Paris* and the *Sorbonne* Doctors wheel about, and declare themselves dapper fellows for King *Henry IV.* and the Parlement of *Paris* puts forth a Decree, the summe of which was : *names in Mem. de M. Nevers, v. l. 2 p. 718.*

*Nulleth and maketh void all Decrees and Oaths made or taken against King Henry IV. since Dec. 20. 1588.*

*Nulleth all that hath also been done against King Henry III. commandeth all to speak reverently of him, and that those shall be proceeded against who were any way guilty of his murder.*

*Revoketh all power formerly given to the Duke of Mayenne, forbids any to yield him any obedience under pain of Treason, and under the same penalty commands the House of Lorraine to acknowledge Henry IV. for their King.*

*Commandeth all people to forsake the League or Union.*

*Revoketh all that hath been done by the late pretended States General at Paris, and that for the future they assemble not.*

*And that the 22th. of March shall for the future be kept as an Holy-day, &c.*

Paris, 30 March 1594.

De Villoutreys.

The King thus prosperous, many places (seeing small hopes left) submitted themselves. The Duke *de Elbanf* of the House of *Lorraine* maketh peace, the Duke of *Lorraine* himself is inclinable, but *Mayenne*, *d'Aumale*, and some others stand out obstinately. As for the *Spaniards*, they seeing the *League* ruin'd, fight for their own Master *Philip*, under that notion beginning a war with *France*, to them the Duke of *Aumale* submitting himself and Interest, rather than to his own Sovereign; and *Mayenne* followed almost the same steps, joyning with them, though he did not absolutely submit himself to them. Thus the *League* daily losing ground, *Lorraine* maketh a Truce or Peace with the King, and *Guise* seeing little else to trust to, renounceth the *Covenant* and compounds with His Majesty.

But that all hopes might not fail, another attempt must be made upon the Kings Person. The \* *Jesuits*, *Capuchines*, and other Religious Ze- \* *Memoirs* lorts had formerly contriv'd his murder; and † *François Jacob*, a Scho- du Duc du Sully, tom. lar of the *Jesuits* at *Bourges* had boasted and threatened his death; but † p. 169. here we meet with a fellow that will endeavour to be as good as † *Mem. de* his word. *la Ligue*, tom. 6. p. 263.

His name was *Jean Chastel*, son to a Draper in *Paris*, a young man of a wicked life, and bred up in the *Jesuits* School. Having consider'd with himself what an abominable life he had led, resolved to do some noble and meritorious action for the benefit of Religion, thereby to wash and wipe out the stains of his own crimes and offences. And having often heard it preach'd from the Pulpit, discoursed of and disputed in the Schools (where he conversed) that it was not onely lawful but glorious to kill Heretical Kings, and particularly *Henry* of *Bourbon*. † *Laurence Bouchel Hist. de la justice criminelle de Franc. tit. 11. ch. 15.* Thus nurs'd up, he concluded nothing could be more meritorious to himself, and acceptable to God and Man, then the taking out of the world *Navarre*, whom he was taught to believe to be truly no King, but a dam-

1593

damnable Heretick and Persecutor of the Church. Thus resolved, he imparts his design to his father and the Curate of Saint *André* in *Paris*.

27 Decemb.

(a) Vide  
d'Espinel  
le Parnasse,  
tom.1. fol.

13, 14, &amp;c.

(b) Poet.

Belg. tom.

1. p. 500,

501.

(c) Poet.

Gal. tom.

3. p. 718,

719.

\* *Lud. Lu-**cius Hist.**Jesuit*, 1.4.c. 3. *Jo.**Wolfius Le-**ction. Me-**morab. to.*

2. p. 1359,

1060.

*D'Aubigne*

tom. 3. l. 4.

c. 4. *Mem.**de la Ligue,*

tom. 6. p.

266, &amp;c.

† *This Je-**suits Col-**lege at Par**is first the**house of**Guillaume**de Prat, Bi-**shop of**Clermont.**He permit-**ted the Je-**suits to live**and teach**there 1564.**and when he**died he left**it and his**Estate to**them, H.**built them**Colleges also**at other**places.*

And now being fully confirm'd in the gloriousness of the action, and being well prepar'd for the attempt, he will take the next opportunity. The King with several Nobles being at the *Louvre* in the Chamber of the fair *Cabrielle d'Estrees*, (by him for love-sake made Dutchess of *Beaufort*) *Jean Chastel* amongst the rest had boldly thrust himself in. At last getting near the Kings person, he out with his knife offering a stab at his Throat or Heart, but the King by chance then stooping to one in complement, received the blow or wound upon his upper lip, which also struck out a tooth. The Villain upon the blow let the knife fall, and having mixt himself with the Company designing to slip away, it could not presently be known who was the Criminal, till the Count *de Soissons* by chance casting his eyes upon *Chastel*, and perceiving him in an amazed and affrighted condition, seiz'd on him by the arm, upon which the fellow presently confest, and which was more boldly vindicated the action. Upon this wound *Perrou* made a long Copy of (a) verses, and so did (b) *Baudius*, (c) *Seka*, and others upon the Parricide and Pyramide.

The by-standers would have cut the Villain to pieces, but the King wiser then their passions commanded he should not be hurt, so he is had to prison, tried, and condemned to have his flesh pull'd off with hot Pincers, his right hand holding the knife to be cut off, and himself drawn in pieces by four horses, which accordingly was done, the Parricide shewing no sign of grief or pain.

The Father of *Chastel* was banished, his house before the Palace pull'd down, and a stately Pyramide erected in its place, with many Inscriptions in Golden Letters upon it, casting no small reproach upon the *Jesuits*. The Inscriptions at large you may see in other \* Writers. Of *Chastel* and the *Jesuits* thus saith part of it :

*Huc me redegit tandem herilis filius,  
Malis magistris usus, & schola impia  
Sotoricorum, eben, nomen usurpantibus, &c.*

On another side of the Pyramide amongst other words were these :

*— Pulso praterea tota Gallia hominum genere nova ac malifica superstitionis, qui rempub. turbabant, quorum instinctu piacularis adolescens dirum facinus instituerit.*

On the fourth side of the Pyramide was the Arrest or Decree of Parliament against the said *Chastel* and the *Jesuits*, part of which relating to the latter, take as followeth :

*— The said Court doth likewise ordain, that the Priests and Students of the College of † Clermont, and all others calling themselves of that Society, shall (as corrupters of youth, disturbers of the common peace, and enemies to the King and State) within the space of three days after the publication of this present Decree, depart out of Paris and other Towns and places where their Colleges are, and fifteen days after out of the Kingdom, upon pain (wheresoever they shall be found,*

found, the said term being expired) to be punished as guilty of the  
foresaid crime of High Treason. Also the goods as well moveable  
as unmoveable to them belonging, shall be imployed to charitable  
uses, and the distribution and disposing of them to lie as shall be or-  
dain'd by the Court. 1593

Furthermore, hereby are forbidden all the Kings Subjects to send any  
Scholars to the Colleges of the said Society which are out of the King-  
dom, there to be instructed upon the like pain and crime of High  
Treason, &c.

19 Decemb. 1594.

DU TILLET.

This Decree against *Chastel* and the Jesuits was so ill resented at  
*Rome*, that it was some years after there \* condemned amongst other  
books which they look'd upon as Heretical, in number of which was \* 9 Nov.  
also the famous *Thuanus*. And we are \* told that *Bellarmino* was so 1609. Index  
nettled at the learned Bishop *Andrews* his *Tortura Torti*, that he was the Expurg.e-  
great stickler in procuring the former *Censure*. Thus were the Jesuits dit Alex.  
(who, as *Davila* confesseth, were the first Authors and continual Fo- \* Jan. de  
menters of the *League*) banished the Kingdom; though since they have vii. pag 205  
been restored, the *Pyramide* pull'd down, and a *Fountain* erected 1604, 1609.  
in its stead. As for the *Pyramide*, *Chastel*, the *Decree* against the *Jesuits*,  
and the *Kings Tooth*, one did thus endeavour to reconcile all :

*Sire, si vous voulez du tout à l'advenir  
De l'Assassin Chastel ôter le souvenir.  
Ostant la Pyramide, & l'Arrest qui la touche,  
Qu'on vous remitte donc une dent dans la bouche.*

Sir, if for th' future you will have forgot  
The murth'rous *Chastel* and the trait'rous Plot ;  
Th' Pillar, and th' Decrees that th' Jesuits stait  
Destroy ; then let them tooth your mouth again.

And the King himself (when told that *Chastel* was a Student amongst  
the *Jesuits*) did give them this biting blow, — \* It seems then it is not \* Memoirs  
enough that the mouths of so many good men have testified that the Jesuits du Sully  
were none of my friends, if they be not also convinced of it by mine own mouth Tom. 1. p.  
and blood now shed. 270.

The truth is, upon *Chastels* \* confession more then once, that he  
learned this King-killing Doctrine from the Jesuits ; their College of \* Mem. d:  
*Clermont* was searched by Order, amongst which in the Study of Father la Ligue  
*Jean Guignard* (born at *Chartres*) were several Writings found, praising vol. 6. Jes  
the murder of the late King, persuading the killing of this, &c. of Cat. fol. 205  
which take his own words : *Davila*, p.  
1332.

— That cruel \* Nero was slain by one *Clement*, and that Coun- \* i.e. H. m. 7  
terfeit Monk was dispatch'd by the hands of a true Monk. This III.  
*Heroical act* performed by *James Clement* is a gift of the Holy  
*Spirit*, (so termed by our Divines) is worthily commended by the  
Prior

1593  
\* Henry IV.

Prior of the Jacobins, Burgoin, a Confessor and Martyr. The Crown of France may and ought to be transferred from the House of Bourbon unto some other. And the \* Bearnois, although converted to the Catholick Faith, shall be more mildly dealt withall then he deserves, if rewarded with a shaven Crown he be shut up in some strict Covent, there to do penance for the mischiefs which he hath brought upon the Realm of France; and to thank God that he hath given him grace to acknowledge him before his death. And if without Arms he cannot be depos'd, let men take Arms against him; and if by war it cannot be accomplished, let him be Murthered.

\* Response  
al' Antico-  
ton. c. 1. p.  
32, 33.

This Guignard being tried confest the book to be of his composing, is condemn'd, and suffer'd; yet have they pictur'd him amongst the Martyrs, attributed Miracles to him, though \* Adrian Behotte (a little more modest) is unwilling to hear any more of him, as if he were guilty. By Order also was *Jean Gueret*, another Jesuit, Teacher of Philosophy, and Confessor to *Chastelet*, banished, and his goods confiscated, *Chastelet* having learned Philosophy under him for two years and an half, in which time he had heard such Principles of King-killing asserted.

Jes. Car. fol.  
198, 199.

And it cannot be denied but that the *Jesuits* College was bad enough in these Leaguering times. At the first breaking out of Troubles they instituted at Paris a Brotherhood, esteeming it a Congregation in honour of our Blessed Lady, and it was commonly call'd *The Congregation of the Chapelets*, because the Brethren of that Company were to carry a pair of Beads, to say them over once a day. Of this Fraternity the Zelors of the League had themselves enrolled, as *Mendoza* the Spanish Embassador, the *Sixteen*, and several others. This Congregation was kept every Sunday in an upper Chapel: on Saturdays they were confest, on Sundays they received the Sacrament; when Mass was done, a Jesuit stept into the Pulpit, exhorting them to be constant in the Cause. This done, the Common sort departed, the Grandees staying behind to consult about the affairs of the League, of which Council Father *Odon Pignat* was a long time President, being one very zealous and fiery.

In the School of this College one *Alexander Hays* a Scotchman was Regent of the first Form for three or four years of the Troubles, being a furious Covenanter, and a great Corrupter of the Youth. He read to his Auditors *Demosthenes* his *Invectives* against *Philip of Macedon*, where by his Glosses he made good stuff against the King, affirming it a commendable act to kill him, by which blessed Deed the Actor could not fail of *Paradice*, and be exempted from the pains of *Purgatory*. Nay so zealous was he against the King, that he openly protested, that if the *Bearnois* should enter the City, and pass by their College, he would leap from the highest window thereof upon him, thereby to break the said *Henry's* neck, being firmly persuaded, that this fall would also carry himself into Heaven. That day that the King went first to *St. Denis* to hear Mass, this *Hays* understanding that certain of his Auditors had been there to see the Ceremony, the next day he forbad them his Lectures as Excommunicated persons, forbidding them to enter his School till they had been absolved by some of the Jesuits from that horrid crime.

When the people began to talk of Peace with the King, he commanded one of his Scholars to declame against it; but the Orator seeming rather

ther to be for Peace, *Haye* storms at him, makes him come down, calling him *Heretick* and such like *Covenanting* names. When the King took possession of *Paris* one of the Scholars went into the School before the rest, and wrote all about his Class

1593

## GOD SAVE THE KING;

which when *Haye* saw, he fell into a rage, crying out against those who had spoil'd the walls, (for he durst not now speak positively against the King, threatening if he knew the offender to have him punish'd, and so caused it to be wiped out. He being now forced to leave the Kingdom, went to *Rome* where he lived,

And *Jaques Cammolet* a furious Jesuit, and a great Stickler in the Leaguering Council, was as arrogant of the King as any, using to make it his business to prattle mischief into the people. One time preaching in the Church of *St. Berthelemy*, he took for his text how \* *Ehud* slew *Eglon* the King of *Moab*, he discoursed a long time in Commendation of *Henry III.* placing *Clement* the Murderer amongst the Angels. And at last thus instigated the people to do the like to *Henry IV.* — *We have need of an Ehud, we have need of an Ehud, were he a Friar, were he a Souldier, were he a Laquay, were he a Shepherd, it made no matter; needs we must have an Ehud, one blow would settle us fully in the estate of our affairs, as we most desire* — Another time he (and so did *Barnard*) call the King *Holofernes*, *Moab*, *Nero*, &c. and maintained that the Kingdom of *France* was Elective, and so it belong'd to the people to chuse the Kings: For proof of which he cull'd out this Text, — *Thou shalt chuse thy brother for King*: which thus he and *Barnard* expounded, — *Thy brother, — that is, not of the same lineage, or of the self-same Nation, but of the same Religion, as this great Catholick King, this great King of Spain is.* Another time *Cammolet* affirm'd, that by these words, — *Deliver me, O Lord, out of the mire, that I may not sink in it* — King *David* understood Prophetically the rooting out of the House of *Bourbon*.

When *Barriere* was examined concerning his Design to murder the King, he also confest that two Friars went from *Lyons* to act the same; and that *Cammolet* knew of their or some other mans wicked purpose, was in those times fully believed, of which he himself gave this hint. When news came to *Paris* that *Barriere* was discovered and executed, many of the *Zelots* began to despair of a Remedy, *Cammolet* the next \* Sunday thus encouraged his Auditors, — *Have patience, have patience, for you shall see within few days a wonderful miracle of God, which is at hand; yea esteem it as already come.*

Such like Discourses as these, and their thus siding with the *Spaniard* against their own King and Countrey, with other actions, were the reason that the *Jesuits* were judg'd to be expell'd the Nation, and occasioned a pleasant *French Gentleman* in a little Poem thus to conclude of them:

— *A Gēsis sunt indita nomina vobis,  
Qua quia Sacrilegi, Reges torquetis in omnes,  
Inde sacrum nomen, sacrum sumpsistis & omen.*

From \* *Gēsan*, which against all Kings they shake,  
The *Jesuits* their Name and Fortune take.

G g g g

\* A warlike  
word used  
by the ancient  
Spaniards and  
French, and  
from thence  
taken up by  
the Romans

A little and others



(a) *Apol.* A little after *Jehan Chastel* had wounded the King, there was one  
pour Jean *François de Verone* set forth a Book in Vindication of the Villain and  
Chastel, and Action; affirming it to be (a) *A generous, vertuous, and an Heroick*  
*Act, and comparable to the most Renowned Deeds of the Ancients, either*  
*in Sacred or Prophane History.* That it was (b) *purely just, vertuous and*  
*Heroick*; That it was (c) *most holy, most humane, most worthy, most to be*  
(c) *prais'd and commended*; That it was (d) *agreeable to God, to all Laws, to all*  
c.1. p.147. *Decrees, and the Church.* That those who had condemn'd him, had (e) *judg'd*  
(d) *against God, against the Holy Scriptures, against the Church and her De-*  
155, 156. *crees, and against the States and Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.* And  
(e) *as for Chastel himself, he was a (f) Happy soul, and a (g) true Martyr.*  
c.2. p.152. And the same *Verone* also write an *Apology* for *Father Guignard*, whom  
(f) *Part 3.* he (b) *commends* for his *Constancy*, in defending to the last gasp his  
c.10. (g) *treasonable papers* against the King, for which he reckons him a *Martyr*  
and Saint in *Heaven*.

But to return to the King, who had earnestly solicited the Pope to  
allow him to be a *Romanist*, and receive him into the Church. At last  
1595 the Pope perceiving the King victorious, the League ruined being not  
(i) *Mem d.* able to make head against him, after many solicitations and Treaties,  
*Nevers, vol.* (though the Duke of *Sessa* the *Spanish* Ambassador oppos'd and (i) threat-  
2. 716. ned much) consents, and so *Faques Davy* (k) *Bishop-Elect of Evreux,*  
(k) *He was* and *Arnaud d'Offat*, the Kings Proxies or Representers appear'd before  
*consecrated* the Pope in the Porch of *S. Peters*, \* prostrating themselves before  
*Bish of this* him, and kissing his feet, desiring in the Kings name Absolution.  
*See yCard.* First, the Pope nulls and makes void the Absolution formerly given  
*Joyeuse at* the King at *S. Denis*, then they lying prostrate at his feet, whilst the  
Rome, 29. *Psalm Miserere* was sung. At the end of every verse the Pope with a  
Decem. 1615. Wand (l) gently striking their shoulders; then he pronounced the  
*year. He* Absolution, upon which the Gates of the Church fly open, and in they  
*was after* are led, *Te Deum* is sung, Bonfires and Guns make the Boys mad for  
*Archbishop* joy, and so the King is a good *Romanist*.  
*of Sens, and*  
*Cardinal*  
*du Ferron.*  
\* 17 Sept.

In the mean time the Duke of *Mayenne* seeing no hopes of carrying  
on his own designs of greatness, the King being now successful, and  
(l) *Whipped* most of the Kingdom obeying him, is willing also to be at peace with  
at Rome. him, which the King perceiving, very graciously offers him *Condi-*  
*S. K. James* tions. A Treaty is begun, and all his shifts and pretences being spoil'd  
*faith in his* by the Popes admission and absolution of the King, after many *De-*  
*Ap l. for the* mands, Consultations and Concessions, an (m) Agreement is struck up,  
*Oath of Al-* very favourable and beneficial to the Duke and his party, all things  
*legiance, P.* being pardon'd and liberty given to them to come in and live peaceably.  
75. *Virga*  
*Sacerdotali*  
*leviter per-*  
*cussum,*

Many advised the King to prosecute *Mayenne* to the utmost, and  
not accept him into his favour, having shuffled him off for six years  
*Mat. Tort.* together, troubling him with fifty Treaties without concluding any  
p. 89. thing, and one not willing to agree as long as he had any means and op-  
(m) *All the* portunity to oppose. But the King being good natured, waved all his  
*Articles* jealousies, made a firm peace with him, kept him his Favourite; and  
*and Edicts* he himself ever after lived a good subject. And to this Agreement,  
*concerning* 'tis supposed the fair *Gabrielle* did not a little perswade the King, she lo-  
*all these* sing nothing by making such reconcilements.  
*Agreement*  
*with the*  
*King and in*  
*Histoires*  
*derniers*  
*troubles de*  
*France. E-*  
*dit. 1601.*

Now the Duke of *Nemours* (the elder Brother died a little before a  
fierce *Covenanter*) reconciles himself also, so doth the Duke of *Foyense*,  
the City of *Marseilles* as seized on too, and delivered to the King; so  
that now nothing seem'd to remain of their *Solemn League and Cove-*  
nant, but the Duke of *Aumale*, and the Duke of *Mercœur*; The  
1596 first

first would not acknowledge the King, having submitted himself to the *Spaniard*, for which he was declared a Traitor, and in *Effigie* was executed, by the drawing of it in pieces by four horses. The second, being Brother to the Queen Dowager, still maintain'd part of the Dutchy of *Bretaigne*, foolishly hoping to separate that Province from the Crown, and retain it to himself. The King had often offered him good Conditions, but still he delayed time, which at last so troubled his Majesty, that he resolv'd to march into *Brittany* himself to reduce him, which *Mercenr* perceiving, and by consequence his ruine not far off, claps up a Peace, by giving his only daughter to *Cesar*, eldest son of the fair *Gabriele* (by the King) which son by this great Match was made Duke of *Vendosme*. And now also was strack up a compleat Peace at *Vervins* between the *French* and *Spaniard*. And thus ended the *French* League and Rebellion.

1597

1597

1598

But before we leave this *League* we will give you a chip of the old block, whereby you may perceive other designs on foot, to take away the Kings life.

The Duke of *Parma* Governour of the *Netherlands* dying (1592.) *Ernest* Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and Brother to the Emperour *Rodolph* II. succeeded in that Command, and with him at *Bruxels* resided *N. Malavicinus*, Embassador from Pope *Clement VIII.* which Agent had formerly acted at *Paris* very earnestly for the *Covenanters*.

Thuan. lib. 123. Fledaye de Monf. de la Marteliere, p. 97, 98.

Nor did his zeal lessen by a farther distance, for here he consulted all means to get some body to assassinate the *French* King *Henry IV.* At last informed that one *Charles Ridicove* a *Dominican* Friar at *Ghent*, had shewed himself a mortal enemy to *Navarre*, and would be apt enough to undertake such a wickedness. *Malavicino* sends to the *Provincial*, commanding him to send *Ridicove* to him; which is obey'd. The *Dominican* being come to *Bruxels*, and acquainted with the noble Exploit, desireth that the Deed might be approved of by the Pope and Cardinals, that himself and friends might be rewarded, and himself Conveniences allowed. *Malavicino* consenting and undertaking for all, the Conditions are agreed on.

\* *Avenaria* Mother to *Ridicove* (who also knew of the Plot) in Confession telleth it to *Hodume* the *Jesuit*, who liketh the Fact well enough, but desireth to see the hardy fellow; 'tis granted, and having view'd him well, approveth of all, but fears the man is not strong enough: In short, *Ridicove* is blest and crost by *Malavicino*, and liberty granted him (for the better carrying on the business) to appear Gentleman-like, to ride, fence, dance, and such like Accomplishments. Thus qualified, he departs the *Netherlands*, goeth to *Fernand*, thence to *St. Denys*, where finding the thing difficult, or not fully resolv'd or hardy enough to venture, he returneth to *Brussels*. *Malavicino* seeing him, and nothing done, wonders at his negligence, *Ridicove* excusing himself because he now perceived the King was turn'd *Romanist*. To take off this, *Malavicino* tells him he is mistaken, the *Bearnois* being damned by the Pope, all his Partakers excommunicated, and so ask'd him if he would once undertake it again; the Villain consents, but desires the Popes Authority: At last he is perswaded to try the other bout in *France*; so disguiz'd, he departed with an excuse in his mouth, as if he had been sent by *Nieholas Basta*, a Commander at *Antwerp*, (who was also privy to the Plot) to treat underhand about the delivering up of *Eapaulme*, (a strong little place on the Frontiers of *Artois*) to the King.

\* It may be the true name was D'avelnes, the same with that mentioned in Histoire de la paix entre les Roys de France & d'Espagne, fol. 144.

At this time one *Pet. Arger* a *Dominican* also of the same Monastery of

G g g 2

Gant,

1598 *Gant*, had been trucking at *Bruxels* with *Malavicino* about the Kings death, which he undertook to perform, some *Italians* loving to be sure in Murther.

*Ridicove* in the mean time changeth his name, and from his Mother \* *a' Avesnes* calls himself \* *Avenarius*, thus he goeth to *Amiens*, waiteth upon the Governour, with whom thinking to get the greater repute, and not to be discovered himself, he the false *Avenarius* telleth him of one *Ridicove* instigated by *Malavicino* to kill the King, and to this he addeth also the design of *Peter Arger*. The Governour inform'd the King of all, who sendeth for this supposed *Avenarius*, who boldly affirm'd the same stories to his Majesty; and that *Ridicove* being his intimate friend, had disclosed the same to him. In short the King, till a further discovery, hath *Avenarius* imprison'd; though at last, doubting least this might only be a trick to cast an *Odium* and Jealousie upon *Albert* the Cardinal Arch-Duke, and Archbishop of *Toledo* (who upon the death of his Brother *Ernest* was then Governour of the *Netherlands*) and so to hinder the peace between the two Crowns then consulting on, the King ordered the fellow to be set at liberty, but to depart the Kingdom, and to return no more upon pain of death.

*Ridicove* getting to *Gant*, consulteth again how to kill the King, and having joyn'd himself with another *Dominican* call'd *Clement Odin*, and disguising themselves in the habits of *Heremites*, trudge into *France*, discover their design to *Pierre Morell* a Curate, who relateth it to *Desidere Parisote*, who abhorring the Fact, tells the King, whereby the Friars are secured, examin'd; and being ask'd what could excite them to such a deed, *Ridicove* Answer'd, — That he was first instigated to entertain such thoughts, by the daily Sermons and Disputations which he had heard, fitted for such Actions; it being the custom not only in their Churches, but the street and all other meetings, to extol *Jacques Clement*, as a most glorious Martyr, for sacrificing his life for the liberty of his Countrey, whereby he also thought the deed to be glorious and acceptable to God, especially when *Malavicino* did warrant it to him by the Authority both of God and the Pope, and thus fully perswaded he had undertaken the Murther. — for which he was condemn'd and executed.

At the same time there was one *Nicolas l' Anglois* a *Capuchin* Friar, belonging to that Monastery in *St. Michel*, or *St. Michel* in the Dukedom of *Bar*, and in the Diocess of *Toul* in *Lorraine*, who throwing off his Cowle or Hood, and under the disguise of a Beggerly habit, being found in the Court, upon examination, giving no good account, and Convict by Testimony was also condemn'd and suffered upon the Wheel.

Such like murtherous designs of the *Friars*, occasioned many Poems against them, amongst the rest upon the stabbing of *Henry III.* (who is said to have loved them most affectionately) thus one of them concludeth.

*Jamais il n'y eut Roy par qui la Moinerie  
Respectee fut plus, & par qui plus cheria:  
Si les Moins ainsi tuent leurs grands amis,  
Bon Dieu! que feroient ils à leur grand Ennemis?*

Never did King carry more kinde desires,  
Than *Henry*, unto all sorts of Fryers;

If *Monks* to friends will give such deadly blows,  
Good God ! what will they do unto their Foes ?

1598

Thus much for the *French, Popish, Solemn League and Covenant*, by Retorting of which is enough to stop their mouths concerning our late Rebellions, seeing,

The *Romanists* there safely pretended the danger of Religion as well as our *Presbyterians* did.

They entered into a *Solemn League and Covenant*, as our *Non-conformists* did.

They forced their King to take it, and it is not unknown what our villainous Long-Parliament would have done, and what the impudent Schismaticks in *Scotland* did do.

They spread abroad that their King was an enemy to their Religion, and in this were worse than our *Puritans*, who though they slandered our King, yet had it rather been a scandal for him to have been of their schismatical persuasion.

They had their Priests and Jesuits sacrilegiously to abuse the Pulpit and People, with their seditious, lying and treasonable Discourses, as our Rebels had their blasphemous *Lecturers*, ignorant and impudent Tub-Thumpers; and 'tis hard to tell which of these Covenanters were the greater Villains, though I'll grant ours to be the greater Dunces.

They falsely gave out that many thousand *Huguenots* lurk'd in *Paris* to kill them, thereby to incense and enrage the people, as our *Puritans* did of God knows what *Cavaliers* and *Papists* mustred under ground, and such like tales.

They had their several *Functs* and *Cabal's*, as ours had their Committees, &c.

They null'd and made void all their Oaths of Allegiance, as ours did.

They declared that Allegiance was but Conditional, viz. to a *Romanist*, as ours did to a *Covenanter*.

They made many Oaths in behalf of Conditional Subjection and Rebellion, as our late Zealots did.

They had their Doctors or Divines of *Sorbonne*, to countenance and vindicate their wicked Actions, and to declare for good whatever they would have them; As ours had their Club of *Assembly of Divines*, to prove new Governments, and King-opposing to be by *Divine Right* and *Predestination*.

They made Banishment and other Penalties for those who would not take and subscribe their Oaths, as our Rebels did for their *Covenants* and *Engagements*.

They had their particular Processions, and such like Set-pieces of Devotion, to crave Divine Aid and Assistance, as ours had their *monthly Fasts* to desire God to bless their sins and Rebellions, as also their *Thanksgiving*, like the old *Irish*, who used to thank God, if by Theft or Robbery they had got a good booty.

They had their Oaths of Abjuration as well as ours had.

They would pardon and authorize all those who acted for their cause, as ours could indemnify one another, some may think with as much right or true Authority, as the \* *French Priest* consecrated the Sacrament in the name of the Devil,

\* *Mr. Calvin's Necessity of Reform.* p.

75.

They

1598

They call'd their *League* against their King Loyalty, and ours thought as well of the *Covenant*.

They would have the Council of *Trent* revived, as ours would the *Covenant*, *Directory*, and *Presbytery*, and such like schismatical and treasonable Principles.

Some of them would have their Chieftain *Mayenne* to be King, as others in *England* would have had *Oliver*.

As their *Mayenne* would not take upon him (when offered to him) the Title of King, because his Interest was not then sufficient to vindicate it, and so would only be Lieutenant of the Crown of *France*; thus *Oliver* upon the same account refused the Kingship, but would be *Protector* of *England*.

They commended *Guise* and *Mayenne* as the only Prop of their Church, as ours by their Addresses did sacrilegiously magnifie *Oliver*, and his son *Richard*.

They had their *Rump* and *secluded* Members as well as we, but in this the *French* were worst of the two, they turning out honest men, whilst ours excluded only Conditional subjects, *i. e.* Traitors, so one Knave turn'd out another.

They sent to the Popish Princes large Complaints against their King, as ours with their Schismatical *Assembly* against King *Charles I.* to *Holland* and *Geneva*.

They would alter, limit, put out and in as they pleased their Kings Council, as our *Puritans* desired to do in *England*.

They would take away the Kings *Negative Vote*, and make the *States* superiour to him, so would our *Roundheads* here.

They sent a Letter to desire Protection and Assistance from *Spain*, (an enemy to their King and Countrey) as the *Scotch Covenanters* did from the *French King Lewis XIII.* against their King *Charles I.* as appears by their Letter, subscribed by their Chieftains.

They in Triumph conducted *Guise*, and his friends into *Paris*, as our *Presbyterians* did the *five Members*, &c. to the affront of King and Government.

They by their Tumults forced their King to flee from his chief City and Court *Paris*, as our *Puritans* did King *Charles I.* from *London* for his own safety.

When their King offered them and their General *Mayenne* Pardon, Favour, and desired a Peace, they reject both it and him, as ours did with King *Charles*, when he offered the same to them and their General *Essex*.

They censure all who sided with the King, and sat at *Tours* or *Chaâlons*, as ours did those who sat at *Oxford* as a Parliament.

They broke the Kings *Great Seals*, making new ones, as ours also did.

They declared it Treason to aid or favour their King, as the *English* did.

They murdered any who sided with their King, as well as our Rebels here.

They defaced all the Kings Pictures, and Statues, as the Phanaticks did here.

They had their Women of all Qualities to promote their Cause by their Love-tricks and Contributions, as the *Puritans* in *England* had their *Wives*, *holy Sisters*, and zealous Ladies, hurried along with as much Chastity and Religion, as Honesty, Moderation, or Loyalty.

They

They renounced all obedience to *Henry III.* and his *Queen*, ordered he should not be prayed for; as our wicked *Presbyterian Long-Parliament* declared the *Queen* a Traitor, renounced the *King* by their abominable Votes, and Declaration of *Non-Address*, and it was afterwards death to pray for him.

They often attempted the death of *Henry IV.* contrived and procured the Murther of *Henry III.* as ours designed *King Charles's* death in the Isle of *Wight*, and at last murdered him on the Scaffold.

When *Henry III.* was kill'd, some of them would not acknowledge his Successor *Henry IV.* but would have a Government or Ruler of their own making; others would admit him if he would turn *Romanist*. As when *King Charles I.* was martyred, some would not at all have his heir *K. Charles II.* to reign, whilst others would not reject him, provided he would turn *Presbyterian*, otherwise not.

They often endeavour'd to seize on their King; then to kill him or depose him by clapping him up in a Monastery, but fail'd in their designs; whilst ours had the luck of it to conquer, and so to act with our King as they pleased. Though 'tis plain the *French* had as bad intents, though not the like success and opportunities, it may be their Kings were not so much betray'd as ours;

Yet herein lay the difference, whereby the *Romanists* were most culpable; their Troubles and Seditions being countenanced, acted and headed by the most learned and knowing of their Clergy, as *Popes*, *Cardinals*, and their *Prelats*; whilst our Rebellion and Schism was hurried on, and noised up by an ignorant pack of *Lecturers*, fellows of no Religion, having not Learning to apprehend any.

In short, our *Covenanters* and *Rebels* followed and trod in the Footsteps of the *French League* (a Warr which first occasioned the multiplicity of Pamphlets) and from which all latter Rebellions have taken the Items, Rules, Principles, and Methods.

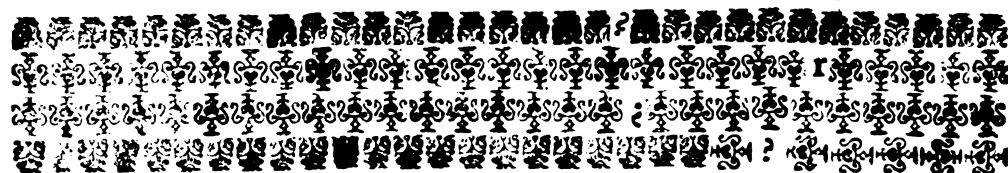
Yet how abominable and wicked soever, this *French-Roman Solemn League and Covenant* was, it had its Admirers of those no way engaged in it; Amongst whom our *English Father Parsons* was none of the hindmost, vamping to the world, \* *How just, how famous, and how holy the Cause was*: That it was not only *lawful, praise-worthy, or holy*; but necessary and of *Duty*; by *Divine Command*, and *Christian Obligation*; Nay, that they could not do otherwise without danger of their souls; It may be grounding all this upon his Papal Rule, That † *no People whatever are to admit of an Heretical King under pain of Damnation*. But 'tis known well enough, that his Pen is no slander, nor are his Commendations of any Credit.

1598

\* Andr.  
Philopater;  
Resp. ad  
Edict. Regi-  
ne Angl.  
p. 210, 211.  
172, 173  
† Nulli po-  
pulo sub  
damnatio-  
nis poena  
licet Re-  
gem hære-  
dicum ad-  
mittere.  
lb. margin.

The End of the Eighth BOOK.





A  
CONTINUATION  
OF THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Romish Treasons  
AND  
USURPATIONS.

BOOK IX.

CHAP. I.

*The Quarrels betwixt Pope Paul the Fifth, and the Venetians.*

**N**Eer the beginning of this Century, by the *Death* of *Leo XI.* (who sat as Pope but a few days) *Paul V.* succeeded as Bishop of *Rome.* Scarce was he warm in his Chair, when he began, to consider, how to advance the Priviledges and Honour of his See, which by Degrees had been neglected and worn out; For this purpose he was earnest with the *French King* to receive the Council of *Trent.* He procured that in *Spain* the *Jesuits* might be exempted from paying Tithes: At *Naples* he wrought in such sort, that the Marquis of *Morcone* was sent to *Rome* as punishable in the *Inquisition*, for having condemned to the Gallies, a Bookseller; The *Inquisition* pretending the Crime to belong to his Cognisance; He offer'd to trouble the Duke of *Parma*, for laying Imposts on his own Subjects in the absence of the Bishop, He fell out with the Duke of *Savoy*,  
K kkk for

1695



for presenting an Abbey to Cardinal *Pio*, so that his Highness for Peace-sake, was forced to give it to the Popes Nephew.

Thus his design went on to ruin the Temporal Authority. In the mean time, the Commonwealth of *Luca*, considering that many of their Citizens changed their Religion, and retired into the *Protestants* Countries, publish'd an *Edict* prohibiting any of their Subjects to have any Commerce with such people. The Pope lik'd the Law, but would not have it made by Lay-men, so commanded them to rase the *Edict* out of their *Records*, and he would publish another, but the same in Substance, by his Papal Authority.

At the same time, the Commonwealth of *Genoa* being inform'd, that the Governours of certain *Lay-Fraternities* (their Subjects) instituted by Devotion, had not faithfully dispensed the Revenues intrusted them, resolved to examine their Accounts, and Commanded their Books should be brought to the Duke. At the same time, divers Citizens, used to meet, as for Christian Exercises, in the *Jesuits* Colledg : which Club, resolved to favour none in promotion to Offices but their Associates. The *State* taking notice of it, and considering, what mischief, in time, this would bring upon the Commonwealth, prohibited all such Assemblies and Conventions.

The Pope takes Pet at these honest Orders, affirming they were against the *Ecclesiastical Liberty*, so Commands the Commonwealth to revoke these *Edicts*, or else he would thunder against them his Censures of Excommunication. By which Terror, both the States of *Luca* and *Genoa*, were forced to obey his Holiness.

Thus the Popes design went fairly on, nor did he doubt any place in *Italy*, unless the Republick of *Venice*, which used to act upon Principles most honourable and beneficial to themselves, without any respect to the Interest or Bribery of other Potentates. The Pope had now resident at *Venice*, as his *Nuncio*, *Horatio Matthei* Bishop of *Gierace*, a great Stickler and Boaster of the *Ecclesiastical Liberty*, as they call'd it; and in his way so zealous, that he thought all Christian Actions and Graces were of no validity, unless this also were promoted beyond all proportion.

The Senate of *Venice*, considering the mistake of Charity and Devotion. [the Zealots thinking nothing so holy as the multiplying of Churches, where no \* need is,] made a Decree, (1603.) that, *None within the Precincts of the City should build any new Church or Monastery, without the Senats Consent.* Truly thinking that they were stored well enough, having already within the City (where ground is so scarce) 150 Churches, Monasteries and such like places of Devotion.

The Senat also (agreeable to the old Statutes of their Republick anno 1333 and 1536.) made a Decree like our *English Mortmain*, That *None should sell, give or alienate any more lands to the Clergy without the Senats Commission.*

A little after the making of these Laws, the Troubles between them and the Pope began. The Occasion taken thus.

One *Scipio Sarraceno*, a Canon of a Church of *Vicenza*, had with great Contempt defaced the seal of the Magistrate, which was put to, for the custody of the Bishops Court of Chancery, at the request of the Chancellor, the *See* being vacant. And farther, had earnestly endeavoured to seduce a young Gentlewoman his Cozin, using many solicitations to her, both

— la Republique—se tronea contrainle d'y mettre la main — Autrement il fast arrivé bientoit que toutes leurs villes n'eussent plus esté que Convens & Eglises, et que tous leurs Revenus, qui doivent porter les charges de l'estat, & qui servent a la Nourriture des Gens Maries, les quels fournissent des Soldats, des Marchande, & des Laboureurs, n'eussent plus servi qu'à l'entretien des Religieux et des Religieuses. *Hard. de Perfixo Ev. de Redez Hist. du lieu. le Grand. part. 3. an. 1606.*

both in publick and in the Church; but not gaining his desires, according to a common kind of Revenge and Affront in *Italy*, he filthily bewray'd her door, portal, and the ring thereof, and did her some other wrongs. The young Gentlewoman upon advice, puts in her Complaint to the Senate at *Venice*, whereupon the Canon is Cited and Imprisoned.

Of this the Pope is informed, who cryeth out that the Liberties of the Church are violated, that he will not permit Ecclesiasticks in any Case to be judged by Lay-men, that Satisfaction is to be given and the Canon releas'd. The *Venetians* return, That their Republick is free, that they have the same authority with other Princes, so can take cognisance of the Crimes of their own Subjects within their own Dominions and punish them according to the falt.

Whilst this is convasing, happens another accident, The Count *Brandelino Valdemarino* Abbot of *Nervesa*, being guilty of many Exorbitant Crimes, as

*Cruel Tyranny over his Neighbours, by taking up their goods, at what small price he pleas'd.*

*Committing many Rapes and Impurities upon all sorts of Women.*

*Accused of Sorcery and dealing in Magick.*

*Practising many abominable murders by poyson, whereby he destroy'd his Brother and his Servant, and indanger'd his own Father.*

*That he had for a long time lain with his Sister, and poysoned her Maid, lest she should discover it.*

*That he had caus'd his Enemy to be kil'd, and then poyson'd the murderer, lest he might accuse him, and other such like Villanies.*

For these and such other crimes, the Abbot is by Order of the Senate Imprison'd. At this the Pope also takes offence, denying the Temporal Authority over Priests, that the Church can only take cognisance of them, be their faults never so great or notorious. And in this humour layeth a Quarrel against the *Venetians*, unless they will satisfie him in these three things.

## I.

*That they null the Decree, concerning the building of any more Churches.*

## I I.

*That they also null and void the other Decree, touching the giving of lands to Ecclesiasticks.*

## I I I.

*That the Abbot and the Canon be releas'd, and delivered up to his Nuntio.*

A great deal of do, there was on both sides, but the Pope peremptorily informed the Senate, that at first, he would send an Exhortory Breve to them, and if he were not obey'd by such a time, he would proceed farther, having power over all, could deprive Kings, and to this end had Legions of Angels for his aid and assistance.

And accordingly he sent two Breves: The Nuntio delivers them to the Senate, but they were not open'd, because *Marini Grimani*, the Duke was then on his Death-bed, and dyed the next morning. The Pope upon notice of this, orders his Nuntio to protest unto the State against any new Election, as in it self to be void, by being made by men excommunicated: Thinking by this Trick to bring a Confusion amongst them. The

Nuntio, to execute this Command, with great importunity desired Audience of the *State*, but it was not granted him, it being not their Custom to admit any, during the Vacancy, unless their business be only of Condo-  
ling.

1606.

Duke *Grimani* being buried [for till the former Duke be under ground, they cannot go to the choice of another] they fell to their *Bal-  
lotation* or Lots, and the Election fell upon *Leonardo Donato*. Having thus got another *Doge* or Duke, they open the *Breves*, which they found to be one and the same in Tenor, which the Pope said was through the *Nuncio's* mistake, in delivering two of the same, instead of two different ones.

The Pope ranted fairly against their *Decrees* about Churches and Ecclesiasticks, affirming that—*These Ordinances tended to the Damnation of Souls, to publick scandal, were of themselves void and of no value, and no man obliged to observe them. That they who had made these Statutes or any like, or who did further them, had incur'd Ecclesiastical Censures; had deprived themselves of such lands as they held of the Church; and their Estates and demains were subject to other penalties: that they could not be absolved unless they revoked the Decrees. So he admonish'd the Republick to consider the Danger, whereinto they had cast their souls, to seek a Remedy, and commanded them under pain of Excommunication to null the said Orders. That otherwise he would proceed farther, considering the account he was to give to God at the Day of judgment; and that he could not dissemble, when he saw the Ecclesiastical Authority so abused.*

The *Venetians* answer'd all, warily and wisely; but yeilded not a jot of their Authority. At which the Pope was incensed, saying they were *Tyrants* and different from their *Ancestors*; being resolved, though he should lose his skin yet he would maintain the cause of God of his own Reputation. And so orders his Nuntio to give the other *Breve*, which through mistake (as he said) he had not formerly presented. The Nuntio obeys, and the Senate opening it, found it to concern the Imprisonment of the *Abbot* and *Canon*, which the *Breve* said was *Contrary to the Holy Canons, and to Ecclesiastical Liberty, which were grounded on divine Ordinance; so commanded under pain of Excommunication, that the Canon and Abbot should speedily be delivered to his Nuntio and that if in the mean time the secular power had proceeded to any acts, or sentence of Condemnation or Execution, he did null them, and declare them void: Threatning if he were not speedily obey'd, he would proceed farther.*

The Senate vindicated themselves by an Answer, but nothing satisfactory to the Pope, who told their Ambassador that the *Exemption of Ecclesiasticks*, was *de jure divino*, and that his cause was the cause of God, that he would not depart any thing from his Resolution, and he would be obeyed. And thus resolved, calls a *Consistory* where were present *XLI. Cardinals*, who agree with the Pope; so a *Breve of Excommunication or Interdict* is drawn up, printed and publish'd against the *Duke, Senate, and the Republick.*

It contain'd,

*That the Venerians had lately made some Decrees, contrary to the Authority of the Apostolical See, the Ecclesiastical Liberty, General Councils, Sacred Canons, and the Constitutions of the Pope.*

*For proof of which, he instanced their Decrees, concerning Churches, and the Clergy; with the Imprisonment of the Abbot and Canon.*

*That*

*That these Actions tended to the danger of the Souls both of Duke and Senate, and the scandal of others.*

*That the Law-makers incurr'd the Censures of the Church, the forfeiture of what they had, could not be absolved but by the Pope, and the nulling of the Decrees.*

*That though the Decrees, were void of themselves, yet the Pope did hereby, null them; according to the Example of his Predecessors.*

*That he doth hereby Excommunicate the Duke, Senate, and their Partakers, if within XXIV. days, they do not null the Decrees, rase them out of their Registers, promise to make none such for the future: And to release the Abbot and Canon to his Nuntio.*

*That from this Excommunication none could absolve them but the Pope himself.*

*That if after the XXIV. days, the Venetians should continue three days longer obstinate without submitting, that then he Interdicted all their State and Dominions, so that no Masses or Divine Service should be celebrated in them, except in some cases and places.*

*That he deprived the Duke and Senate of all priviledges they had or pretended to have from the Church:*

*Comanded these his Bulls to be publish'd through the said Dominions, to be observed and obey'd by all.*

The Bull it self being now not very Common, take as followeth.

#### PAULUS PAPA, QUINTUS

Venerabilibus Fratribus Patriarchis Archiepiscopis et Episcopis, per Univerſum Dominium Republicæ *Venetorum* constitutis, et dilectis filiis eorum Vicariis in Spiritualibus generalibus, nec non Univerſis Abbatibus, Prioribus, Primiceriis, Præpositis, Archidiaconis, Archiepresbyteris, Decanis et Plebanis et Parochialium Ecclesiarum Rectoribus, aliisque personis in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutis, in eodem Dominio existentibus, tam secularibus, quam quorumvis Ordinum et Institutorum Regularibus; Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Superioribus mensibus ad nostram, & Apostolicæ sedis Audientiam pervenit, Ducem & Senatum Reip. *Venetorum*, annis elapsis in eorum Consiliis, plura & diversa Decreta, tum sedis Apostolicæ autoritati, & Ecclesiasticæ libertati ac immunitati contraria, tum Generalibus Conciliis, & sacris Canonibus, nec non *Romanorum* Pontificum Constitutionibus repugnantia, statuissē.

Et inter cætera, sub die XXIII. Mensis *Maii*, anni M. DC. II. sumpta occasione, ex quadam lite, seu Controversia inter Doctorem *Franciscum Zabarellam* ex una, & Monachos Monasterii de *Praglia* nuncupatos Ordini Sancti *Benedicti* Congregationis *Cassinen*, alias Sanctæ *Justine de Padua* in Diœcesi *Paduan*. ex altera partibus vertente; in eorum Consilio statuissē, non solum ut Dicti Monachi tunc, aut deinceps ullo unquam tempore, actionem, per quam sub quovis titulo, aut colore in bonis Ecclesiasticis Emphiteoticis a laicis possessis præferrentur, prætere, an etiam jure Prælationis, seu Consolidationis directi cum utili Dominio, aut extinctionis lineæ in primis Investituræ Comprehensa, aut alia quavis causa bonorum prædictorum proprietatem sibi vindicare minime possent,

K kkkk 3

sed

sed tantummodo jus directi Dominii illis præservatum; verum etiam, ut id ipsum quoad cæteras omnes personas Ecclesiasticas, Seculares, & Regulares, Monasteria Monialum, Hospitalia, et alia loca in eorum temporali Dominio existentia, declaratum & firmiter deliberatum censeretur.

Et sub die decimo *Januarii* M.DC.III. ad superiora quædam Consilia ab eorum Majoribus, ut etiam asserebant, habita respicientes, quibus cavebatur, ne quisquam, sive secularis, sive Ecclesiasticus in Urbe *Venetiarum*, Ecclesias, Monasteria, Hospitalia, atque alias Religiosas Domos, & pia loca, sine eorum speciali licentia fundaret & erigeret, in Concilio Rogatorum congregatos iterum decrevisse, ut id eandem in Omnibus jurisdictionis eorum locis vim obtineret, & præterea Exilii ac perpetui Carceris, & publicationi fundi, venditionisque ædificii contra secus facientes pœnam edixisse.

*Uterius*, eisdem Ducem & Senatum die *XXVI. Mensis Martii* anni M.DC.V. inhærentes alteri Decreto; anno M.D.XXXVI. ab eodem Senatu facto, in quo (ut asserebant) erat expresse prohibitum, ne quis sub certis in illo contentis pœnis in Urbe *Venetiarum*, ejusque Ducatu bona immobilia ad pias causas Testamento seu Donatione inter vivos, relinqueret, aut alio quovis Titulo alienaret, sive ad earum favorem, ultra certum tunc expressum tempus obligaret (quod in illum usque diem, ut ibi etiam dicebatur, usu receptum & observatum non fuerit) non modo iterum id vetuisse, sed expresse etiam prohibuisse, ne bonorum ejusmodi Immobiliū alienationes in favorem personarum Ecclesiasticarum, sine Senatus prædicti licentia, fierent, ac insuper Decretum ipsum & pœnas in eo contentas per universum eorum Dominium extendisse, & per Rectores & Potestates Civitatum & locorum sui Dominii, promulgari fecisse, atque bona Immobilia omnia, quæ contra præmissorum formam vendi, aut quovis modo alienari contingeret, ultra nullitatis pœnam publicari, & vendi, eorumque praticum inter Rempub. ipsam, Magistratum exequentem, & ejus ministros, ipsumque denuntiatorem dividi mandasse, & alias, prout in Decretis & Mandatis Ducis, & Senatus prædictorum latius dicitur, contineri.

Ac præterea eisdem Ducem & Senatum, *Scipionem Sacracenum Canonicum Vicentinum*, & *Brandolinum Valdemarinum Forojuliensem* Abbatem Monasterii, seu Abbatia de *Nervesa Tarvisina* Diœcesis, personam in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutam, ob quædam prætenso Crimina in Civitate *Vicentina* & alibi per illos (ut dicebatur) commissa, Carceri mancipasse, & mancipatos detinuisse, sub prætextu, quod eis hæc facere liceret, inter alia ob quædam ipsis Duci & Reipublicæ a quibusdam *Romanis* Pontificibus prædecessoribus nostris concessa (ut asserebant) Privilegia. Cumque præmissa in aliquibus Ecclesiarum jura etiam ex Contractibus initis ipsis Ecclesiis competentia auferant, ac præterea in illis, & aliis sedis Apostolicæ ac Nostræ auctoritati & Ecclesiarum juribus, & personarum Ecclesiasticarum privilegiis præjudicium inferant, ipsamque libertatem ac immunitatem Ecclesiasticam tollant. Ac ea omnia in ipsorum Ducis & Senatus animorum perniciem & scandalum plurimorum tendant.

Et cum ij, qui supradicta ac similia edere & promulgare, illisque uti ausi sunt, in Censuras Ecclesiasticas a sacris Canonibus, Generalium Conciliorum Decretis, & *Romanorum* Pontificum Constitutionibus infictas, necnon etiam privationis feudorum, & bonorum si quæ ab Ecclesiis obtinet, pœnam eo ipso incurrerint, a quibus Censuris & pœnis, non nisi a Nobis & *Romano* Pont. pro tempore existente, absolvi & liberari possint ac præterea Inhabiles & Incapaces sint, qui absolutionis & liberationis beneficium consequantur, donec editas leges novis Edictis atque

Decretis

Decretis subtulerint, omniaque inde sequuta reipsa in pristinum statum reintegraverint.

Cumque etiam Dux & Senatus, prædicti, post plures paternas nostras monitiones a multis mensibus citra eis factas, adhuc decreta & edicta præfata non revocaverint, ac eosdem Canonicum *Saracenum* & Abbatem *Brandolinum* carceratos detineant, & illos Venerabili Fratri *Horatio* Episcopo *Hieracensi*, nostro & Apostolicæ Sedis apud eos *Nuncio*, ut debebant, non consignaverint: Nos qui nullo pacto ferre debemus, ut Ecclesiastica libertas & Immunitas nostraque & Sedis Apostolicæ Auctoritas violetur & contemnatur; Inhærentes plurimum Generalium Conciliorum Decretis ac Vestigiis Re. Me. *Innocentis III. Honorii III. Gregorii IX. Alexandri IV. Clementis IV. & Martini* etiam *IV. Bonifacii VII. Bonifacii IX. Martini V. Nicolai V.* & aliorum *Romanorum* Pont. Prædecessorum Nostrorum, quorum aliqui similia Statuta alias contra libertatem Ecclesiasticam edita, tanquam ipso jure nulla, invalida & irrita revocarunt, ac nulla, invalida, & irrita esse decreverunt, & declararunt, & aliqui contra similibus edictorum Statutarios, & alios ad Excommunicationis promulgationem, necnon ad alia infra-scripta seu eorum aliqua devenerunt, habita cum venerabilibus fratribus Nostris *S. R. E. Cardinalibus* matura Consultatione, de ipsorum consilio & assensu, licet supra dicta Decreta, Edicta & Mandata ipso jure nulla, invalida & irrita sint, ea nihilominus ipso jure adhuc de novo nulla, invalida, & irrita, nulliusque roboris & momenti fuisse & esse, & neminem ad illorum observantiam teneri, per præsentis decernimus & declaramus.

Et insuper auctoritate Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum *Petri & Pauli* Apostolorum ejus, ac Nostra, nisi Dux & Senatus prædicti intra viginti quatuor Dies a Die Publicationis Præsentium in hac alma Urbe faciendæ computandos, quorum primos octo pro primo, octo pro secundo, & reliquos octo pro tertio & ultimo ac peremptorio termino, & pro monitione cano illis assignamus, prædicta Decreta omnia, & in illis contenta et inde sequuta quæcunque omni prorsus exceptione et excusatione cessante publice revocaverint, et ex eorum Archivis seu Capitularibus locis aut libris, in quibus Decreta ejusmodi annotata reperiuntur, deleri et cassari, et in locis ejusdem Dominii, ubi promulgata fuerunt, revocata, deleta et cassa esse, neminemque ad illorum observantiam teneri publice nunciari, ac omnia inde sequuta in pristinum statum restitui fecerint, et ulterius nisi a similibus Decretis contra libertatem, Immunitatem et jurisdictionem Ecclesiasticam ac nostram et Sedis Apostolicæ auctoritatem, ut præfertur, facientibus edendis, et respective faciendis in posterum cavere, et penitus abstinere promiserint, ac Nos de revocatione, deletione, cassatione, nunciatione, restitutione, ac promissione prædictis certiores reddiderint; et nisi etiam prædictos *Scipionem* Canonicum et *Brandolinum* Abbatem prædicto *Horatio* Episcopo et *Nuncio* cum effectu consignaverint, seu consignari fecerint, ipsos tunc et pro tempore existentem Ducem et Senatum, Reipub. *Venetorum*, statutarios et eorum fautores, Consultores, et adhærentes, et eorum quemlibet, etiamsi non sint specialiter nominati, quorum tamen singulorum nomina et cognomina præsentibus pro expressis haberi volumus, ex nunc prout ex tunc, et e contra Excommunicamus et Excommunicatos nunciamus et declaramus.

A qua Excommunicationis sententia, præterquam in mortis articulo constituti, ab alio quam a nobis, et *Romano* Pont. pro tempore existente etiam prætextu cujuscunque facultatis, eis et cuilibet illorum tam in genere, quam in specie pro tempore desuper concessæ, seu concedendæ, nequeunt absolutionis beneficium obtinere. Et si quempian eorum, tanquam in tali periculo constitutum ab ejusmodi Excommunicationis sententia absolvi contige-

contigerit, qui postmodum convaluerit, is in eandem sententiam re-incidat eo ipso, nisi mandatis nostris, quantum in se erit, paruerit: et nihilominus, si obierit, post obtentam huiusmodi absolutionem, Ecclesiastica careat sepultura, donec Mandatis nostris paritum fuerit.

Et si dicti Dux et Senatus per tres dies, post lapsum dictorum viginti-quatuor dierum, Excommunicationis sententiam animo (quod absit) sustinuerint indurato, sententiam ipsam aggravantes, ex nunc pariter prout ex tunc, Civitatem *Venetiarum*, et alias Civitates, Terras, Oppida, Castra, et loca quaecunque, ac universum temporale Dominium dictæ Reipublicæ *Ecclesiastica Interdictio*, supponimus, illamque et illud supposita esse nunciamus, et declaramus: quo durante, in dicta Civitate *Venetiarum* et aliis quibuscunque dicti Domini Civitatibus, Terris, Oppidis, Castris et locis, illorumque Ecclesiis ac locis, piis et Oratoriis etiam privatis & Domesticis Capellis, nec publice nec privatim, Missæ tam solennes, quam non solennes, aliaque Divina Officia celebrari possint, præterquam in Calibus a jure permissis, et tunc in Ecclesiis tantum & non alibi, et in illis etiam januis clausis, non pulsatis Campanis, ac Excommunicatis et Interdictis prorsus exclusis; neque aliter quaecunque indulta et Privilegia Apostolica, quoad hoc quibuscunque tam Secularibus, quam Regularibus Ecclesiis, etiam quantumcunque exemptis, et Apostolicæ Sedi immediate subjectis, etiam si de ipsorum Ducis et Senatus jure patronatus, etiam ex fundatione, et donatione, aut etiam ex privilegio Apostolico existant, ac etiam si tales sint, quæ sub generali dispositione non comprehendantur, sed de illis specialis et individua mentio habenda sit, Monasteriis, Ordinibus etiam Mendicantium, aut institutis, Regularibus eorumque primiceriis, Prælati, Superioribus, et aliis quibuscunque etiam particularibus personis, aut piis locis et Oratoriis etiam Domesticis, ac Capellis privatis, ut præfertur, in genere vel in specie sub quibuscunque tenoribus, et formis hactenus concessa et in posterum concedenda ullatenus suffragentur.

Ac ulterius eosdem Ducem et Senatum, et quemlibet eorum, non solum Reipub. sed etiam privato nomine, si aliqua bona Ecclesiastica in feudum, seu alias quovis modo a *Romana*, a it. vestris, seu aliis Ecclesiis concessa obtineant, illis *feudis* et *bonis* nec non etiam omnibus quibuscunque Privilegiis et indultis, in genere vel in specie, in quibusdam videlicet casibus et delictis contra Clericos procedendi, illorumque causas, certa forma præscripta, cognoscendi a *Romanis* Pontificibus Prædecessoribus nostris forsitan quomodolibet, ex nunc similiter, prout ex tunc, et e contra privamus, ac privatos fore et esse, nunciamus & decernimus.

Et nihilominus, si ipsi Dux & Senatus in eorum contumacia diutius perfruerint indurati, Censuras et pœnas Ecclesiasticas contra illos, eisque adherentes, et in præmissis quovis modo faventes, aut auxilium, consilium et favorem præstantes, etiam iteratis vicibus aggravandi, et reaggravandi, aliasque etiam pœnas contra ipsos Ducem & Senatum declarandi, et ad alia opportuna remedia, juxta sacrorum Canonum dispositionem, contra eos procedendi, facultatem nobis et *Romanis* Pont. successoribus nostris nominatim et in specie reservamus. Non obstantibus quibuscunque Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis, nec non Privilegiis, Indultis et literis Apostolicis eidem Duci et Senatui, aut quibuscunque aliis personis in genere vel in specie, præsertim quod interdicti, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per literas Apostolicas, non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de Indulto huiusmodi mentionem, ac alias sub quibuscunque tenoribus et formis, et cum quibuscunque etiam derogatoriis derogatoriis, aliisque efficacioribus et insolitis clausulis, ac irritant-

ritantibus, et aliis decretis, ac in specie cum facultatibus absolvendi in casibus nobis et Apostolicæ sedi reservatis illis quovis modo per quoscunque *Romanos Pont.* ac Nos et Sedem Apostolicam in contrarium præmissorum concessis, confirmatis & approbatis. Quibus omnibus et singulis et aliis supra expressis, eorum tenores præsentibus pro expressis habentes, hac vice duntaxat specialiter, et expresse derogamus, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

Ut autem præsentibus nostræ litteræ ad omnium majorem notitiam deducantur, vobis et cuilibet vestrum per easdem præsentibus committimus, et invirtute Sanctæ Obedientiæ, et sub divini interminatione judicii, nec non sub Inderdicti ingressus Ecclesiæ ac suspensionis a Pontificalium exercitio, ac fructuum Mensarum Patriarchalium Archiepiscopalium, et Episcopalium perceptione; quoad vos Fratres Patriarchæ, Archiepiscopi et Episcopi, an etiam privationis dignitatum beneficiorum ac Officiorum Ecclesiasticorum quorumcumque quæ obtinueritis, ac etiam vocis activæ et passivæ, ac inhabilitatis ad illa, et alia in posterum obtinendi quoad vos, filii vicarii, et alii supradicti, eo ipso incurrendis, aliisque arbitrio nostro infligendis pœnis districte præcipiendo mandamus, ut per vos, vel alium seu alios præsentibus litteras postquam eas receperitis, seu earum notitiam habueritis, in vestris quisque Ecclesiis, dum major in eis populi multitudo ad divina convenerint, ad majorem cautelam, solemniter publicetis, et ad Christi fidelium notitiam deducatis, nec non ad earundem Ecclesiarum vestrarum valvas affigi et affixas dimitti faciatis.

Et ulterius volumus, ut præsentium transumptis etiam impressis, manu alicujus *Notarii Publici* subscriptis, et sigillo personæ in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutæ munitis, eadem prorsus fides ubique habeatur, quæ ipsis præsentibus haberetur, si forent exhibitæ vel ostensæ; quodque eadem præsentibus, sive illarum *Exempla*, etiam præfertur impressa ad Ecclesiæ *Lateranensis* et Basilicæ Principis Apostolorum, et *Cancellariæ* nostræ Apostolicæ valvas et in acie *Campi flore* ut moris est affixæ, et publicatæ eodem Ducem et Senatum, ac alios quoscunque prædictos, vosque etiam universos et singulos, respective perinde afficiant, ac si eorum ac vestrum cuilibet personaliter directæ, intimatæ et præsentatæ fuissent.

*Datum Romæ apud St. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die XVIII. Aprilis M. DC. VI. Pontificatus nostri anno Primo.*

*M. VESTRIUS BARBIANUS.*

Anno a Navitate D. N. *Jesu christi* M. DC. VI. *Indictione* quarta, die vero XVII. Mensis *Aprilis*, Pontificatus Sanctiss. in *Christo* Patris, et D. N. D. *Pauli* divina providentia Papæ *Quinti*, anno ejus primo, supradictæ litteræ earumque exempla impressa, affixa, et publicata fuerunt ad valvas Ecclesiæ *Lateranen.* ac Basilicæ Principis Apostolorum, et *Cancellariæ* Apostolicæ, nec non acie *Campi flore* ut moris est, per nos *Christophorum Fundatum*, et *Joan. Domenicum de Pace*, *Apostolicos Cursores.*

*Petrus Aloysius Peregrinus  
Cursorum Magister.*

The



The *Venetians* perceiving the Popes malice and indiscretion by this Paper *Interdiction*, first order'd that every one should have recourse to his prayers, then to testifie their sensibleness of the wrong done them, recall'd home *Duodo* their extraordinary Ambassador at *Rome*; but, to prevent an absolute Rupture, they let *Nani* their Ordinary Ambassador stay. Then was command given to all Ecclesiastical Parsonis not to publish or permit to be publish'd or affix'd in any place, any *Bulls* or *Breves*: And by Proclamation it was commanded, that whoever had any Copy of the former *Breve* or *Interdiction* against the Serene Republick should bring them unto the Magistrates: all which were obey'd, and such a multitude of Copies brought in, that it was a wonder that so many had been printed and carefully or seditiously spread abroad.

The Pope informed of the *Venetian* Proclamation against his *Breve*, call'd home his *Nuncio*, and sent a dismission to *Nani* their Ambassador at *Rome*, who accordingly return'd to *Venice*. In the mean time the Pope expected that his *Breve* or *Indiction* would do wonders for his cause, especially he doubted not of three things.

- I. That the Priests and such like Ecclesiasticks would forth depart from the *Venetian* Territories.
- II. That the Cities and the people seeing themselves thus deprived of Church Offices and such like Duties and benefits, would run into Sedition, and so force the Senate to give the Pope satisfaction.
- III. That the Nobility and Senators themselves, upon this occasion might be disordered, and divided, by which he doubted not of a Conquest.

But in all these, he found himself deceived, and the Duke to prevent the worst publish'd his Manifestoes or Letters ( which you may read in \* *Goldastus* ) which he caused to be affix'd in publick places. In them,

Monarch.  
Rom. Imper. he  
Tom. 3.

*Vindicated himself and the Senate in what they had done, and in their carriage towards his Holiness.*

*Declared that the Breve was against all law and equity, against Scriptures, Fathers, and Canons, prejudicial to Secular Authority, the liberty of the State, the peace of the people, and to the scandal of all the world: Therefore*

*Pronounced the said Breve unjust, void, null, and of none effect, nor to be obey'd or observed by any.*

*Commands all Ecclesiasticks within these Dominions, to continue the celebration of Divine Service.*

Now multitude of Pen-men are employ'd of both sides, every one writing according to his Fancy or Interest; but those of *Rome* were the most violent, throwing all manner of Lyes and Slaunders upon the Republick that their malice could Invent, and in this they thought themselves not culpable, because they thought the *Venetians* now to be the most wretched of all people, infomuch that Cardinal \* *Baronius* looks upon them as *Pagans and Heathens without the fold of Christianity*, tumbling into manifest perdition, and so far gone hat he cannot upon any account \* *wish them well*.

Parænesis ad  
Rempub. Ve-  
net. pag. 41. 5.  
Id. pag. 64.

Now

And so great Authority had the Papal *Interdict* with some of the *Religions*, That the *Jesuits* and *Capuchins*, intended to obey it, though contrary to the Command of their Prince and Senate.

As for the *Jesuits*, the Senate demanding their Answer, they return'd that *they might continue the Divine Offices, their Sermons and Confessions according to their Custom*. For upon notice of the *Interdict*, they had sent *Achilles Gailardi* (a *Paduan* noted *Jesuit* & the Author of some *meditations*) to represent unto the Pope, what good Services they might do his cause, if he would permit them to stay in the *Venetian Dominions*. For the *Nuncio* before his departure from *Venice*, had been very busie with the *Jesuits*, the chief of whom then in the City being *Possevino* and *Bernardin Castorio* noted Authors. But the Pope understanding the badness of Example, if such a famous Order submitted not to his *Breve*, sent them an Express to depart. Now the Term of the XXIV. days appointed in the *Monitorie* approaching, the *Jesuits* were required to give their final Resolution, who return'd an Express refusal to say *Massé*: which being retorted upon them as a base *Equivocation*, they replied, it was not contrary to their former promise, because the *Massé*, for the Excellency of it, is not comprehended under the words of *Divine Offices*. The Senate seeing themselves thus abused by these people, commanded the *Jesuits* speedily to depart their Dominions; Upon this, the *Jesuits* suddenly collected a great sum of money from their Devoted ones, so packing up as fast as they could; in the Evening they departed the City, each one carrying the *Host* at his neck, intimating that *Jesus Christ* departed with them; as they took Bark, the people cryed out against them, *Go with a vengeance, and come no more hither*. Before their departure, they had hid their richest Ornaments, burn'd great quantity of writings, and there was found in their Colledges a good number of *Cruses* to melt metals, which left some blot upon them, though *Possevino* indeavour'd to vindicate them from any design of gold or silver. At their Colledg in *Padua*, were found many Copies, of a writing, containing XVIII. Rules under this Title (being drawn up and commanded to be believed, by their Founder \* *Ignatius Loyola*)

\* vid. *Exercitia Spiritu-  
alia.*

*Regule aliquot servandæ, ut cum Orthodoxa Ecclesiâ vere sentiamur.*

In the Seventh whereof, there is a Prescription to take heed how men press or inculcate too much the *Grace of God*.

And in the Third, it is ordain'd—*That men must beleieve the Hierarchical Church, although it tell us, that that is black, which our eye judgeth to be white.*

The Senate having thus wisely given an hint of their Resolutions, by their dealing with the *Jesuits*, Put forth an Order, that all *Ecclesiasticks* who would not continue *Divine Services*, should retire out of their Dominions. Upon this, the *Capuchins* with whom the *Nuncio* and *Jesuits*, had tamper'd very much, resolved also to depart, and intended to go (according to the *Jesuits* Instructions to them) out in *Procession* with the *Sacrament*, thereby to stir up the people to Sedition; who have most affection to this Order, pretending to great poverty & Innocency: But this solemnity was hindred by Authority: So in the morning celebrating one *Massé*, eating up all the *Eucharist*, they concluded the Office, without giving *Benediction* to the people, and then departed, and so did the *Theatins* and the reformed *Franciscans*. But it was observed that the *Capuchins* in the Territories of *Brescia* and *Bergamo*

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(where were no *Jesuits* to seduce them) did not depart, but remain'd Obedient to their Governours celebrating *Divine Service*, for which honesty and loyalty, they were bitterly persecuted by their superiors at *Rome*, with Excommunications and other Censures.

Now began a fierce dispute amongst them, *Whether all the Sacraments administred by the Priests that staid contrary to the Interdict, were nullities or no? Whether it was lawful to adore the Eucharist skew'd by such Priests? And Whether it was a Mortal or Venial Sin, to hear Masse celebrated by such Priests?* Of these every one judged according to his Interest, as is usual in such cases.

In the mean time, the *Jesuits* by their Instruments, did what they could to stir up Sedition in the State, and so did other Ecclesiasticks ingaged on the Papal faction: but the Senate, by their prudence prevented all, and being perfectly united amongst themselves, kept the people in a true Obedience to them.

The Quarrel growing dayly greater and greater, each party address'd themselves to the respective Princes in Christendom, to render their cause chear and legal; the Princes desiring and perswading a Reconciliation, every one of the *Romanists* offering to be Mediators.

The Pope troubled that the *Venetians* would not stoop to his humour, invented another Plot, whereby he thought to make some Divisions amongst them. And this it was. He publish'd a *Jubilee*, whither he invited all Christians, granting Indulgences, Absolutions, and Pardons to all, but those of *Interdicted* places. By this Strategem, he fancy'd, that the *Venetian* people, seeing themselves thus deprived, of such blessing and graces, would disobey the Senate and run into Sedition. And the better to carry this on, the *Jesuits* gave notice, that though the people were excluded in the general, yet they had power from his Holiness, to grant it to such of them as would observe the *Conditions* by them propounded, amongst which were these, *Not to go to Masse, Nor to approve the reasons and actions of the Senate.* But all these plots did the Pope little good. Nor did their other lyes against the Republick, as if it had renounced the *Roman* Religion, and become *Lutherans* or *Protestants*, avail them anything.

The Pope seeing the bad event of all these designs, sends to *Philip III.* King of *Spain*, to desire his Assistance: The King returns an Answer, that *he had desired an Accommodation, but seeing the Honour of his Holiness concerned, he would assist him with his forces, which he had also signified to his Ministers in Italy.* This Letter was received at *Rome* with the greatest joy and Triumph Imaginable; the *Spaniards* vapouring of their meritorious actions to the Pope. But others gave different Censures of the Letter; some thinking it procured by the Authority of the Duke of *Lerma*, the then great Favourite of *Spain* who ruled King and all things else: But others believed, that the design of it was not, as it appear'd, really for war; but thereby to render the *Venetians* more submissive and tractable for a peace.

However the Count *de Fuentes* the Catholick Kings Governour at *Milan* seem'd very forward in Preparations; upon which the *Venetians* thought it not sitting to be behind: so that now both parties seem'd running into a War: both Pope and Duke drumming up men, and making all things ready for Offence and Defence.

Whilst these preparations went on, the better to disorder and weaken the *Venetians*, the Marquis *de Santa Croce*, having received the Pa-  
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pal Benediction by his *Nuncio*, departed from *Naples* with XXVI. *Spanish Gallies*, and at *Messina* received the addition of XIV. more, thence secretly sailing along, entred the *Golf of Venice*, fell upon *Durazzo* a City in *Albania* belonging to the *Turks*, which he sack'd and returned with Plunder and Prisoners. Hoping by this means, to incense the *Turk*, so to make him fall out with the *Venetians*, and invade their Territories in *Dalmatia*. But the *Turk*, in this more Religious than the *Spaniard*, understanding the base design, scorn'd to break with the *Venetian* in this juncture, but offer'd the Republick his Assistance.

This wicked design thus failing, the Partisans of the Pope went another way to trouble the Republick, maintaining in Print, that *The Marriages made within the Interdicted Territories were invalid, the Matrimonial Conjunction Adultery, and the Children all Bastards*. This was a cunning plot to amuse the zealous and simple; but the wisdom of the Senate, and the reasons of their writers, dash'd this to pieces also: Though the *Roman Inquisition* was very furious in their judgments, forbidding under pain of Excommunication any of the *Venetian Papers* or Reasons, to be intertain'd or read, as Schismatical and Heretical; and Cardinal *Bellarmino* was very active with his Pen against the Senators.

In the mean time the Ambassadors of *France* and *Spain*, laboured what they could for a Reconciliation, and the Emperour and Grand Duke of *Tuscany* were not slack in affording their assistance to a peace. But the means seem'd difficult; for the Pope stood upon his old plea, of having the Prisoners deliver'd him, and the Decrees Cancel'd. And on the Contrary, the Duke and Senate, resolv'd not to betray their Temporal Authority, and renounce their Decrees, though as for the *Abbot* and *Canon*, at the earnest intreaty of the *French*, they were willing in a Complement to bestow them upon King *Henry IV.* and let him do with them as pleas'd him best; and when the Pope would recall his Censures, they were willing to do the same with their Letters or Protestation against them; but not before, lest they might intimate that they had been in the fault and done amiss.

Whilst the Treaty is thus earnestly carried on by several Princes and their Ambassadors, the Pope erects a New Council at *Rome* call'd *La Congregation de Guerra*, or the *Congregation of War*, consisting of XV. Cardinals; out of whom he cull'd IV. to be employ'd with the *Treasurer* and the *Commissionaries* of the Chamber, about the means to provide money, and most of these were of the *Spanish Faction*; the better to ingage that King to him, if the Tryal of the cause should once be put to the Sword. 1607.

And it was the opinion of many, that it could not end without blows, for the Pope begins the year with new Levies: and the Count *de Fuentes*, who long'd for mischief, caus'd the Drums to beat up at *Milan* for Souldiers; sent to *Switzerland*, to *Naples*, to *Flanders*, to *Germany*, and other places, to raise what Souldiers he could, getting Money and Arms from *Spain*, so that he doubted not, presently to be at the Head of XXX. Thousand men. The hopes of these great Preparations animated the Pope so much, that, in a full *Consistory*, he declared, *He would have war with the Republick of Venice*.

In the Interim, the *Venetians* were not idle, hastning their Preparations as much as in them lay, so that in a little while they had got together about LXXX Gallies, rais'd many Thousand foot in their own Territories, sent to the *Cantons* to hire more, doubted not of Assistance

from *France*, was promis'd aid from *Great Brittain* by *Sr. Henry Wotton* King *James* his Ambassador, by which means they had hopes from *Denmark* and *Holland*, and was promis'd supplies from the *Lorrainer*, whose Son viz. the Count *de Vandemont*, they hoped would be their General. But the Duke, of *Lorraine* being aged, so superstitiously fearful of Papal Censures, beside having a Son a Cardinal, who with the Pope did dissuade him, would not permit his Son to go, or any Levies to be made in his Dominions, though young Count *de Vandemont*, was willing-enough for the *Venetian*.

Whilst *Christendom* is thus troubled with rumours of wars, and every place busie with great Preparations, to fill *Europe* full of mischief and blood-shed, and all about an idle Humour of the Popes; The Treaty goeth on apace. And though many Embassies and Audiences had been been employ'd to little purpose; yet the *French King*, will try the other pull, and so resolves to employ Cardinal *de Joyeuse*, in this business; who being a Churchman might be more acceptable to the Pope, yet under the Command of the Instructions, might no way lessen the rights of the Republick.

Thus qualified, *Joyeuse* arrives at *Venice*, where he falls to work vigorously, and willing he was to save the Popes Reputation and Credit: but after many Hearings and Debates, he could get only this Answer from the Senate, That the Censures being taken away, they would recall what they had done in Opposition to them, and send an Ambassador to *Rome*; That for the *Decrees*, they would proceed in the use of them, with such Moderation and Piety as they and their Ancestors used to do. And that upon a Peace, the Ecclesiasticks might return, only the *Jesuits* excepted. And with these Answers, the Cardinal departs from *Rome* to see what good he could do there.

At *Rome*, Cardinal *de Joyeuse* found the Opinions divided some for a Peace upon any account, considering what a great mischief a Rupture might bring upon *Christendom*; others thought it not honourable for the Pope to recede from any thing he had done, till he had obtain'd what he desired and made the Republick submit. As for the Pope, though his greatest hopes lay in the *Spaniard*, yet he could not with reason rely too much on him, knowing his Coffers at that time to be empty, and if he did him any good he would expect a requital of some Priviledges, which would not be convenient for *Rome* to yeild to, besides he doubted to be over-power'd by the *Venetians* and their numerous Assistance; amongst whom would be many of the *Reformed Religion*, which having once got a footing in *Italy*, might, in that juncture of time, give a blow at the very *Papacy*.

These Considerations perswaded or forced the Pope to a Compliance, but yet was troubled that he could not come off with Honour, seeing the *Venetians* Answers were resolute and cunningly worded, and they would not admit of the *Jesuits*, upon any account whatever: and thus to forsake them who had suffer'd for his cause, would betray his Baffle to the whole world.

At last, after several Consultations it was agreed on, that at *Rome*, Monsieur *d' Alincourt* the *French* Ambassador, should demand of the Pope in the Name of the Christian King and of the Republique, that the Censures might be taken away. And also that Cardinal *Joyeuse* and *d' Alincourt* should give him their words in the Name of their King, that the *Decrees* should remain without Execution, until the Accord might

might be effected. To this last clause the Pope would have had added, that *It was with the consent of the Republick*: But this was not yielded to, knowing the *Venetians* would never agree to such an Addition. So, as much being done at *Rome* as could be, *de Joyeuse* returns with the Papal Instructions and Authority to *Venice*.

At *Venice*, the Cardinal hoping in some thing to uphold the Popes Honour, told the Senate, that now all the Difficulties were shrunk to two, *viz.* To send an Ambassador to *Rome*, before the Censures were removed, and to re-establish the *Jesuits*. But finding these would not be granted, he proceeds more moderately, and

*Proposeth.*

That the Ecclesiasticks should be restored, and their goods redelivered.

That the Prisoners should be delivered without any Protestations.

That their Protestation against the *Interdict* should be revoked, as also their Letter writ unto their Cities.

*They Answer.*

That they consent, provided the Pope will receive into Favour, those who had writ in defence of the State. And what ever the Pope did with the writings in behalf of his cause, they would do the same with those Papers in vindication of theirs.

The Prisoners should be deliver'd to the *French* Ambassador, but the Senate would make a Protestation.

They will take away their Protestation or Manifesto, when the Monitory or Interdict, (upon which it is grounded) is taken away, but the Letter need not taking notice of.

He is also very earnest for the Restitution of the *Jesuits*, but the Senate absolutely \* deny's it upon any account what ever, Recounting \* But upon several of their Seditions and Ingratefull actions, it having been one of the first places that foster'd them. At last, after several Reasonings, it was concluded and agreed on.

That the Cardinal should declare in the Colledg without any other Ceremony that the Censures were taken away. And that at the same time the Duke should put into his hands a Revocation of the Protestation.

That the Prisoners might be delivered to Fresne the French Ambassador at Venice, as to the French King, with the Republick Protestation; the Pope being not supposed to be concerned in it.

That the Religious who had retired themselves, upon the Interdict should be restored, the *Jesuits* excepted, and XIV, others, who had fled for certain Crimes, and not in Obedience to the Pope.

That no mention should be made of any Letter, written unto Governments, or Cities, but only a Manifesto publish'd for the revocation

the earnest desire of Pope Alexander VII. and the great offers of the King of Poland, Brother (a *Jesuits* himself) they were restored. 1657. 20. January 30.

*tion of the Protestation, which was printed.*

*That after the Censures were taken away, the Republick should name and send an Ambassador to reside with his Holiness, according to the common Custom of Princes.*

*And if there were any other particulars, that they should not now be spoken of but should be remitted to be fairly treated of with the Pope.*

Before these were fully agreed on; there had been some dispute about the manner of the Ceremony, in taking off the *Interdiction*: for the Senate had absolutely deny'd to receive *Absolution*, affirming they were Innocent, and had (in what they had done) committed no fault: Then the Cardinal propos'd to go to St. Mark's Church with the Duke and Senate, and there to celebrate *Massé*, and give a *Benediction* which was enough (he said) to intimate that the Censures were taken away.

But the Duke and Senate, jealous of their Reputation, would not allow of this; For though they confess'd, That the *Apostolick Benediction* ought not to be refused, when offer'd, yet at this time it might give occasion to some to believe a falsity, as if they had needed it by some fault in this Quarrel, alledging farther the Custom of the Popes, who, if Princes do some acts to them through Devotion or Humility, presently esteem it as done of Duty, or in acknowledgment of their faults. At last, to end this Obstacle, it was agreed on, as abovesaid, *That the Cardinal should declare without any other Ceremony that the Censures were taken away.*

Now nothing remain'd undecided but the form of the *Manifesto*, to null the Senate's Protestation against the *Monitory* or *Interdict*: but of this all was accepted, only this sentence. *The Censures being taken away the Protestation in like manner was taken away.* The Cardinal urged, that they ought not to use the words *Taken away* in the Protestation, but *Revoked*. The Senate, though they affirm'd they could not comprehend, what subtilty or difference, laid in the alteration; yea for some time refused to admit of a change. But perceiving the Cardinal would have it so, or else break all, at length yielded to the Cardinals request, and so it was concluded thus.

*The Censures being taken away, the Protestation in like manner is revoked*

All Obstacles thus removed, the Agreement was compleated with these Ceremonies.

The XI. according to the English Account.

The XXI. of April in the morning, *de Fresne* the French Ambassador being at the Cardinal *de Joyeuse's* Lodgings, *Marc Ottobon* the Venetian Secretary had the two Prisoners *Marc Antony Brandolino Valdemarino* Abbot of *Nervesé*, and *Scipio Sarazin* Canon of *Vicenza*, carryed thither. He telling the Ambassador, that these were the Prisoners, which the Illustrious Prince the Duke of Venice, had sent to be deliver'd to his Excellence, in gratification of the most Christian King. But with Protestation, not to to Prejudice hereby, the Authority the Republick hath to judg Ecclesiasticks. The Ambassador answer'd *That so he received them.* Of which a publick Instrument being drawn, *de Fresne* went into a Gallery where the Cardinal was, sent for the Prisoners, saying to the Cardinal *These are the Prisoners that are to be deliver'd to the Pope*; The Cardinal pointing to one neer him, said, *Give them to him*, meaning *Claudio Montano* (a Commissary sent by the Pope to this effect) who touch'd them in token of Dominion and Possession; and pray'd the Ministers of Justice

*Justice* who conducted them that they would be pleas'd to keep them for him.

This done, the Cardinal and Ambassador, went to the Colledg, where they met the Duke and Senat, and all being set as usually, The Cardinal pronounced these words.

*I rejoyce very much that this day, (so much desired by me) is come, wherein I declare unto your Serenitie that all the Censures are taken away, as indeed they are; and I take therein much pleasure, for the benefit, which shall redound hereby to all Christendom and particularly to Italy.*

This said, the Duke put into his hand, the *Decree* of the *Revocation* of their *Protestation*, and after some words of Complement, they all rose and departed; an end of this Quarrel being thus made.

That afternoon, a Rumour was spread about, that that mourning, at the meeting in the Colledg, the Cardinal had given an *Absolution*. At this the *Venetians* (so jealous were they of their reputation) were somewhat troubled, and made it their business to find out the Original of such a Report, which at last they found to be scatter'd by some *French-men*, who giving for their assertion, only this Reason, *viz.* That the Cardinal being enter'd into the Colledg, before any thing was done, made the sign of the *Cross* under his Hood. The idle story and discontent vanish'd, the *Venetians* smiling to see, on what little things some fond people would build a Submission or Conquest.

And it may be, upon this Rumour, or some such idle Report, some Historians do say, that they did receive Absolution. But in this History I find most reason to rely upon the Credit of Father *Paul*. One of the most famous Pen-Champions that the *Venetians* imploy'd in this Quarrel, was the said learned and judicious Fryer, of the Order of the *Servi* commonly known by the name of Father *Paul*, of whom a word or two by the by.

He was born at *Venice* M. D. LII. He naturally addicted himself to his book, whereby when young, he gain'd great Reputation, so that *William* the famous Duke of *Mantoua* intertain'd him as his Chaplain, in the year M. D. LXXIX. he was created *Provincial* of his Order, which he executed without partiality: he went and lived some time at *Rome*, where he got acquainted with the best, his parts making him known, to Pope and Cardinals as well as others. Being return'd to *Venice* he followed his studies close, and in all manner of learning was so excellent, that all Strangers that went to *Venice* desired his acquaintance, upon which he was foolishly accused by the Court of *Rome* as a Company-keeper with Hereticks.

At this time, the Order of the *Servi* was in some trouble, by reason of their Protector, Cardinal *Santa Severina*, who against all right or reason, was resolv'd to make one *Gabriel Collison* General of the Order, being thereto perswaded by his Briberies: the whole Order oppos'd this, and herein Father *Paul* was a little engaged, but carried himself with great discretion and moderation. But at last *Gabriel* was made General, and a seeming peace was made.

When the late Quarrel began between the Pope and the *Venetians*, they chose Father *Paul*, to be one of their chief Assistants, who by his solid reasons stagger'd the Papal Pretensions: which so concern'd the Pope, that he would have had the *Father* brib'd from his Duty to the Commonwealth

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monwealth; but this failing, other designs were set on foot. *Gaspar Schoppins*, a man well known for his railing and pernicious principles of Government, freely told Father *Paul*, that the Pope had long Hands, and might reach him, but wisht rather to have him alive at *Rome*, and the Father was by several great Personages informed, that Plots were laid against his Life: but he trusting to his Innocency neglected his Security.

But this confidence might have cost him his Life, for one Evening in the Street at *Venice*, he was assaulted, received two wounds in his Neck and one in his Face, entring at his right ear and passing through the Jaw bone, and out again betwixt his Nose and his Cheek, and the *Stelletto* was left sticking in, the Villain not having strength enough to pull it out.

The number of these *Affassins* were five, who having a *Gondola* ready, got presently to the House of the Pope's *Nuncio*, then resident in *Venice*; thence in a flat Boat, with Ten Oars and well armed, prepared for the purpose, they departed that night, towards *Ravenna*. Being now in the Papal Territories, they were secure, and vapour'd of the Fact, and were nobly received at every place; at last they got to *Rome*, where they were well also entertain'd, with assignation of Entertainment. And here they staid some time, till the world cryed shame, that such abominable Villains should be sheltred and entertain'd from Justice, by his Holiness: upon which the Pope, was forced for Honour sake, to order their departure out of the City; yet had they some Allowance granted them, but so small, in respect of those Glories they expected, that they became mal-content, so that at last every one of them came to an evil end.

But to return to Father *Paul*, he was had home to his Monastery, the most famous Physicians and Chyrurgions in those parts imploy'd about him, so that after some time he perfectly recovered, to the joy of the whole Senat, who by publick *Proclamations* took order for his future Security, assigning him a Guard, increase of Stipend, with a House at *St. Mark's* at the publick Charge. But the Father desired to be excused from all such state, cost, and trouble, resolved to continue in his Monastery amongst his Brethren of the *Order*. The Senate perceiving this to be his earnest desire, gratified him, but caused some building to be added to his Chamber, from whence by a little Gallery, he might have the Commodity to take Boat the better to avoid Treachery, in his returns sometimes by night, from the publick Service.

Seeing the Senat had thus carefully provided for his security, so that there was danger to use any more force, some other designs were set on foot, 1609. *Fra. Antonio da viterbo* who served as an *Amanuensis* to the Father, was solicited, to make him away with a Razor, which he might conveniently do, considering his intimacy, and the great trust the Father put in him, or if not this, to poyson him. *Antonio* refused to act this wickedness himself, especially to such a good Friend and Patron, but would afford his Assistance if others would be the Actors. So at last it was concluded, that he should take the Print in Wax of his Keys, which he should deliver to another Fryar *Giovanni Francisco*, whom Fryar *Bernardo* (the Favourite of Cardinal *Borghese*, Nephew to the Pope) had imploy'd about this thing; by which means having Counterfeit Keys, they might send in some Ruffians or *Bravo's* to murder the Father.

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But some Letters of this Plot, by chance being taken, there was enough discovered, to have *Francisco* and *Antonio* seized on. *Francisco* was condemn'd to be hang'd, but had his pardon by a full discovery of the whole design, and delivering unto them all the Letters concerning this black Plot; what great Personages were in this action, is not known; the Council of *Venice* thinking it best to conceal them, for the Honour of Religion.

To tell all the Attempts against him would be tedious, these are enough; and against him it was that the Court of *Rome* bent all their spite, he being an Enemy to the prop of all their Greatness, viz. their Usurpations, and Authority over Temporal Princes; and his Reasons obtain'd him the greater ill-will from that Bishop, because they seem'd to be favour'd by other Potentates: The Pope fearing that in time other Territories might follow the Example of the Venetians. And when his *Coercive* Authority is once despised, he will remain but a weak Governor within the narrow Limits of his Churches Patrimony; which may render him incapable of preferring his Favourites abroad; and the Interest thus gone, the Splendor of his Seat will fail; and the Glory of his idle and wasting Courtiers, will be eaten up, by the more thrifty Citizens. Thus their Charity to themselves, made them the more violent against the Fryar *Paul* though he acted nothing, but what became the duty of a good Subject to his Prince and Country.

The Father hoped, that the malice of his Enemies would vanish by degrees: and when Pope *Paul V.* dyed, he expected all heart-burning to cease, but here he found himself mistaken, and the Quarrel and Enmity intail'd as it were upon the Pontifick Chair. For *Gregory XV.* succeeding, 1621, bare the same ill-will, looking upon the Father as the chief-Counsellor, nay and Incendiary too of the *Venetians*, inso-much that he told their Ambassador, that, *there would never be a peace between the Republick and the See Apostolick, but such an one as Father Paul should approve of.*

The Father informed of this, was grieved beyond measure, that he should be held a *Beautefew*, and so rather than any difference should arise about him, resolv'd peaceably to retire himself from his own Country. To live amongst the *Protestants*, might expose himself to Calumnies; to dwell where the Ecclesiasticks might over-power him, or where the Temporality would not trouble it self in his Protection, was to expose his Life to Poyson and Stelletoes again. Upon this difficulty he determin'd to reside at *Constantinople*, or some of the Eastern Countryes. And for this Peregrination he began to make Preparations, take advice, get safe-conducts, &c. But being informed that the Pope releas'd much of his displeasure towards him, he was the less careful in hastning.

And now he began to be ancient and feeble, and dyed in his Monastery at *Venice*, with great Tranquility and Settlement of mind, 1623. in the LXXI. year of his Age.

The Father was little, humble, grave, but withal chearful; of his dyet very sparing, inso-much, that every day with him, was almost a Fast: he was merciful and good to his greatest Enemies, begging Pardon for those, who designed his death.

His Learning got him renown every where, being good for the *Oriental* Languages, besides *Greek*, *Latin*, and other *European*; was famous for his skill in *Mathematicks*, *Physick*, *Anatomy*, *Chymistry*, *Astronomy*; in all which he was a dayly Practitioner and Discoverer of many Ex-

cellent Rarities : Infomuch that the chiefeft Artists, thought themselves happy in his advice and acquaintance. And make honourable mention of him.

He had also carefully perused all the ancient Philosophers, out of whom he had collected their different Opinions.

For Politicks, he was held not only the greatest, but the most honest Statesman in his time, admirable vers'd in the *Laws*, knowing in all Histories, and his skill in *Geography* made the world his own. Divinity was his calling, and what an excellent man he was at his Pen, may appear by his divers writings, many of which are not yet publish'd, but some remain as Rarities lockt up in the Cabinets of Princes, whilst others lurk as Secrets in the Archives of the wise *Venetian Council*. But a Specimen of his great Abilities, may be gather'd from his *History of the Council of Trent*. where he was pleas'd to vail himself under the Title of

*Pietro Soave Polana.*

Which by an *Anagrammatism*, makes the Fathers Name, Sirname, and Country, thus

*Paolo Sarpio, Veneto.*

his Fathers name being *Francisco di Pietro Sarpio*.

There is also abroad of his *A History of the Inquisition*; a *History of the Quarrels between Pope Paul V. and the Venetians*, and several other things in justification of his Country in those Troubles, which with his other writings (and Commendations of him) have faln under the lash of their \* *Index Expurgatorius*.

\* vid. Ind. lib.  
Prohibit. edit.  
Alexand. VII.  
pag. 98. 222.  
226. 227. 272

The Court of *Rome*, whilst he lived carryed the greatest bitterness against him, dayly writing Lybels and Invectives against him, stufft up with Lyes and Forgeries, infomuch that *Bellarmino*, (though his Pen was ingaged against the Father in the *Venetian Quarrel*) told the Pope that such notorious Falsities and Calumnies would bring more Scandal than Credit to his Cause.

Amongst the rest of his Enemies was *Maffeo Barbarini* Nuncio in *France* at the time of the Quarrel, and afterwards Pope *Urban VIII.* who in his Aiery and Romantick humour rais'd and invented many unworthy Stories of the Father, far unbecoming a Person of his Place and Dignity.

Nay so implacable were the *Roman Favourites*, that their Slaunders and Malice followed him to his Grave, publishing impudent and fabulous Stories concerning his death, of his dying Howling, of strange Apparitions of Black Dogs, of Terrible Noises heard in his Cell and Chambers, and several such like lying Forgeries, as those idle people used to invent upon *Luther*, *Calvin*, and others who will not truckle to the Usurpations of the *Roman Court*. But the people of *Venice*, who knew him better, accounted him a Saint, hanging up their *Votive Tablets* at his \* Sepulchre, till the Senate, to satisfy Pope *Urban VIII.* forbade such Ceremonies to be used to his Monument. And so much by the bye, of the Learned and Judicious Father *Paolo Sarpi*.

\* Spond. an.  
1623. v. 13.  
Rob. Johnson  
Rerum Brit.  
Hist. lib. 20.  
an. 1623. p.  
638.

Here might I treat of some further troubles endeavour'd to be stirr'd up by *Urban VIII.* who in affront to the Republick, caus'd an Ancient Inscription, [ which had been set up in the *Sala Regia* in the *Vatican*, as a Monu-

a Monument of the *Venetian* honour for restoring *Alexander III.* when chas'd by the Emperor *Frederick I.* ] to be defaced and razed out. He also excommunicated the *Luqueses*, the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, the Duke of *Parma*, and of *Modena*, and to maintain his *Censures* fell to the Temporal Sword. But *Parma* flew about like Lightning with 3000 Horse, that his Holiness and Cardinals thought it safest to retire to the Castle *S. Angelo*. At last by the Intercession of the *French*, a Peace is concluded, the *Censures* are taken off, the ingaged Princes have their Temporal Authority confirm'd by the Peace. And the Ancient Inscription, in Honour and Gratitude to the *Venetian*, is to be renew'd and inscribed in a larger Table, and set up in the *Vatican* as formerly.

1642  
1644

Here the Pope gain'd nothing by fomenting Troubles. And in truth, the Papal Authority, by the late *Venetian* Quarrel, received a deadly blow; Princes thereby, beginning to see their own power and Jurisdiction, have the less esteem for that pretended or usurped by the Pope; and may in time acknowledg themselves Supream, within their own Dominions.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

## Henry the Fourth murdered by Ravaillac.

*Hist. de la Paix*  
fol. 142. 143.  
&c. *Laur. Bouchel*  
*Hist. de la*  
*justice Crim*  
Tit. 4. ch. 22.

*St. Lazare*  
*Hist. Tragi-*  
*ques* p. 68.  
*Hard. de Pere-*  
*fixe Hist. Hen-*  
*le Grand.*

*Dr. Mer. Ca-*  
*saubon of En-*  
*thusiasm* ch.  
3. p. 104. 105.  
108. Edit. 2.

\* *vid. d'Espin-*  
*nella le Par-*  
*nasse des Poe-*  
*tes Francoises.*  
Tom. 1. fol.  
33. &c. Tom.  
2. fol. 218. &c.  
\* *Memoires.*  
Tom. 3. pag  
478.

1610.

*Laur. Bouchel*  
*Hist. de la jus-*  
*tice crim. tit.*  
11. ch. 14.

\* *les Tro-*  
*phees de Hen-*  
*le Grand.*  
v. 103.

I Have formerly related divers attempts of the *Romanists* to take away the Authority and Life of *Henry IV. of France*, which Catalogue I might augment, with the wickedness of four *Piedmonters*, of a *Lorrain Lacquey*, of one *Pedefer*, of one *Nicolle Mignon* a woman poor and wicked, who designed his murther. And to these I might add the attempt of one *Jean de L'Isle*, who (as the King was returning from hunting) upon *Pont-neuf* in *Paris*, by taking hold of his Cloak would have pull'd him off his Horse, and endeavour'd to assassinate him with his Dagger: But the King was graciously pleas'd to pardon him, the fellow being found to be a meer Enthusiastick Fool, declaring himself to be King of the whole world, to have descended from *Pharamond* the first King of the *Francks*, and affirming *Henry* to have Usurp'd the Kingdom of *France* from him. Probably somewhat related to the Whimsies or Phannaticism of the *American* Doctor who believed he should be King and Pope too, or the *Italian* Foot-boy, who fancied himself a Monarch, the Serving-man who thought himself a Pope, or the *Italian* Groom who held himself for Emperor, and accordingly, to his poor Capacity, would take such state upon him. Upon this foolish or madman's attempt on the Kings person, the *Monsieurs* *Motin* and *Malberbe*, then noted Poets in *France*, have compos'd some \* *Verfes*.

But passing by these, with a latter one mentioned by the careful Duke \* *du Sully*, and other Contrivances to involve that Kingdom in Rebellion, I shall hasten to the Murther of that great Monarch which in short was thus:

The King in his Coach with others going to visit his great Confident the Duke of *Sully*, then indisposed in the *Arsenal*; being come to the Street *La Ferronnerie* (or Ironmongers) which was then very narrow by reason of the Shops built against the wall of *St. Innocent's* Churchyard, and a Stop being made to his Coach by two Carts, one laden with Wine, the other with Hay: At this Stop, one *Francois Ravaillac* took the opportunity to thrust himself neer the Coach, and setting one foot upon the wheel and the other against a Shop-stall, so advanced himself, that with a knif prepared for the purpose, he murdred him with two or three stabs, before the mischief was perceived. Of this Murther thus discants \* *Pierre Matthieu* the Kings Historiographer and Councillor.

*Il ne plus faut nommer Henrys les Roys de France*  
*La Mort par deux Cousteaux & un Esclat de Lance*  
*A tue trois Henrys: L'un joustant a Cheval,*  
*L'autre en son Cabinet, le tiers en son Carosse;*  
*Cinq Roys du nom de Jacques ont fait croire a l'Escoffe*  
*Qu'il y a dans les noms quelque secret fatal.*

Let's no more name *Henrys*, for Kings of *France*,  
Since *Death* with two *Knives* and one shivered *Lance*

In's

Three *Henry's* kild; one Tilted through the Eye :  
 In's Chamber one, the last in's Coach did dye :  
 The death of \* Five *Scotch James* may advise,  
 That in some Names, some Fatal Secret lyes.

Four more  
 truly.

Who were the Contrivers of this horrid Fact, is not as yet ( that I know of ) fully divulged, though wisemen suspect that there was more in it, than the malicious thoughts of such a Varlot, whose obscurity was such, that the King could not have any way offended him, any way disingaged, or have provoked him to such a mischief, but that the Devil and a false zeal of Religion will instigate a man to any mischief.

'Tis true, the King at this time, had an Army of above Forty Thousand men, ready for some grand design, and he himself within a few days was to go and head them in his Intended Exploit; but whether this great expence of men and money, was only to regain the Beautiful Princess of *Conde*, who with her Husband had privately fled into *Flanders* to avoid the Kings immoderate Love, as Cardinal \* *Bentivoglio* is pleas'd to assert: Or to obtain the Division of Christendom into XV. Dominions, according to the strange Model laid down by the Duke of \* *Sully* and some others from him, I shall not undertake to Determine, seeing others will not by any means allow that the Kings Intentions, Plots, and Designs are yet any way \* known or discovered.

\* Hist. Relat.  
*Fland.* p. 151.  
 &c.  
 \* Mem. Tom.

\* Quo Con-  
 filio Rex bel-  
 lum suscepe-

rit, quem potissimum finem intenderit, quam metam, quosve limites armis proposuerit, ut incertum est et incompertum hactenus, sic inane perscribere et lucem ex fumo et umbra captare. *Joan. de Bussieres Hist. Franc.* vol. 4. pag. 482.

But 'tis certain the *Spaniard* was amazed at these great Preparations of the King, and thought it fitting to strengthen himself in *Flanders*, and the Pope and *Spaniards* did not use to separate Interests; besides *Gregory XV.* had been very earnest to perswade the King from any more Arming, but to little purpose. And it may be here, not unworth the Observation, that whilst the King was raising this great Army, there was a large \* Book secretly kept in *France* by some Considering Priests, in which many did subscribe their fidelity and Obedience to the Pope; and what else I cannot tell, but this we are assured, that the Book was half written through, and a great part of those Oaths, and Signatures, signed and subscribed in blood.

\* Mem. du  
*Sully Tom. 3.*  
 pag. 360. and  
*Hist. de la vie*  
*de Monay du*  
*Plessis* pag.  
 337.

As for *Ravaillac* he had formerly been a *Monk*, then throwing off his Frock, had for some time taught a Petty-school; but it seemeth, Profit, not coming in fast enough by that Trade, he threw himself upon the Law, turning Solicitor or Pettyfogger. He had formerly been a stickler in their *Solemn League and Covenant*, and as appears kept some of its Leven yet in his heart, and so a zealous Disciple to the Pope; and this it seemeth was no small furtherance of him: for what ever the Kings designs were, *Ravaillac* was fully perswaded, that the aim of it was to ruin his Holiness and the *Roman Religion*, boldly alledging in his Examination, this for the cause of the Attempt.——\* *Because* (said he) *making war against the Pope, is the same as to make war against God, seeing the Pope was God, and God was the Pope.*

\* Parceque  
 faisant la  
 guerre contre  
 le Pape, c'est  
 toit la faire

contre Dieu, d'autant que le Pape estoit Dieu & Dieu estoit le Pape.——Procez, *Examen, Confessions &c.* du Francois *Ravaillac*, pag. 39. *Id. Casaubon. Epist. ad Front. Ducum*, pag. 14. *Andre Favyn Hist. de Navar.* pag. 1292.

That

That there were more than one Contriver of this Murther needeth no doubt, seeing the general Bruit which fore-ran it, and the great confidence or rather certainty his Enemies had of it, of both which the Words and Testimony of the present Arch bishop of *Paris* are observable.

*His Enemies were then in a profound silence, which possibly was not caused, only by their Consternation and fear of the Success of his Arms: but out of the Expectation they had to see succeed some great Blow in which lay all their hopes.*

*It must needs be, that there were many Conspiracies against the life of this good King; since from Twenty places, advice was given of it; since by a Printed Paper both in Spain and at Milan a report of his death was published before; since there passed a Currier eight days before he was Assassinated, through the City of Liege, who said that he carried news to the Princes of Germany that he was killed; since at Montargis, there was found a Paper upon the Altar, containing the Prediction of his approaching death, by a determinate blow; since in fine, the Report ran through all France, that he should not out-live that year, and that he should dye a Tragick death in the LVII. year of his Age, and some also said, in a Coach, which made him to dread and tremble when he was in one.*

The Jesuits were accused of having some knowledg of it, and to this purpose was call'd to mind the Sermon of Father Hardy; preached at St. Severins in *Paris* not two Months before the Blow; in which, amongst other things he told his Auditors——*That Kings heaped up Treasures to make themselves fear'd, but yet there needed but a Blow a or Mattock to kill a King:* and 'tis known, that none was more gathering and hoarding up of Moneys in his latter days, to carry on his Armed design, than this King, insomuch that they talk of Mountains of Gold that he had amass'd together.

'Tis also objected, that *Ravaillac* declared, he had inform'd Father d'Aubigny of this intended Murther, and shew'd him the Knife, but that this was told him in Confession, and so not to be reveal'd: the cunning Jesuit, upon Examination, protesting, *that God had given him that Grace or Quality, that as soon as any thing was reveal'd to him in Confession, he presently forgot it.*

But however it be, the reverend *Hardouin de Perefixe* the present Arch-bishop of *Paris*, doth assure us, that the Constancy, hardiness and unconcernedness of the Malefactor at his exquisite Torments in suffering——*Strongly confirm'd the suspicion had that certain Emislaries under the Mask of Religion had instructed and charmed him, with false assurances that he should dye a Martyr, if he kil'd him; whom they made believe was the sworn Enemy of the Church*——The truth is, after the Villain had given the murdring blows, he neither took care to flee, to conceal his Knife, or shift for himself: but stood still by the Coach, as if he desired to be taken notice of, and glorified, and prided himself in such a noble Exploit.

And that there was some Secret more than ordinary discovered in his Examination and Confession; and that those who intigated him to that bloody action were such, that it was not thought fitting (whether for the Honour of Religion, or some other respect) that they should be publickly known, is more than hinted at, by the foresaid Prelate:

For

For of these things, saith he——\* *The Judges themselves who Examined* \* les juges mesme qui l'interrogèrent, n'osèrent en ouvrir la Bouche qui n'en perlerent jamais que des Es-paples. Hist. Hen. le grand. part 3.  
*him, durst not open their mouths, but with a Shrug or Covertly with excusing*  
*putt off.* — And that some grand thing was here husht up, may in part  
 be suppos'd, by the Prince of *Conde* and others, five years after, putting  
 forth a Publick Complaint, amongst other things, that the discovery of  
*Henry the Great's* murther was stopt and not fully prosecuted.

However the Common Censure was apt to think worst of the *Jesuits*,  
 reckning them as the chiefest Assertors and Champions of this King-kill-  
 ling Doctrine; insomuch that *Pierre Coton* himself fell to work, to write  
 an Apology for his Order, which he did by way of a *Declaratory Letter*  
 dedicated and directed to the *Queen-Regent*, where (though not long)  
 the Reader will find more words than material, either not down right,  
 plain and pat to the purpose, or else drawing false and fair shadows, o-  
 ver some black and seditious Authors: and yet these whom he mentions  
 are but a very few.

Amongst the many others, who thought this *King-killing* Doctrine,  
 most agreeable to the *Jesuits*, and at this time began to shew himself, both  
 in the Pulpit and at the Press, was *Jean du Bois Olivier*, Abbot of *Beau-  
 lieu*, born at *Paris*, Preacher to the King, one held a Lover of his Prince  
 and Country, and of an honest, free, downright disposition: The stir-  
 ring of this *du Bois*, did a little vex the Fathers, his Credit and Repute  
 having the heavier hand upon them, and therefore nothing could satis-  
 fie them but removal, upon some honourable pretence, and no place so  
 fitting as to pack him for *Italy*. Of which take a piece of a Letter to Arch-  
 bishop Abbot, as I transcribed it from the Original.

May it please your Grace,

*Since the writing of my last to your Grace, &c. we have freshly receiv'd the  
 news from Rome, that the Abbot du Bois, a man very popular here in Paris,  
 a Town-born Child, and famous also for his freedom both of speech and writ-  
 ting against the Exorbitancy of the Popes Authority, and the practises of the  
 Jesuits, and in particular against Pere Coton, to whose Lettre Declaratoire  
 publish'd presently after the Kings death, to acquit his Order of the Imputa-  
 tion of the Kings death) he set forth an Answer in print dedicated Aux Bons  
 Francois being also cited by the Anti-coton as a witness \* Que sentence a*  
*este donnee contre lay a Avignon pour avoir engrosse une Nonnain:*  
*That this Abbot Isay, going lately to Rome, is there clapt up in the Inqui-*  
*sition, which hath occasion'd the French here to speak according to their man-*  
*ner very frankly in Commiseration of him, who was always held a good Pa-*  
*triot. And it is thought dishonourable to the state, in regard that he is the*  
*Queens Chaplain, and was imploy'd by her, as some say, but to Florence,*  
*as others to Rome, to thank the Pope for the Cardinals Hat which he lately*  
*bestowed upon the Queens Almoner the Bishop of Beziers: but however, it*  
*is agreed by all, that he carryed Letters from hence, wherewith it is said, he*  
*was purposely gratified to bring him within the compass of the snare, wherein*  
*he is caught, &c.*

From Paris the  
 5th. of Decem-  
 ber, 1611.

Your Graces most humbly  
 to be Commanded

J. WOODFORD.

N nnn

Having



\* sed cum sub  
idem tempus,  
Abbas Silvius  
ob paricidia-  
lem illam  
doctrinam ef-  
fet in Jesuitas  
investus voce et scripto, pauld post Rome necatus est in carcere Peter Molin. de Monarchia Tem-  
porali Pont. Rom. cap. 2. pag. 22.

Having thus followed him to Prison, it is easie to conclude that he must end his days there, it being not agreeable to their custom and Policy, to set such at Liberty that can tell Tales, and that they might be no more fear'd or troubled with him, they forthwith \* murder him in Prison at Rome, his main fault being (for any that I know) *Loyalty*, which thus occasion'd his misfortune and death, to the shame of his Persecutors.

But that Book which then made the greatest noise was call'd *Anti-Coton*, which was smart, and in the main spoke to the purpose, though some mistakes might happen in it through too much haste; however it put the whole Order of *Jesuits* into a flame and hurry, every one endeavouring to quell this unknown enemy: But certain it is, it had been better for their Reputation, if Father *Coton* had not given occasion to such a Reply by his Letter, which did them more hurt than good.

\* Greg. de Va-  
liant. Tom. 3.  
disp. 5. 9. 8.  
p. 3.  
\* Non expe-  
ctata senten-  
tia vel man-  
dato judicis  
cujuscunque.

For those *Romanists* who vapour with the Council of *Constance*, and brag that they maintain nothing contrary to it, may (like the shearing of hogs) make a great noise, but get little Wool or Reputation; for as on one hand, they may declare a Council to be above a Pope, for which his Holiness will give them little thanks, so on the other, they cannot expect any Credit or Approbation from Temporal Princes, seeing one may be as great a Traytor as *Clement* or *Chastel* and yet not contradict the cry'd up Canon of this Council, The sum of all this goodly Rule being only thus much. — No Tyrant (that is a \* lawful King ruling Tyrannically) ought legally to be slain by anyone of his Subjects or Vassals by any clancular means, being sworn to him, \* without sentence or Command of some some judg or his Superiors.

And this is all the great business, that so many of them have pleaded their Loyalty with. The main of all being that they stick close to the Council of *Constance*, and with it will declare, That it is lawful for a private man to kill a wicked King, without command from his betters, which hath so little Pith or Sence as to the main business *True Allegiance*, that possibly most King-judgers or killers might think they never broke such a Canon, and so not condemned by such a Council.

\* Memoires  
Tom. 3. ch. 29  
pag. 290 &c.  
\* Sennert. 1.  
6. part 9. c. 8.

As for Father *Coton* a French, man he was of a subtil Head-piece, cryed up by his Order, both for his Sanctity and Learning; but the command of his Tongue, Courtship, and Carriage were his best Friends, by which he got to be the Kings *Confessor*, and thus settled in his Favour, he knew well enough how to keep himself there; yet others think his writings more to consist of words than matter, and that his real Sanctity (though some will appropriate as it were Miracles to him) was no better than his Neighbours. *Anti-Coton* accuseth him of betraying the Kings secrets, and the Duke of \* *Sully* proved to the King that in that he was guilty.

\* lib. 132.  
\* Tom. 3. p.  
56, 57.

Pope \* *Nicolas V.* gave leave to a Friend of his so far to consult the Devil, that one witch might kill another, thereby that his acquaintance might obtain his former health: and it may be upon this Example, *Coton* made use of the Devil or *Demoniack*, to enquire concerning the life of the King and several other affairs; which may be seen at large in \* *Thuanus* and \* *Sulley*. And it was a close and biting *Anagram* which was made upon this Father; and it may be reflecting upon the Order.

## PIERRE COTON

Anagr.

## PERCE TON ROI.

In short, none was more intimate with the King than he, none had more power over him than he, none could make him do or undo sooner than he, whether through real love or policy I know not ; insomuch that some Deputies of *Rochel* once presenting a Petition to the King, his Majesty was pleas'd to return them this Answer——*That he could not hear them then, for his ears were stop't with Cotton*——Hence it grew into a Common jest in *France* upon any repulse from the King or denial of access——\* *The Kings ears are stop't with Cotton*. Upon which, and the Kings familiarity with him, using much his Company, and to take him into his Coach, as also alluding to the suspicion of some that this Father kept Correspondency with *Spain*, revealing thither the Kings Secrets; this following *Pasquin* flew about *Paris*.

\* i. e. Stab your King.

*Le Roy ne scauroit faire un pas,  
Que Le Pere Cotton l'accompagne;  
Mais le bon Prince ne scait pas,  
Que le \* fin Cotton vient d'Espagne.*

\* signifieth cunning, crafty, as well as fine.

The King cannot go any where  
But Father *Cotton* sticks to his ear ;  
Yet the good King doth not attain,  
That the pure *Cotton*, comes from *Spain*.

As concerning the Kings murder; some of the *Leaguers*, or his Enemies thus long before it hapned with'd or foretold it.

*Dum sequeris solium Regis fraudesque Navarre,  
Te sequitur Regis sors violenta tui.*

Since thou wilt grasp *Valois* his Crimes and Lands,  
Thou shalt be slain, like him, by bloody Hands.

The *Jesuits* (as formerly hinited) upon the attempt of *Chastel* had been banished the Kingdom of *France*, nor might they probably have any real hopes of a Return, seeing the Lawyers, the Universities, especially the *Sorbonne*, the Common-people, most of the Nobility, the Religious of other Orders and their Parliament had declared positively against them: Nor will some think, that the King himself had really any goodwill or affection for them, though he was willing of a Reconciliation with them, the better to secure himself, as was supposed from his Answer to his great Favorite *de Sully*, who perswading him from their re-admission (being as a foresaid banish'd) was thus answered by the King——*Give me then security for my life*.

In short, be the reason what it will, the King would by his power, maugre all Opposition, have them restored, and had ; and not only made the Arrest or Decree of Parliament against them, be recall'd, but to ingratiate himself the more, had the Marble Pillar or Pyramide (formerly

N nnn 2

mentio-

mentioned upon his wound by *Chastel*) pull'd down, permitted them (to the regret of the University of *Paris*) to teach again, gave them places of honour about him; and that nothing might be wanting on his part to oblige them, he built them a stately Colledg at *la Fleſche* in *Anjou*, in which Town some supposed he was first conceived, and lastly to the said Colledg he bequeath'd his heart; which upon his Murther the *Jesuits* receive and carryed in great Pomp and State to the said Colledg (his body was buryed at *St. Denys*). At the carrying away of his Heart, 'tis said that one (some think the chief President *de Harlay*) cunningly ask'd some of the Fathers—*Whether the Kings Tooth which Chastel ſtruck out were not likewise inclos'd in the Box with the Heart and carryed too?* However upon the *Jesuits* having the Kings Heart, this following biting *Pasquin* was made, and with others flew about the world.

*En ſin tel quel vous le tenez  
Le Cœur du Roy, dont vous avez  
Tant de fois la mort procuree;  
Lors que leſs Chiens ont attrappe,  
Le Cerf qu' ils ont tant galoppe,  
Du Cœur on leur fait la Curee.*

which another made more short, thus:

*Ce n'eſt, qu'a vous (Troupee Sacree)  
Qu' on doit bailler le Cœur des Roys  
Quand les grands Cerfs ſont aux abbays  
On en doit aux Chiens la Curee.*

'Tis You alone (you ſacred Crue)  
To whom the Hearts of Kings are due;  
For when Great Harts are hunted hard,  
Their Entrails are the Hounds reward.

\* de Rege et  
Regis inſtitu-  
tione.

\* 1614.  
\* Defenſio fi-  
dei Catholi-  
cæ.  
\* 1626.

\* 16. March.

\* 19. March.  
1626.

Upon this murther, the Parliament Orders, a \* Book written by *Mariana* the *ſpaniſh* *Jesuit* to be burnt by the Hang-man, as maintaining the Lawfulness of King-killing, and Father *Cotton* was desired to Answer that Book; but he ſlipt his Neck out of the Coller, as not willing to write plain and poſitively againſt *Mariana*. After this the Parliament alſo \* condemned \* *Franciſco Suarez's* Book as containing many Seditious and Treasonable Principles; and after this, another *Jesuit*, *Antonius Santarelus* publishing the ſame Tenents, his Book was alſo \* burned at *Paris*. Theſe things ſo nettled the Fathers of that Society, that they had no way to clear themſelves but to have ſome of their Chieftains \* ſubſcribe againſt thoſe Errors; here Father *Cotton* was again commanded to put pen to Paper, and to confute *Santarel*, this put him to ſuch a push, for he muſt either offend the Pope and the General of their Society, or the Parliament of *Paris*. If he answered them, he oppoſed the firſt two, if he did not; he offended the latter, and would be thought to eſpouſe thoſe Tenents; which might the more expoſe his Order in *France*, and make himſelf guilty of Treason; Theſe Conſiderations did ſo perplex him, that (though in perfect health before) he dyed within \* Three days.

To other *Jesuits* were alſo commanded to write againſt ſuch Tenents, but we hear nothing of their attempt in this caſe. And how unwilling

ling they were positively to give their Judgments, may somewhat appear by this following Story.

Whilst the Parliament of *Paris* was Censuring *Sanctarellus* his \* Book, being printed at *Rome* by the Approbation of *Mutius Vitellescus*, General of their Order, as also the Master of the Sacred Palace, and others: &c. The Parliament \* sent for Father *Cotton* the Provincial of the *Jesuits*, \* 13. March. the Rector of *Clermont*, and others the Chieftains of their Order; to whom they proposed these following Questions, which was thus answered (in the name of all the rest of their Society) by Father *Cotton*.

Parl. Is this pernicious Book of *Sanctarellus* call'd *Tractatus de Hæresi, Schismate, &c.* approved of by you?

Coton. No, and we shall shortly publicly oppose it.

Parl. Why do you contradict that Doctrine, which the General of your Order at *Rome* approveth of?

Coton. We confess that our Society believeth so at *Rome*, but why should the fault of the Italians be imputed to us, seeing we in *France* are of an other persuasion.

Parl. Hath not the King of *France* absolute power over all his Subjects?

Coton. He hath so, as to Temporals.

Parl. Do you believe that the Pope, hath so much authority over Kings, that by his Excommunication, he can Interdict them, absolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, depose them, and dispose of Kingdoms?

Coton. Ey, Ey, what to Excommunicate the most Christian King? who can think that the first-born of the Church can be an enemy to his Mother, which he always protected and defended? or that he is to be Excommunicated, who hath all along endeavoured the Extirpation of Heresie?

Parl. It seems then you do not believe the same with your General at *Rome*.

Coton. Our General living at *Rome*, it is not to be supposed that he is to contradict that which is believed at *Rome*.

Parl. Well, let him believe so, but what do you believe?

Coton. Truly, the quite contrary.

Parl. But if you were at *Rome*, what would you believe then?

Coton. We would change our minds with the Country, and would believe as they did at *Rome*.

Parl. Pray Gentlemen, to the purpose, without any Equivocations, idle or frivolous put offs, what doth the body of your Society think of the Popes power over Kings?

Upon this *Cotton* is at stand, desireth Liberty to consult with the Society.

## CHAP. III.

Tir-Oen raises a Rebellion in Ireland, incouraged by a *Phanix* plume sent him by the Pope. The Irish send a slanderous Letter to the Pope against *Queen Elizabeth*, Pope Clement the VIIIth. thanks the Irish for their Rebellion. Mountjoy Lord Deputy proclaims Tyrone Traytor. Clement the VIIIth. sends another Letter to Tyrone. The Irish write to the King of Spain. Don Juan de Aquila with several Spanish forces land in Ireland; but to their own ruin. Tyrone submits and delivers himself up to the Lord Deputy. The Divines of Salamanca and Valla-dolid declare in behalf of the Irish.

**I**N the former Century, having seen part of the Rebellions of the Irish and Tir-Oen, we shall in haste run over the rest, not insisting too much upon their Warrs and Fights, but leave them to other Historians.

Upon the departure of the Earl of Essex, Tir-Oen renews his Rebellion, being incouraged to it, both from Spain and Pope; the first sending as his Agent *Don Martin de la Certa*, with XXII. Thousand Crowns, to carry on the Treasonable cause; the latter, viz. the Bishop of Rome sending him his blessing by *Matheo de Oviedo* [ by some call'd Arch-Bishop of Dublin ] and the better to incourage the Arch-Traytor, his Holiness also sent him (as Pope Urban III. sent Henry II. a Crown made of Peacocks Feathers ) a Fools-bable, viz. a \* *Phanix* Plume or Feather. But I would gladly know of the Pope how he came by such a Toy. For if there be no such Bird in the world as a *Phanix* ( as the learned Dr. \* *Brown* and others rationally assert ) his Infallible Holiness must get this *Romantick* Rarity, from the same Store-house, that one got a \* Feather out of the Arch-angels Wing, another, some of the Flame of *Moses* his Bush, and a third the Triumphant Banner wherewith Christ descended down into Hell.

*Tyrone* with these encouragements and hopes of farther relief from Spain, grows bold and numerous, and having got many of the great ones to joyn with him, sends also to the Lord Barry to perswade him to the same Treasonable actions. His Letter runs thus.

My Lord Barry,

**Y**Our impiety to God, Cruelty to your Soul and Body, Tyranny and Ingratitude both to your Followers and Country are inexcusable and intolerable. You separated your self from the Unity of Christs mystical body, the Catholick Church. You know the sword of Extirpation hangeth over your head, as well as ours; if things fall out otherwise then well: You are the Cause why all the Nobility of the South (from the East part to the West, you being linked into each one of them, either in Affinity or Consanguinity) are not linked together to shake off the Cruel Yoak of Herefse and Tyranny, with which our Souls and Bodies are oppressd.

All those aforesaid depending of your resolution, and relying to your judgment in this Common Cause of our Religion and Country, you might forsooth with their help (and the rest that are combined in this holy Action) not only defend your self from the Incurfion and Invasion of the English, but

also

also ( by Gods Assistance ) who miraculously and above all expectation gave good success to the cause principally undertaken for his Glory, exaltation of Religion, next for the restoration of the ruins and preservation of the Commonwealth ) expell them and deliver them and us from most miserable and cruel Exaction and Subjection, enjoy your Religion, safety of Wife and Children, Life, Lands and Goods, which all are in hazard through your folly, and want of due Consideration.

Enter I beseech you into the Closet of your Conscience, and like a wiseman weigh seriously the end of your actions, and take advice of those, that can instruct you and inform you better, than your own private judgment can head you unto. Consider and read with attention and settled mind, this Discourse I send you, that it may please God to set open your eyes and grant you a better mind.

From the Camp this instant Tuesday the sixt of March according to the New Computation.

I pray you send me the Papers I send you, as soon as your Honour shall read the same.

O Neale.

The Lord Barry answered him Nobly and Loyally, upon which they fell upon his Lands and Vassals, doing what mischief they were capable of acting. And the better to credit their wicked cause, the chief of them wrote a Letter to Pope Clement VIII. slandering the Queen and her Government, and so desired the Pope to send out a Bull or Excommunication and deprivation against her, as Pius V. and Gregory XIII. had done before. The Paper it self runs thus.

*Sanctissime Pater,*

CUM superioribus annis Dei summi nutu et voluntate excitati ad recuperandum hoc Regnum ab *Anglorum* gravissimo jugo, qui et Religionem et Regionem vi et Tyrannide multis seculis occupavere, id nunc tandem post multa pericula extant lata, pro maiore parte excussimus, sanctitati Vestræ exponimus, quod prima nobis et præcipua fuit cura perpetuoque erit, statum Ecclesiæ, hic fere extinctum, in integrum restituere et collapsum redintegrare; ita apud nos judicantes nostrarum partium esse, vitam ipsam omnemque substantiam nostram in eo augendo impendere, id quod libentiori animo præstare conamur (ut non dicamus cogimur) quia nisi tempestive communi malo in utroque statu occurrerimus, nobiscum deterius longe actum fuisset quam *Turcæ* solent agere, cum sibi subditis *Christianis* adeo ut vel fuga esset consolend. vel hic mors obeunda.

Rebus itaque in angustias has redactis, ad quem maiore spe jureque accedere cujusque opem implorare possumus ac debemus, quam ad Te Pater Spirituum in Terris, ut filiis spiritualibus misere adhuc afflictis, jugoque longe graviore & crudeliore quam *Pharaonico* attritis adsis. Quod nos speramus a pietate tua consecuturos exemplo omnium afflictorum, qui ad Sedem tuam in talibus ærumnis accedentes opem atque desideratiorem exitum fuerunt consecuti.

Ad

At Te igitur Communem Omnium afflictorum, præsertim fidei causa laborantium pium & benevolum Patrem, tanquam ad unicum nostrum Refugium & tutissimum Asylum confugimus, fuisque lachrimis humiliter petimus, ut nostros gemitus audiat, vota suscipiat, ac postularum concedat, ut eorum ora obstruantur franganturque vires qui odeunt *Sion*, ac impediunt diruta *Jernsalem* denuo reædificari Mania, ubi si nobis credere dignetur *tua Sanctitas*, nunquam Antecessores nostri ex tempore quo Regnum hoc in manus *Anglorum* devenerat, adjutores fuerant quam nos sumus ad fidem a *nostro Apostolo* Sancto *Patricio*, traditam suscipiendam ad eamque (proh dolor) in his partibus fere extinctam hætenus & pene sepultam excussio jam pro parte *Anglorum* jugo exsuscitandam, pro movendam, augendam & amplificandam; quia nihil aliud in his votis habemus, quam videre Dei gloriam et fidei Orthodoxæ propugnationem. Annuere itaque dignetur *vestra Sanctitas* nostris Petitionibus, qui pretis honoribus & commodis quibuscunque diem ulteriorem vivere non desideramus, quam videre Dei Ecclesiam toto Orbe florentem.

Petimus autem imprimis, ut ad majora fide incrementa illis sedibus vacantibus in hoc Regno, ii qui vita, moribus & literatura præficiantur, quosque nobiscum Reverendissimus *Corcagensts* ac *Cloanensts* Episcopus nominavit ac commendavit tanquam Idonei Pastores ac Dei gregem verbo & exemplo instruendum, ne indignis qui sine Ordine & fortasse summa cum Authoritate & Ambitione sese animarum curæ, nisi ingererent, nisi occurreretur, aditus pateat. Quod ut petamus movemur propter summam animarum jacturam, quam ob Pastorum paucitatem in utraque *Monionie* Provincia qui undecem Episcopatus sub Metropoli *Cassilenss* complectitur: excipimus enim Reverend. *Corcagen.* & *Cloaneum* qui senio & labore jam pene est confectus, nostri potiuntur: & hoc eo confidentius petimus, qui quod electi, consecrati & ad nos dimissi fuerunt a vestra Sacro sancta sede ad vacuas hiis in partibus sedes occupandas a nobis pro viribus iisdem Dei gratia defendantur, ut gregibus sibi commissis tuto invigilare queant.

Insuper desideramus ut quemadmodum felicitis Recordationis *Pius Quintus* Pont. Max. contra Reginam *Angliæ* ejusque fautores *Bullam* Excommunicationis ediderat; Nec non *Gregorius XIII.* eandem continuaverat, ac vim habere in bello *Giraldinarum* indicavit: similem quoque sententiam ad hoc bellum promovendum & ad felicem exitum deducendum, *Sanctitas vestra* emittere dignetur, ac generatim *Sanctitati vestre* affectu quo possumus maximo *Regnum hoc vestrum a te solo post Deum dependens* nosque humiles tuos subditos una cum Procuratoribus præsentium latoribus quos pro nobis & nostro nomine deputamus, quique fuse & veraciter omnia quæ in hoc bello gessimus adjuti eorum opera & doctrina viva voce aperient plenius, Deprecantes ut sancta vestra indubiam illis fidem dignetur adhibere eidem committimus & commendamus.

Datum in Castris nostris Catholicis XXX<sup>o</sup> Martis M. DC.

Sanctitatis vestre Obedientissimi  
filii & fidelissimi subditi,

- <sup>a</sup> Tir-Oen
- <sup>b</sup> Ja. Fite-Thomas
- <sup>c</sup> Florence Mac Cartie.
- <sup>d</sup> Dermond Mac Owen Cartie.

- <sup>a</sup> O Neale
- <sup>b</sup> James Desmond.
- <sup>c</sup> Mac Cartie More.
- <sup>d</sup> Dermond Mac Cartie, alias Mac Donogh

Tyrone

*Tyrone* daily growing more powerful in *Ireland*; Queen *Elizabeth*, to stop his career, sends over Sir *Charles Blunt*, Lord *Montjoy*, as Lord Deputy of that Kingdom: and the Presidency of *Munster* being void by the unfortunate death of Sir *Thomas Morris*, who was slain by the Rebels; She also at the same time sent over Sir *George Carew*, well acquainted with the Countrey, to be Lord President of the Province of *Munster*.

Of this Sir *George Carew* by the way: He was Son to *George Carew*, Doctor in Divinity, Archdeacon of *Totness* in *Devonshire*, afterwards Dean of *Windsor*, &c. Sir *George* was by Queen *Elizabeth* made Lord President of *Munster*; by King *James*, Baron of *Clopton*; and by King *Charles I.* Earl of *Totness*, was Master of the Ordinance, and Privy-Councillor to both the said Kings. He was a faithful Subject, a valiant and prudent Commander, an honest Councillor, a Gentile Scholar, a lover of Antiquities, and a Patron to Learning. Besides his Translations out of *French*, he wrote a large History of his Three years Transactions in *Munster*; in which other accidents of *Ireland* are interwoven; 'tis Printed under the Title of *Pacata Hibernia*: In which, either Mr. *Stafford* the Publisher, or the Printer, hath committed several gross oversights both in the *Latin* and *English* Parts. Besides these, he hath in four large Volumes collected several Chronologies, Charters, Letters, Deeds, Monuments, and other Materials belonging to *Ireland*. To which Manuscript Collections having been much beholden in my *Irish* Narratives, I thought it fit in these few lines gratefully to give the World notice of it; wishing that others of the Nobility would (as they ought to do) follow his generous and industrious Example, thereby to advance the honour of their Countrey and Families; and not live like idle Heirs of their Ancestors Titles; That the credit of Nobility may once again advance, and the Honours and Titles might not be ashamed of the Persons that vainly bear them. And thus much by the By, of the gallant and honourable Earl of *Totness*, who dyed in the City of *Westminster*, without Issue, in the year MDC XXIX, the XXVII. of *March*.

In the mean time the Rebellion goeth on in *Ireland*; and the better to encourage their Sin and Treason, the Pope sends a Letter to the *Irish*, commending them for their taking up Arms, or acting such villanous Exploits: And to all that do any way assist the said *Tir-Oen*, he gives a full pardon and remission of all their sins, meriting, forsooth, as much as if they had fought against the *Turk*, or endeavoured the recovery of the *Holy-Land*. The Letter it self, being but short, take as followeth:

### *Clemens P P. VIII.*

**U**Niversis & singulis Venerabilibus fratribus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, & Prælatibus; nec non Dilectis filiis, Principibus, Comitibus, Baronibus ac populis Regni *Hiberniæ*, Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Cum jam diu, sicut accepimus, vos *Romanorum* Pont. Prædecessorum nostrorum, ac nostris & Apostolicæ sedis cohortationibus adducti, ad vestram libertatem recuperandam, eamq; adversus Hæreticos tuendam & conservandam, bonæ memoriæ *Jacobo Giraldino* (primum qui durum servitutis jugum vobis ab *Anglis* Sanctæ *Romanæ* Ecclesiæ desertoribus im-

O o o o

positum,



positum, summo animi ardore depellere dum vixit pro viribus procuravit); Deinde *Johanni Giralдино* ejusdem *Jacobi* Consobrino; E novissime dilecto filio nobili viro *Hugoni* Principi *Ouel* dicto Comiti *Tironensi*, Baroni *Dungenaniae* & Capiteo Generali Exercitus Catholici in *Hibernia* conjunctis animis & viribus præsto fueritis, ac opem & auxilium præstiteritis, ipsiq; Duces & eorum milites, manu Domini Exercituum illis assistente, progressu temporis plurima egregia facinora contra hostes viriliter pugnando præstiterint, & in posterum præstare parati sunt.

Nos, ut Vos, ac Dux, & Milites prædicti alacrius in expeditionem hanc contra dictos Hæreticos opem impostero etiam præstare studeatis, spiritualibus gratiis & favoribus vos prosequi volentes, eorundem Prædecessorum nostrorum exemplo adducti, ac de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac beatorum *Petri* & *Pauli* Apostolorum ejus autoritate confisi, vobis omnibus & singulis qui prædictum *Hugonem* Ducem ejusq; Exercitum Catholicæ fidei assertores & propugnatores sequimini, ac illis vos adjunxeritis, aut Consilio, Favore, Commeatibus, Armis, aliisq; bellicis rebus seu quacunq; ratione eis in hac Expeditione operam dederitis, ipsiq; *Hugoni* Duci ejusq; exercitus militibus universis & singulis, si vere pœnitentes & Confessi, ac etiam si fieri poterit, sacra Communione refecti fueritis plenariam omnium Peccatorum suorum veniam & remissionem, ac eandem quæ proficiscentibus ad bellum contra *Turcas* & ad recuperationem *Terræ Sanctæ*, per *Romanos* Pont. concedi solita est, misericorditer in Domino concedimus; non obstantibus, si opus sit, nostris Decretis de non concedendis Indulgentiis ad instar ac in susceptionis *Indulgentiarum* occasione anni *Jubilæi* aliisq; Constitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apostolicis ceterisq; contrariis quibuscunque.

Verum quia difficile foret præsentibus nostras ad omnium quorum interest notitiam pervenire; volumus, ut earum exemplis etiam Impressis manu alicujus *Notarii Publici* subscriptis ac sigillo personæ in dignitate Ecclesiastica Constitutæ munitis, eadem fides ubiq; habeatur quæ eisdem præsentibus haberetur.

*Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris die XVIII<sup>o</sup> Aprilis MDC. Pontificatus nostri, Anno IX.*

M. Vestrius Barbianus.

The Rebels thus fortified with the Pope's Blessing, never doubted but with the same of this Benediction so to encrease their numbers, as to be able to carry all before them, and utterly free themselves from their obedience. But herein they found themselves deceived. For *Montjoy* the Lord Deputy, what with the Soldiers he found in *Ireland*, and the new Recruits from *England*, so followed the Rebels in *Ulster*, and other places, that some of them were forced to submit, and *Tyrone* was forced to secure himself in Bogs, and such like Fastnesses. And in the Southern parts of the Kingdom in *Munster*, Sir *George Carew* the Lord President, what by his policy cherishing (by counterfeited Letters) distrust amongst the Rebels, so making divisions amongst themselves; and what by his Industry and Valour, taking most of their strong Holds from them, several of them were forced to lurk in corners for their security, and others content to submit themselves to the Queen's Mercy and Protection.

But most of these submissions were but counterfeit and feigned, yielding

ing to time and necessity, for which they presently sent to *Rome*, craving pardon for this their outward submission. Amongst the chief of these Rebellious Dissemblers, was \* *Florence Mac Cartie*, one of the greatest note amongst them, who under-hand fomented and encouraged all Treasonable practises, but openly seem'd a fair complier to the Queen and her Government; all which appears plainly by his Letters and Correspondencies held with both parties.

\* *Tyrone* too upon him the Impudency and Authority to create him with the Ceremonies of the Ancient Irish, *Mac Cartie Mori*.

The Lord Deputy seeing the wickedness of *Tyrone*, his resolution not to submit to the Queen, but rather to throw himself into the protection of her mortal Enemy the *Spaniard*, from whom he expected great aid; as an Earnest of which, one *Spanish* Ship had newly come with Arms, Munition, and Moneys, to carry on the Rebellion: The Lord Deputy, I say, upon these considerations, with advice of the Council, thought fit thus to proclaim the said *Tyrone* Traytor.

## By the Lord Deputy and Council.

*Mountjoy.*

**W** Hereas Hugh Neale, of the simple and ignorant called O Neale, was from her Majesties free and gracious Disposition, not only innobled to the Title and Dignity of Earl of *Tyrone*, but also by like Grace bountifully enriched with divers large and great Authorities and Possessions, without any colour or title thereunto which by him could be made; and at no time so much as once touched for his apparent and known disloyal and undutiful misdemeanours, in hope that his amendment might have satisfied his punishment, until above five years past: He the said Hugh forgetting not only his duty towards God, her Majesty, and Countrey, but also so many favours and great graces, did not only in person enter into most detestable and unnatural Rebellions against her Crown and Dignity, and endeavoured and in part performed the drawing into this Realm foreign Forces of her Majesties professed and known Enemies; with alluring, provoking, and violently urging her Majesties ancient and dutiful Subjects to partake with him in his Confederacies and Rebellions: but also most falsely now of late suggesting (to cover his canker'd and long festered Treasonable disposition) that he intended a defence for them against the severity of her Majesties Laws, made against their long enjoyed Religion, Restitution of ancient Liberties by right due unto him and them, and a purpose to prevent an utter extirpation and rooting out of them and their posterities from their Countreys, Liberties, and ancient possessions, matters by himself meerly counterfeited and invented, himself well known to be irreligious, of barbarous life, a cruel oppressor of his Countrey people, and of worse affection than may be recited.

Whereas by long experience of her Majesties mild and merciful Government, it hath appeared that such Courses never so much as by probable conjecture did or could enter into her Majesties Princely Heart, much less to have been by her performed. But his only true and known purpose being to draw their dependency, so as by him they might be oppress'd with bearing Burroughes, yeelding of intollerable payments, executions and oppressions (under which they have long groaned and grieved) and not return to her Majesties merciful Government, but to continue and contain them under his Tyranny for ever.

O o o o 2

All

*All which his intentions and actions well and long known unto her Majesty, and yet by her tolerated; it pleased her Princely Heart out of her accustomed mercies, to the end the wiser might not be excused by want of remembrance, nor the simpler to be led away by lack of knowledge, openly to proclaim the said Hugh Traynor unto her Majesty, her Country and Government. And yet nevertheless, to make her exceeding Mercies more manifest, was pleased in divers and sundry places, to the end to reclaim him and his Adherents (so by his before-recited means deceived) to their ancient Subjection, to offer unto him and them her Majesties free pardon for their lives, lands, liberties, and possessions: which by him was as oftentimes obstinately refused, as graciously offered.*

*And now at last the said Hugh foreseeing he may no longer withstand her Majesties forces, and failing of his long hoped forreign assistance, now intendeth to leave this poor deceived people to her Majesties condign Justice by them deserved, or to her accustomed Mercy, which she never forgetteth, and so to retire himself as a Bush Kearne to Wolvisb Dens and Desert Fastness, some small time to escape his deserved Judgment.*

*Which to prevent, and to free her Subjects of their former bondage and burthens; I the now L. Deputy, with consent of her Majesties Council here present, for and in her Name and behalf, do promise to any person or persons that shall deliver the Body of the said Hugh in life, unto the said L. Deputy, 4000 Marks; and to such person or persons as shall bring in his Head for sufficient proof that he or they have procured and performed his death, the sum of 2000 Marks, together also with her Majesties most gracious and free pardon for his and their Lives, Lands, Liberties, Goods, and Possessions; the promise to be fully satisfied and performed in manner and form as abovesaid.*

*In witness whereof, I the L. Deputy, and Council aforesaid, have subscribed our Names.*

Given at Her Majesties Castle of Dublin,  
the xxth of November, 1600.

Adam Dublin, C.

\* George Cary.

George Bourchier.

Thomas Midenfis.

Robert Gardiner.

Jeffr. Tenton.

Richard Wingfield.

Nich. Walsh.

\*This was the  
Treasurer, &  
not Sir Geo.  
Carrw.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

Will. Usher.

This

This Proclamation was but fitting, considering the rebellious heart of *Tyrone*, who took all manner of courses to withdraw Subjects from their obedience; and in this he was not wanting in a counterfeit Religion, pretending great zeal for the *Roman-Catholick* Cause, under the colour of which he solemnly took a Pilgrimage, to visit a piece of the Cross, which they say was kept in the Monastery of *St. Cross*, or *Holy Cross*, in the County of *Tipperary*. But his chief design was to inveigle the simple people to his party, by this his religious action; nor did he quite lose his expectation.

And now the Pope *Clement VIII.* for a farther encouragement to their Villanies, sends a particular Letter to *Tyrone*, full of many fair words and commendations, but void of all honesty and religion, perswading him still to continue in his Rebellion. The Letter it self was this:

*Dilecto filio, Nobili viro, Ugoni Principi Nælio, Exercitus Catholici  
in Hibernia Duci & Capitano Generali.*

**D**ilecte fili Nobilis vir, Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Cognovimus ex literis Nobilitatis tuæ & ex iis quæ dilectus filius *Petrus Lombardus* Civis vester, Præpositus *Cameracensis*, nobis coram exposuit *sacrum fædus* quod tu & quam plures Principes et Proceres, et Nobiles Primarii Regni istius, pro Dei gloria, Patriæ salute et Catholice Religionis Defensione in istis, Dei benignitate, charitatis glutino colligatum conservari et augeri, quodq; ejusdem Domini Exercituum ope et virtute prospere a vobis pluries pugnatum est adversus *Anglos*, Ecclesiæ et fidei Desertores magnam ex his voluptatem in Domino cepimus, ipsiq; Patri misericordiarum Deo gratias egimus, qui adhuc in Regno isto reliquit sibi multa millia Virorum qui non curvaverint genua sua ante *Baal*, hoc est Impias Hæreses, et prophanas novitates non sunt sequenti, imo eas detestati fortiter pugnant, pro hæreditate Majorum suorum, pro fidei salute integritate et unitate cum Ecclesia retinenda quæ una est Catholica et Apostolica *extra quam non est salus*.

Laudamus egregiam pietatem et fortitudinem tuam Fili et Principum et Cæterorum omnium qui tecum juncti ac fœderati nulla pro Dei gloria pericula recusant, seque Majoribus suis qui bellicæ virtutis et Catholice Religionis studio ac laude imprimis floruerunt dignos Nepotes et justos successores ostendunt et palam profitentur. Conservate filii hanc mentem, conserve Unionem et Consensionem vestram, et Deus Omnipotens, Deus Pacis et Concordiæ erit vobiscum et pugnabit pro vobis, et quem admodum fecit prosternet inimicos suos ante faciem nostram.

Nos autem qui Nobilitatem tuam et vos omnes avitæ fidei et gloriæ Imitatores paternæ, amamus et gerimus in Visceribus *Jesu Christi*, non cessamus Deum nostrum Orare pro vestra felicitate et salute, vestriq; solliciti sumus et erimus semper quantum cum Deo poterimus, atq; ubi opus fuerit scribemus efficaciter ad Regis et Principes Catholicos filios nostros ut vobis et causæ vestræ omni ope suffragentur. Cogitamus etiam propediem mittere ad vos peculiarem *Nuntium* nostrum, et hujus sanctæ Sedis (in qua Deo Authore meritis licet imparibus præsidemus) virum pi-um, prudentem zelo Dei præditum et nobis probatum, qui nostri erga vos amoris testis sit vobisq; omnibus in rebus ubi usus venerit adjumento sit ad Salutarem et Necessariam Unionem vestram conservandam, ac  
Catho-

Catholicam fidem propagandam, ac omnia denique pro sui muneris Officio, officienda, quibus Dei honor et cultus in Regno isto augeatur.

Interea placuit has nostras Literas ad vos præmittere testes amoris nostri, in vos & Regnum istud, et ut vos omnes tanquam filios nostros in Christo dilectos paterno affectu consolaremur, ipsum vero *Petrum Lombardum* quem Nobilitas sua Oratorem et Negotiorum gestorem constituit apud nos, et jam libenter audivimus, & deinceps audiemus. Tibi vero et cæteris qui tibi unanimes pro fidei Catholicæ propugnatione adharerent, nostram et Apostolicam benedictionem benigne impartimur, Deumq; precamur ut Angelos emittat in circuitu vestro, et pios conatus vestros sua cœlesti gratia dirigat, vosq; dextra suæ potentiz perpetuo tueatur.

*Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris die xx. Januarij, Anno Pontificatus nostri ix. 1601.*

Silvius Antonianus Cardinalis.

Besides this, *Mateo de Oviedo*, who had the confidence upon the Popes account, to call himself Arch-bishop of *Dublin*; being now in *Ireland* to carry on the Rebellion, writ to *James Fitz Thomas*, who call'd himself Earl of *Desmond*, this following encouraging Letter.

My most honourable good Lord:

\* V. z. John  
Fitz Thomas,  
Brother to  
James the  
titular Earl of  
Desmond.

**H**AVING long desired a fit opportunity to write unto you, the same is now offered by Mr. \* John, whereof I am very glad, that by such a most sure and faithful Messenger I might open my mind to your Lordship, as also to shew, that most certain and undoubted hope of aid is shortly to come.

I would most willingly have come unto your Lordships presence, which lately I have essayed, and doubtless would have done, unless I had been hindered by those Lords, which told me, that present and imminent dangers were to be fear'd in my journey, unless I had an Army of Soldiers to conduct me; and now (but that there is a necessity of my returning into Spain) I would have come to you in company of Master John: But I hope that most speedily and most fortunately I shall return unto you again.

In the mean time I have pretermitted nothing which might tend to your profit, as well to Our Catholique Master, as any other whatsoever, which now also in Spain I will perform: I would therefore entreat your Excellency, That you would be of good courage, together with all other of your Faction; and that you would fight constantly and valiantly for the faith and liberty of your Countrey; knowing, and firmly hoping, that the help of my Lord the Catholique King, is now coming; which when it cometh, all things shall be prosperous, and will place you in your former liberty and security, that ye may possess your designed peace and tranquillity. The Almighty conserve your Lordship in safety long to continue.

From Donegall the xiiiith  
of January, 1601.

Thes

These Benedictions, and the assured hopes that the Rebels had of the hastning of the *Spanish* Succours, made them grow more bold and daring; insomuch that many hundreds of the *Conaght* and *Ulster*-Traitors hurried themselves into a Body, thinking to invade *Munster*; but *Carew* by his vigilancy and policy quite frustrated their design by the loss of some hundreds of such desperate Vagabonds.

Yet their plottings go on; and at the desire of *Florence*, *Mac Cartie*, *Donoghe Mac Cormock* (who call'd himself also *Cartie*) sent this Letter to the King of *Spain*.

**H**AVING received direction from the Earl of *Clan-care*, I would not omit this opportunity, at the departure of the \* *Arch-bishop* of *Dublin*, and *Don Martin de la Cerda*, to make known to your Majesty how the said Earl hath written to your Majesty by two or three ways, but understanding that these Letters came not to your Royal hands, he hath now again written by me to your Majesty, making offer as well of his person and lands, as of his *Vassals* and *Subjects*, to your Royal Service, humbly beseeching your Majesty to receive, favour, and aid him with your Power and liberal Hand, seeing there is no other that can and will assist us better against the *Hereticks* in this Holy Enterprize.

From *Donegall* the vth  
of *January*, 1601.

Your Majesties Loyal Vassal, to  
kiss your Royal Hand,

*Donoghe Cartie*.

At *Donegall* was the chief *Rendezvous* of *Tyrone*, and the great ones of his Party in the North; where they made a *Solemn League or Covenant*; for the better strengthening of which, they all received the *Sacrament*: and afterwards *Tir-Oen* wrote this Letter to *Florence Mac Cartie*.

**O**UR Commendations to you *Mac Cartie* More: I send shortly to you, according to our Trust of you, that you will do a stout and hopeful thing against the *Pagan Bealt*; and thereupon our \* *Army* is to go into *Munster*, and with the will of God we consent unto you, and will that you believe not any word from us for ever, before we write again unto you: For you shall see \* trouble enough in *England* by *English-men* it self; so as there shall be easiness of suffering their warrs by *May* next, in respect of that it is now. And since this Cause of *Munster* was left to you (next under God), let no weakness or imbecillity be found in you, and the time of help is near you, and all the rest.

From *Dungannon* the vith  
of *February*, 1601.

O NEALE.

Rumors

Rumors being spread abroad of divers Informations brought in, of Insurrections and *Spanish* Invasions, Her Majesties Governours thought it was their duty to look about them: So Sir George Carew gets James Fitz-Thomas, the Titular Earl of Desmond, to be surpris'd as he lurked in a filthy Cave; and also secured Florence Mac Cartie, who for all his under-hand Treasons and Conspiracies, outwardly yet carried a shew of Loyalty. Both which were sent into *England*, and clapt up in the Tower of *London*; and some others also were seiled on, and kept in hold.

Whilst they were thus busie in consulting the safety of the Kingdom, the *Spaniards* [ of which Invasion the Bishops of *Clonford* and *Killaloe*, Archer the *Jesuit*, and others, were great Instigators ] landed with a great Fleet at *Kingsale* in the County of *Cork* in *Munster*; which Town they began to fortifie, and sent notice of their abode to *Tyrone* and *O'Donnel*, desiring them to haste to them with all their Powers.

The Lord Deputy, informed of the *Spanish* arrival, sets out a Proclamation at *Cork*, forbidding any to assist them; declaring also upon what unjust grounds the Pope and King of *Spain* had undertook that Invasion, and commanding all people to live in obedience to their true Sovereign Queen *Elizabeth*. In answer to which, Don Juan de Aquila, General of the *Spanish* Forces, sets out this following Declaration; which is pat to our business, and worth the perusal, the better to discover the true *Roman-Catholique Doctrine*.

This is in Latin, MS. E. 97 Cant. in Bib. Bodl. Oxon. & thus in English, in Facata Hibernia, p. 200, 201, 202.

**D**ON Juan de Aquila, General of the Warr, and the Catholique King of Spain's Chief Commander in Gods Warr which is made in Ireland for the defence of the Faith. To all the Irish Catholiques living in *Kingsale*, the City of *Cork*, and in all other Villages, Cities, and Castles, wisheth health in Him who is the true Happiness.

There is come unto our ears a Proclamation, or certain Libel, made in the City of *Cork*, in the Name of the Deputy; which because it containeth many untruths, and such things as offend the ears of honest men, lest they may lead and seduce the minds of simple men into errors, and turn them from the truth; I am compell'd to shew their falshood, to lay open the truth, and in few words to signifie the pretence and intention of our most Excellent King Philip in this Warr, which is with the Apostolique Authority to be administred by us: And (to speak the truth) I could very easily retort upon them those reproaches which they object to us, and make them lose the pleasure which they have taken in ill-speaking, by hearing the like. Notwithstanding we will not (like unto weak and unarmed women) go to reproachings; but setting these things aside, answer to those that are objected, with sound truth, and Christian modesty.

First of all, Ye saie that we would lead away the pretended Subjects of the Queen of England from their obedience, to bring them under Our yolk, which is a very untruth: for we endeavour not to perswade any body that he should deny due obedience (according to the Word of God) to his Prince. But ye know well, that for many years since, *Elizabeth* was deprived of her Kingdom, and all her Subjects absolved from their fidelity, by the Pope; unto whom he that reigneth in the Heavens, the King of Kings, hath committed all power, that he should Root up, Destroy, Plant, and Build in such sort, that he may punish temporal Kings (if it should be good for the spiritual Building) even to their deposing; which thing hath been done in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, by many Popes, viz. by  
Pope

Pope Pius Quintus, Gregory the Thirteenth, and now by Clement the eighth, as it is well known, whose Bulls are extant amongst us: I speak to Catholicks, not to froward Hereticks, who have fallen from the faith of the Roman Church, seeing they are blind leaders of the blind, and such as know not the grounds of the truth, it is no marvel that they do also disagree from us in this thing. But our Brethren the Catholiques, walking in the pureness of the faith, and yeelding to the Catholique Church (which is the very Pillar of the Truth) will easily understand all those things. Therefore it remaineth that the Irish (which adhere to us) do work with us nothing that is against Gods Laws, or their due obedience; nay that which they do, is according to Gods word, and the obedience which they owe the Pope.

Secondly, *Te affirm*, That we Spaniards go about to win the Irish with allurements and feigned flatteries (which is a thing far from our natures) and that we do it but for a while; that after we have drawn the minds of simple men unto us, we might afterwards (exercising our Cruelty towards them) shew our bloody nature.

O the Immortal God! Who doth not wonder at your bitter and unexpressible cruelty, and your boldness shewed in these words? For, Who is he that doth not know the great Cruelty which you English have exercised, and cease not to exercise towards the miserable Irish? You, I say, go about to take from their souls the Catholique Faith which their Fathers held, in which consists eternal life: Truly you are far more cruel than Bears and Lions, which take away the temporal life; for you would deprive them of the eternal and spiritual life. Who is it that hath demolished all the Temporalities of this most flourishing Kingdom, except the English? Look upon this, and be ashamed.

Whereas on the other side, We, commiserating the condition of the Catholiques here, have left our most sweet and happy Countrey, Spain, that is replenished with all good things, and being stirr'd with their Cries which pierce the Heavens, having reached the ears of the Pope, and our King Philip; They have (being moved with pity) at last resolved to send unto you, Soldiers, Silver, Gold, and Arms, with a most liberal hand; not to the end they might (according as they feign) exercise Cruelty towards you, O Irish Catholiques; but that you may be happily reduced (being snatched out of the Jaws of the Devil, and free from their Tyranny) unto your own pristine Ingenuity, and that you may freely profess the Catholique Faith.

Therefore my most beloved, seeing that which you have so many years before desired and begged for, with prayers and tears; and that now, even now, the Pope, Christ's Vicar on Earth, doth command you to take Arms for the defence of your Faith; I admonish, exhort, and beseech you all, all I say, unto whom these Letters shall come, That as soon as possibly you can, you come to us, with your Friends and Weapons. Whosoever shall do this, shall find us prepared, and we will communicate unto them those things which we possess; and whosoever shall (despising our wholesome Counsell) do otherwise, and remain in the obedience of the English, we will persecute him as an Heretick, and a hateful Enemy of the Church, even unto Death.

Don Juan de Aguila.

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The Lord Deputy laid siege to *Kingsale*, which continued long; in which time, both he received supplies from *England*, and *Don Juan* from *Spain*; both parties standing sufficiently in need of such. As for the *Irish*, many of them who had formerly promised obedience to the Queen, now revolted, delivering themselves and Castles up to the protection of the *Dons*. Amongst the rest, *Donnel Ofulevan Beare* freely gave up to the Spaniard his strong Castle of *Dunboy*, which cost the *English* much cost and time in re-taking. Of which he writ this Letter to the King of *Spain*.

**I**T hath been ever, most Mighty and Renowned Prince, and most Gracious and Catholick King, from time to time manifestly proved by daily experience among us *Irish*, That there is nothing worketh more forcibly in our hearts, to win and to draw our love and affection, than natural inclination to our Progeny and Offspring, and the memorial of the Friendship which sticketh still in our minds; chiefly the same renewed, cherished, and kept in use by mutual affection, and by shewing like friendship to us also.

We the meer *Irish*, long since deriving our Root and Original from the famous and most noble Race of the Spaniards, viz. from *Milecius* son to *Bile*, son to *Breogwin*; and from *Lwighe*, son to *Lythy*, son to *Breogwin*, by the Testimony of our old ancient Books of Antiquities, our Pedigrees, our Histories, and our Chronicles. Though there were no other matter, we came not as natural branches of the famous Tree, whereof we grew, but bear an hearty love, and a natural affection, and intire inclination of our hearts and minds, to our ancient most loving Kinsfolks, and the most noble Race, whereof we descended.

Besides this (my Sovereign) such is the abundance of your goodness, and the bounty or greatness of your liberality, now every way undeserved of our parts, as tokens of love and affection by your Majesty shewed unto us, that it is not fit nor seemly for us, but to bestow our persons, our men, and our goods, in the service of a Prince, that dealeth so graciously with us, that sendeth Forces of men, great Treasure, Victuals, and Munition for our aid, against our Enemies, that seek to overwhelm and extinguish the Catholique Faith diabolically, put to death our Chieftains tyrannously, coveting our Lands and Livings unlawfully.

For the aforesaid Considerations, and for many other commendable causes me moving, I bequeath and offer in humbleness of mind, and with all my heart, my own person, with all my forces, perpetually to serve your Majesty, not only in *Ireland*, but in any other place where it shall please your Highness: I commit also my Wife, my Children, my Mannors, Towns, Countrey, and Lands, and my Haven of *Dunboy*, called *Biara Haven*, (next under God) to the protection, keeping, and defence, or Commerick of your Majesty, to be and remain in your hands, and at your disposition. Also at your pleasure be it (my Liege Lord) to send defence and strong keeping of the Haven of *Dunboy*, first for your self (my Sovereign) to receive your Ships, and for me also as your loving Servant, so that the Queen of *England*'s Ships may not possess the same before you, while I follow the Warrs in your Highness behalf.

I pray

*I pray Almighty God to give your Majesty a long life, and health of Body and Soul, with encrease of Grace and Prosperity. So I betake you to the keeping of God.*

From the Camp near *Kingsale*  
the xxixth of December,  
1601. *Stylo Novo.*

Your most dutiful

loving Servant,

*Donnel O'sullivan Beare.*

With an intent to raise the Siege, *Tyrone*, *O Donnell*, *Mac Guire*, *Mac Maghon*, *Burk*, *Tirrell* (the best Soldier amongst the Rebels), and other *Irish*, halted towards *Kingsale*, and in their March joined with *Alonso de O Campo*, and his *Spanish* recruits newly landed; all which joined together, made up towards VII Thousand.

The Lord Deputy for all this continueth the siege; *Tir Oen* and the rest of his Relief approach, come within two miles of the Town; but is fought and beat, his followers quite dispersed: *Tyrone* runs into his hiding-holes in *Ulster*. *O-Donnell* and others escape into *Spain*, and the rest where they thought most convenient. And this Battel may be said to confirm the Queen in *Ireland*, and to secure the Protestants there, who had been \*slaughter'd by the *Irish*, had the *Spaniards* here prevailed.

\* Dr. Nic. Bernard's life of Arch-bishop Usher pag. 30.

*Don Juan de Aguila* seeing the *Irish* thus routed, and his own Forces much impaired both in health and number, fell to a Capitulation, upon which he yeelded the Town: He and his *Spaniards* were to be sent home; and what other places they had in the Kingdom under their protection, were likewise to be delivered up to the *English*, and amongst the rest was *Dunboy*.

Which place being naturally strong, and pretty well fortified, *O'sullivan Beare*, a man given over to Mischief and Rebellion, was resolved not to part with it so: Whereupon one night he surpriseth it, but let the *Spaniards* return to their own Countrey; only the Cannoniers he detain'd, the better to serve him in the defence of the place against the *English* and his Queen; concerning which he writes this Letter to the King of *Spain*.

1602.

*My Lord and my King,*

OUT of his love to your Kingly Greatness, your humble stedfast Servant, *Donnel O Sulevan Beare*, enforced through peril and constraint, doth make bold to inform unto your Greatness, That upon the landing in *Castle-Haven*, in the West of *Ireland*, your General *Pedro Zubiar*, and *Pedro Lopez de Soto*, with a Fleet and Men from your Greatness, according to the inward conceit of mind I always held, which I manifested in my young years, and would have still followed, unless disability had constrained me to the contrary; finding a happy and good Opportunity (as I imagined) I came to their presence, tending my Obedience to them in the Name of your Highness, and being with 400 men at my own cost towards your service. I yeelded out of my meer love and good will, without compulsion or composition, into their hands in the Name of your Majesty, not only my *Castle and Haven* called *Beer Haven*, but also my Wife, my Children, my

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Countrey, Lordships, and all my Possessions, for ever to be disposed of at your pleasure. They received me in that manner, and promised (as from your Highness) to keep and save the said Castle and Haven, during the service of your Grace.

Notwithstanding, my Gracious Lord, Conclusions of Peace were assuredly agreed upon betwixt Don Juan de Aguila, and the English; a fact pitiful, and (according to my judgment) against all Right, and Humane Conscience. Among other places, whereof your Greatness was dispossessed in that manner (which were neither yeilded nor taken, to the end they should be delivered to the English) Don Juan tied himself to deliver my Castle and Haven (the only Key of mine Inheritance, whereupon the living of many thousand persons doth rest, that live some twenty Leagues upon the Sea-coasts) into the hands of my Cruel, Cursed, Mis-believing Enemies; a thing I fear, in respect of the execrableness, inhumanity, and ingratefulness of the Fact, if it take effect as it was plotted, that will give cause to other men not to trust any Spaniard hereafter with their Bodies or Goods, upon these Causes.

My Lord, in that I judg this dishonourable act to be against your Honour and Pleasure (as I understand by your last Letters that came into Ireland) considering the harm that might ensue to the service of your Majesty, and the everlasting Overthrow that might happen to me and poor people, such as might escape the Sword of our Enemy (if any should) I have taken upon me (with the help of God) to offer to keep my Castle and Haven from the hands of mine Enemies, until further News and Order come from your Highness.

I have sent my Son and Heir (being of the age of five years) as a pledge for accomplishing your will in this behalf, and for the performing of my promise past unto your Greatness. I would not omit my self in person to come and visit your Highness, but that I fear our Warrs here would grow weak in respect of my absence; for which cause my self, and the rest of our men of worth, have sent in haste with Intelligence unto your Greatness our loving Friend Dermond Odrischall (in respect of our confidence in him, our knowledg of him, and the continual endeavour we see in him towards this Catholick Warr) as from us all.

And for as much as we could not conveniently write all that we wish unto you, we humbly beseech, That he may be heard as from us all, as if our selves were present, and to hasten helping-News, that shall rejoice us and our people; and afterwards to speed your gracious help unto us: for the sooner the better, whilst our Enemies are not in readiness. And until the coming of News from your Grace unto us, I will have in a readiness, where the Service shall require, the number of One thousand men; and I will upon my knees pray the merciful God, to give unto your Grace long life, with health of Body and Soul, and all happiness; and so do commit you to the safeguard of the Omnipotent:

Dunboy, viz. Beer-Haven, the  
xx<sup>th</sup> of February, 1602.

Donnell Ofulevan Beare.

Other

Other two Letters he wrote also to the same purpose, one to the Earl of *Carazena*, Governour of *Gallina*; and the other to *Don Pedro Zuñiar*; in which he gave this notable boast, viz. That his *Ancestors maintained the Credit and Calling of good Gentlemen these Two thousand and six hundred years sithence their first coming out of Spain.*

And to keep *Dunboy* he resolves; nor did he want encouragements, the *Spaniard* sending to the *Irish* relief Twelve thousand pounds, and *Ammunition* and other *Necessaries*; and *O-Donnel* writes this Letter to *O Connor Kerry*.

**W**Hat News are here, the *Doctor*, and *Dermond Odrischal*, may largely report unto you: but of this one thing you may be fully assured, That the King will not omit the winning of *Ireland*, if it cost him the most part of *Spain*. His Majesty doth send you *Money and Munition*. I pray let our information of you be found true, and your service encourage Our King to further merit you.

I pray you send me the relation of the News of our Countrey in such sort, as if there be any bad, it be concealed from the *Spaniards*, and known to me; Where the Deputy with the *Queen's Forces* are occupied, or where they are in Garrison.

At the *Groyne* xxiv.  
of *May*, 1602.

Your loving Friend,

*Hugh O-Donnel.*

And *Owen Mac Eggan*, the *Popes Apostolical Vicar in Ireland*, thus writes to *Richard Mac Goghagan*, in *Dunboy*. This *Mac Eggan* was newly return'd out of *Spain*, and came along with the *Spanish Supplies*. He was by the *Pope* made now *Bishop of Rosse*.

Master *Richard*,

I Commend me unto you, being very glad of the good report I hear of you, whereby I cannot but expect much (with God his assistance) in that lawful and godly Cause, of you. I am sorry, but it was not my luck to conferr with you, and with the rest of your Company, and inform you of all the state of the matters of *Spain*. But upon my Credit and Conscience, there is no greater piece of Service now in hand in all Christendome for the King of *Spain*, than the same that ye have. How it is to God, and necessary for our Countrey-affairs, ye know.

Moreover, within few days you shall have relief of men come to help you thither out of *Spain*. The great Army of Fourteen thousand men, are forth-coming; you shall all be as well recompenced both by God, and by the King's Majesty, as any Ward that is in all the World again. Have me, I pray, commended to all, and especially to Father *Dominick*, and bid him be of good Courage. There comes with the Army a Father of the Company, an *Italian*, for the *Pope* his *Nuncius*, in whose company I came from *Rome* to the Court of *Spain*, and there

P p p p 3

he

he expects the Army's coming hither. He shall give all a *Benediction*, yea, I hope within your Castle there, spite of all the Devils in Hell.

*From the Catholique Camp this  
present Wednesday, 1602.*

*Your assured Friend,*

Owen Hegaine.

In my Sacrifice and poor Prayers, I will not fail, but commend you and your good Cause to God Our Ship did arrive three days ago, and our Letters are come to the King by this time. *Nisi Dominus custodierit Civitatem, &c.*

In the mean time, Sir *George Carew* layeth siege to *Dunboy*, which was held out very desperately; yet at last it was stormed, and all kill'd or executed, except Sixteen, Twelve of which were chief followers of *Tirrell*, and for whom he bare a great respect, upon which account they were saved some days.

For *Tirrell* offered to do any service that lay in his power to purchase their Lives and Liberties. 'Tis accepted; a stratagem is propounded, in effecting of which, he also should be pardoned. But this he refused, offering to redeem them with Money: *But to be false to his Master the King of Spain, or to betray the Catholique Cause, he never would*, as he said. Upon which, seeing no good to be done on him, his Twelve men were also executed.

Yet for all these great and noble Successes of the Loyallists, the Rebels would not absolutely give over their wickedness, though their main security were some beggarly lurking-places in Boggs and Woods. But that which render'd them so stubborn, was the great confidence they had in the *Spanish Army*, which indeed had come to their relief, if the loss of *Dunboy* had not so much discouraged the Catholique King, who upon notice of its taking, sent into *Gallicia* to *Carraxena* Governour of *Corrunna*, to stop the Army and other Necessaries for *Ireland*, considering the place where he expected to land them, wastaken.

One of the chief Incendiaries among them at this time, was their Bishop of *Ross*, *Owen Mac Eggan*, or as some call him, *Eugenius O-Hegan*, who by his pretended Dignity, as *Vicarins Apostolicus*, his favour and credit with the King of *Spain*, his Interest with their Clergy, being impower'd by the Pope to dispose of all the Ecclesiastical Livings in *Munster*, and other Favours he enjoyed, carryed a great stroke amongst the people, commanding and ruling all as he pleased: and such was his malice against obedient Subjects (were they *Irish* or *Romanists*) that all that he could any ways seize on, he would in piety (as he pretended) first have them confessed and absolved, and then presently in his own sight murdered; and this he esteemed a notable sign of Catholique Sanctity.

At last it was the fortune of the Loyallists to meet with a Party of the Rebels, in which Conflict this furious *Mac Hegan* commanded an hundred Horse, himself leading them on with his Sword drawn in one hand, and his *Breviary* and *Beads* in the other, where he was slain, and the Rebels routed.

January 1602

In

In short, such was the prosperity of the Loyallists, that the Traytors seeing no safety for them either in Rebellion, or *Spaniard*, began by degrees to crave pardon, and submit; and *Tir-Oen* himself sent several Letters to the Queen, acknowledging his offence, and begging her mercy; and at last thus submitted himself to *Montjoy*.

The said Lord Deputy being at *Mellifont*, not far from *Drogheda*, thither comes *Tyrone* only with one or two in company. Being admitted to the *Presence Chamber* (the L. Deputy sitting in the Chair of State) he fell on his knees at the very Threshold. Having laid prostrate a while, the Lord Deputy beckon'd unto him to come nearer. Then approaching some steps, he prostrated himself again on his knees, saying,

March 30.  
1603.

*Speed,*

“ In the Royal Clemency of my dread Sovereign, and most gracious  
“ Queen, I do only lay the hope and rest of my remaining Estate, unto  
“ whose pleasure I absolutely remit my Life, and whole Revenues; and  
“ do most submissively deplore mine own misery; Beseeching again her  
“ Mercy, whose bountiful Favours I have heretofore, and mighty Pow-  
“ ers now of late both felt and found; and well hope, that the Foun-  
“ tain of her everlasting Graces are not drawn dry. Let me, I pray, be  
“ the Subject whereon her Mercy may work; and an ensample for ever  
“ of her mild Clemency, both to divulge her Princely Lenity, and to  
“ redeem in some part the Honour I have lost.

“ For Age I am not so unserviceable, nor of Body so unable, neither  
“ in Courage so dejected, but that my faithful Service in her behalf may  
“ expiate and make some measure of satisfaction for these my many and  
“ disloyal Rebellions.

“ And yet I may justly complain, That through the malicious Envy  
“ of some, I have been hardly and unfriendly dealt with, which may  
“ somewhat extenuate my Crime and Offence: For——

He was proceeding to offer some Excuses for his faults; but the Lord Deputy interrupted him, saying, *That so great a Crime was not to be colour'd with any excuse*. Then after some few words pronounced Majestically Conqueror-like, he commanded him to depart aside. And the next day *Tir-Oen* signed this following submission with his own hand, and delivered it up to the Lord Deputy.

March 31:  
*Tho. Bown's*  
Appendix to  
his Translation  
of *Camb-*  
*den's Elizabeth*

“ I *Hugh O-Neale*, by the Queen of *England, France, and Ireland*, her  
“ most gracious favour created Earl of *Tir-Oen*, do with all true and  
“ humble Penitency prostrate my self at her Royal Feet, and absolutely  
“ submit my self unto her Mercy, most sorrowfully imploring her graci-  
“ ous Commiseration, and appealing only to her Princely Clemency,  
“ without presuming to justify my unloyal proceedings against her Sacred  
“ Majesty; only most sorrowfully and earnestly desiring, that it may please  
“ her Majesty rather in some measure to mitigate her just Indignation  
“ against me, in that I do religiously vow, That the first Motives of my  
“ most unnatural Rebellion, were neither Practice, Malice, or Ambition;  
“ but that I was induced first by fear of my Life (which I conceived was  
“ sought by mine Enemies practise) to stand upon my guard, and after-  
“ wards most unhappily led to make good that Fault with more heinous  
“ offences, which in themselves I do acknowledg deserve no forgiveness;  
“ and that it is impossible for me, in respect of their greatness, in any pro-  
“ portion, even with my Life to make satisfaction. I do most humbly de-  
“ fire

“ fire her Majesty to pardon them ; that as I have already been a sufficient Argument of her Royal Power, having little left but my Life to preserve it self ; so that it may now please her Majesty to make me an Example of her Princely Clemency, the chiefest Ornament of her High Dignity.

“ And that I may be the better able hereafter, with the uttermost service of my Life, to redeem the foulness of my Faults ; I do most humbly sue unto her Majesty, That she will vouchsafe to restore me to my former Dignity and Living ; in which estate of a Subject, I do most religiously vow to continue for ever hereafter Loyal in all true obedience to her Royal Person, Crown, Prerogative, and Laws ; and to be in all things as far and as dutiful conformable thereunto, as I or any other Noble-man of this Realm is bound by the duty of a Subject to his Sovereign, or by the Laws of this Realm. Utterly renouncing and abjuring the Name and Title of *O Neale*, or any other Authority or Claim which hath not been granted or confirmed unto me by her Majesty, and that otherwise by the Laws of this Realm I may not pretend just interest unto. And I do religiously swear to perform so much as is above-mentioned, and the rest of these Articles subscribed by mine own hand, as far as shall any way be in my power ; and to deliver such Pledges for the performance thereof, as shall be nominated unto me by the Lord Deputy.

“ I do renounce and abjure all Forreign Power whatsoever, and all kind of dependency upon any other Potentate but her Majesty the Queen of *England, France, and Ireland* ; and do vow to serve her faithfully against any Forreign Power invading her Kingdoms ; and to discover truly any Practises that I do or shall know against her Royal Person or Crowns. And namely and especially, I do abjure and renounce all manner of dependency upon the King or State of *Spain*, or treaty with him, or any of his Forces or Confederates ; and shall be ready with the uttermost of my ability to serve her Majesty against him, or any of his Forces or Confederates.

“ I do absolutely renounce all Challenge or Intermeddling with the *Uriaghts*, or Fostering with them, or other Neighbour-Lords or Gentlemen out of my Countrey, or exacting any Black-rents of any *Uriaghts*, or bordering-Lords.

“ I do resign all Claim and Title to any Lands, but such as shall now be granted unto me by her Majesties Letter Patents.

“ Lastly, As the only being a Subject doth include all the Duties of a Subject ; so will I be content to be informed here, and advised by her Magistrates, and will be conformable and assisting unto them in any thing that may tend to the advancement of her Service, and the peaceable Government of this Kingdom ; as namely, for the abolishing of all barbarous Customs, contrary to the Laws, being the Seeds of all Incivility ; and for the clearing of all difficult Passages and Places which are the Nurseries of Rebellion ; wherein I will employ the labours of the people of my Countrey in such sort, and in such places as I shall be directed by her Majesty, or the Lord Deputy, or Council in her Name : and will endeavour for my self, and the people of my Countrey, to erect civil Habitations, and such as shall be of great effect to preserve us against Thieves and any Force but the Power of the State, by which we must rest assured to be preserved as long as we continue in our Duty.

And

And now, to see whether these Rebellions agree or no with the *Roman-Catholique* Doctrine, I shall afford you the Opinions and Commendations of some of their *Universities*, of these very Treasonable Actions.

*In Dei Nomine Amen.*

**I**llustrissimus Princeps *Hugo O'neilus*, bellum gerit cum *Angliæ* Regina & *Anglis*, ob Catholicam Religionem tuendam, ut *scilicet* liceat illi & *Ibernis* libere Catholicam Religionem profiteri; quam libertatem vi & armis *Angliæ* Regina conatur eripere.

Duo nunc circa hoc bellum in dubium revocantur.

I. Alterum est, *An liceat Catholicis Ibernis prædicto Principi Hugoni in eo bello favere armis & quibuscunque aliis modis?*

II. Alterum, *An iisdem Catholicis liceat pugnare contra præfatum Principem citra mortale peccatum, & Anglis in eo bello favere armis aut alia quavis ratione?*

Præsertim, cum si *Anglis* hoc auxilii genus negant, manifesto vitæ periculo aut amittendi bona temporalia sese exponunt. Et præterea, cum ipsis Catholicis *Iberniæ* a summo Pont. sit permillum, ut possint prædictæ Reginæ *Angliæ* obedire, ac ut legitimam Reginam, Tributa illi solvendo, recognoscere, videtur enim id præstare posse, quod Subditorum est, pugnare *scilicet* adversus Reginæ Rebelles, qui debitam ei Obedientiam negant, & terram illius ditioni subjectam usurpare videntur.

*In the Name of God Amen.*

**T**HE most Renowned Prince *Hugh O Neil*, doth make warr for the defence of the Catholique Faith with the Queen of *England*, and the *English* people, *viz.* That it may be lawful for him and the *Irish* freely to profess the Catholique Religion; which liberty the Queen of *England* doth endeavour to take from them by force and arms.

There are two matters now in question about this Warr.

I. The one is, *Whether it be lawful for the Irish Catholics to favour the foresaid Prince Hugh with Arms and all other means in this Warr?*

II. The other is, *Whether it be lawful for the same Catholics to fight against the foresaid Prince, without deadly sin, and to favour the English in this Warr, by Arms, or by any other means whatsoever?*

Especially, when the case so stands, that if they deny this kind of help unto the *English*, they expose themselves to a manifest danger of their lives, or the losing of their Temporal goods. And furthermore, since it is permitted by the Pope, that they may obey the foresaid Queen of *England*, and acknowledg her as their lawful Queen, by paying Tribute unto her: for it seemeth that, that may be performed what belongeth unto Subjects to do. *viz.* To fight against the Queen's Rebels, who deny their due obedience to her, and seem to usurp the Land which is subject to her dominion.

Qqqq

Ut



Ut utrique Questioni satisfiat, Tanquam certum est accipiendum Possē *Romanum* Pont. Fidei desertores, & eos qui Catholicam Religionem oppugnant, Armis compellere ac coercere, cum alia Ratio non suppetat tanto malo occurrendi.

Est præterea ut firmum constituendum *Angliae* Reginam Catholicam Religionem oppugnare, nec permittere *Ibernos* Catholicam fidem, publice colere, eademq; de Causa prædictum Principem, & ante eum alios (quos Apostolicæ literæ *Clementis VIII.* commemorant) bellum adversus illam suscepisse. His ita constitutis facile prima Quæstio expeditur.

Citra quæstionem namq; est, Possē quoscunq; Catholicos dicto Principi *Hugoni O-Neil* in prædicto bello favere, idque magno cum merito & spe maxima Retributionis æternæ: Cum enim prædictus Princeps bellum gerit autoritate Summi Pont. ob tuendam Religionem Catholicam, ad idq; eum & omnes Christi fideles, Pontifex per suas literas adhortetur (ut ex ejus literis constat). Atq; Principi in eo bello faventes multis gratiis prosequatur, ac si bellum contra *Turcas* gererent; nemo jure dubitaverit, & susceptum bellum justum esse & magni esse meriti pro Catholica Religione (quæ omnium maximum bonum est) tuenda pugnare.

Est etiam de secunda Quæstione omnino certum, Eos omnes Catholicos peccare mortaliter, qui *Anglorum* Castra contra prædictum Principem *O-Neil* sequuntur: nec posse illos æternam salutem consequi, nec ab ullo Sacerdote a suis peccatis absolvi, nisi prius resipiscant, ac Castra *Anglorum* deserant. Idemq; de illis censendum est, qui Armis

That both these Questions may be decided, we must hold as for certain, That the Pope hath power to bridle and suppress those who forsake the Faith, and those who fight against the Catholick Faith; when by no other means so great a mischief can be hindred.

And furthermore, it must be positively concluded, That the Queen of *England* doth oppugn the Catholique Religion, and doth hinder the *Irish* from the publick enjoyment of the Catholique Faith; And that for this cause, the foresaid Prince *O-Neal*, and others before him (mentioned in the Apostolical Letters of *Clement VIII.*) undertook the Warr against her. These things thus laid down, the first Question is easily resolved.

For without doubt, any Catholick whatsoever may favour the said Prince *Hugh O-Neil* in the foresaid warr, and this with great merit, and certain hopes of an Eternal Reward: For seeing that the said Prince doth make Warr by the Pope's Authority for the defence of Catholique Religion, and that the Pope doth exhort all the faithful by his Letters thereunto (as is manifest by his Letters), and that he will extend his graces upon the favourers of the Prince in that Warr, in as ample manner as if they make warr against the *Turks*. No man in justice can doubt, but that the present Warr is lawful, and also that to fight for the Catholique Religion (which is the greatest good of all others) is a matter of great merit.

And concerning the second question, it is most certain, that all those Catholics do sin mortally, that take part with the *English* against the foresaid Prince *O-Neil*. Neither can they obtain Eternal Salvation, nor be absolved from their sins by any Priest, unless they first repent and forsake the *English* Army. And the same is to be cen-  
&

& Commeatibus in eo bello *Anglis* favent, vel quod simile tribuunt præter ea Tributa Consue-

\* So some Copies have it; but *O-sullivan* reads it thus: --- *eis licet Regina Angliæ aut ejus Exactoribus solvere*

ta, quæ (ex summi Pont. Indulgentia & permissione) eis licet \* *Angliæ Regibus. florentes in ea Religione Catholica, aut eorum*

*Exactoribus solvere.*

Hæc Assertio hac apertissima Ratione confirmatur.

Quoniam per literas summi Pont. satis est compertum *Angliæ* Reginam & ejus Duces Bellum gerere injustum contra prædictum Principem *O-Neil* & eos qui illi favent.

Cum enim Pontifex declarat *Anglos* adversus Catholicam Religionem pugnare, eosque non minus ac *Turcas* oppugnari debere, eisdemque Gratiis eos oppugnantes prosequatur, quibus contra *Turcas* pugnantes prosequitur: Quis dubitet, bellum ab *Anglis* adversus Exercitum Catholicum omnino iniquum geri? At nemini licet iniquo bello favere, aut illi adesse, sub pœna æternæ Damnationis.

Peccant ergo gravissime Catholici, qui in Castris Hæreticorum contra prædictum Principem pugnant in bello aperte iniquo & injusto, & omnes qui eidem bello favent Armis aut Commeatibus, aut quacunque alia ratione, quæ per se belli progressum juvent, nec possint rationem inire indifferentis obsequii.

Nec eos quicquam juvat *Apostolicas Literas* Surreptionis notare: Surreptio enim intervenire non potest, ubi nulla narratur Petitio eorum, in quorum favorem expe-

sured of those, who in this War favour the *English* either by Arms, or any other means; or shall give them any thing of like Condition, besides those accustomed Tributes, which is lawful for them (by virtue of the Pope's Indulgence and Permission) to pay unto the Kings of *England*, or their Officers, the Catholick Religion flourishing and being amongst them.

This Assertion is confirm'd by this most manifest Reason

Because it is sufficiently proved by the Pope's Letters, That the Queen of *England* and her Forces, make unjust Warr against the said Prince *O-Neal*, and those who favour him.

For seeing that the Pope doth declare, That the *English* do fight against the Catholique Religion, and that therefore the said *English* should be resisted as much as if they were *Turks*; and that he doth bestow the same Graces and Blessings upon those who resist the said *English*, as he doth upon those who fight against the *Turks*: Who doubteth but that the Warr waged by the *English* against the Catholique Army, is altogether unjust? But it is not lawful for any to favour an unjust Warr, or to be present thereat, under the pain of Eternal Damnation.

Those Catholiques do therefore most grievously offend, who bear Arms with the Hereticks against the foresaid Prince, in a Warr so apparently impious and unjust. And so do all those who assist them in the said Warr with Arms, Victuals, or by any other means, which of themselves do further the proceedings of the Warr, and cannot give account of their indifferent obedience.

Neither doth it any thing avail them to scandal the *Apostolical Letters* of Surreption, or of some underhand procuring. For *Surreption* cannot happen, where no Petition

ditur.

ditur. At summus Pont. aperte in illis Literis docet, Se & Antecessores suos sponte exhortatos fuisse ad illud bellum gerendum *Hibernos* Principes ac Fideles omnes: & ad eos magis provocandos, magnis eos Gratiis ac Indulgentiis donat. Qui ergo fieri potest ut Surreptitiæ sint literæ, quæ solam Exhortationem gratiis erga assistentes cumulatam continent?

Nec possunt ergo Catholici *Anglis* faventes, rationibus in secunda Quæstione adductis se tueri: Nullum enim peccatum mortale committendum est, etiam si vita aut res familiaris amittenda sit: ea vero quæ bellum injustum per se promovent ac juvant exercere, aperte peccatum est mortale.

Permissum est etiam Catholicis Hæreticæ Reginæ id genus obsequii præstare, quod Catholicam Religionem non oppugnat. Non fuit unquam nec potuit esse Pontificis mens, ea Obsequia circa Reginam eis permittere, quæ aperte cum fine & scopo ipsius Pont. de promovenda in *Hibernia* Catholica fide ac Religione pugnant. Hanc autem ejus esse mentem & scopum, Literæ ipsæ apertissime declarant.

Ex quibus omnibus satis manifestum relinquitur, illustrissimum Principem *Hugonem O-Nellum*, & alios Catholicos *Hibernia* bellum gerentes adversus Reginam Hæreticam, Orthodoxam Fidem oppugnantem, nullo modo Rebelles esse, neq; debitam Obedientiam negare aut Terras Reginæ injuste usurpare, quin potius illos justissimo bello se terramq; suam ab iniqua

of them is declared, in whose favour they were dispatched. But the Pope doth plainly declare in those Letters, that he and his Predecessors had voluntarily exhorted the *Irish* Princes, and all others of the Faithful, to undertake this Warr. And, the better to incite them to it, doth enrich them with great Favours, Blessings, and Indulgences. How can it then be supposed, that these Letters were surreptitious, which only contain an Exhortation strengthened with many Favours for such as did fulfil them.

Neither therefore can the Catholics who assist the *English*, defend themselves by the Reasons alledged in the second Question: For no mortal sin is to be committed, although thereby Life or Goods might be saved: but these things which further and help to execute an unjust Warr, are manifestly deadly sins.

It is permitted likewise to the Catholics, to perform such kind of Obedience to this Hæretical Queen, as doth not oppugn the Catholic Religion. Neither ever was it, or could it be the meaning of the Pope, to allow them to use that Obedience towards the Queen, which doth manifestly contradict and oppose the end and scope which he had to promote the Catholick Faith and Religion in *Ireland*. But that this was his meaning and scope, his own Letters or *Breves* do manifestly declare.

From all which it remaineth sufficiently apparent, that the most famous Prince *Hugh O-Neil*, and other Catholics in *Ireland*, making warr against an Heretical Queen (who opposeth her self against the True Faith) are by no means Rebels, neither do they deny due obedience, or unjustly usurp any of the Queens Dominions. But on the contrary, they do rather

& impia Tyrannide vindicare, facramq; Orthodoxam fidem (ut Christianos & Catholicos decet) pro viribus tueri atq; defendere.

Quæ omnia & singula, nos infra-scripti, ut certissima ac verissima judicamus & approbamus.

Datum Salamantic  
VII. die Martii,  
An. D. 1602.

*Sic ego Johannez de Seguenſa, Profeſſor Theologiæ in Collegio Societatis Jeſu, hujus Almæ Salmanticensis cenſeo.*

*Idem Cenſeo ego, Emanuel de Royas, Profeſſor Theologiæ in eodem Collegio Societatis Jeſu.*

*Horum Patrum Sententia tanquam omnino certæ aſſentior et ego Gaſpar de Mena, Theologiæ & S. Scripturæ in eodem Coll. Profeſſor.*

*In eadem ſum prorsum cum Prædictis Pp. Sententia Petrus Oſorio in eodem Coll. Societatis Jeſu pro Sacris Canonibus.*

rather vindicate themselves and their Countrey from an impious and wicked Tyranny, by a most just Warr; and do defend and maintain the holy and Orthodox Faith with all their power, as becometh all Christians and Catholicks so to do.

All and every of which, we whose Names are under-written, do judg and approve as most certain and true.

Salamanca VII.  
of March,  
1602.

I *Juan de Ziguenza* Professor of Divinity of the Colledg of the Society of Jesus of this famous City of *Salamanca*, do so judg.

I *Mannuel de Rojas*, Professor of Divinity of the said Colledg, do agree in the same.

I *Gaſpar de Mena*, Professor of Divinity and Holy Scripture in the said Colledg, do assent to the said Opinions of these Fathers as altogether true.

I *Piedro Oſorio*, Expounder of the Sacred Canons in the same Colledg of the Society of Jesus, am altogether of the same Opinions with the foresaid Fathers.

The same Censure or Declaration I find the very next year after, thus dated and subscribed :

—Datum Salmanticæ, secundo Februarii, Anno Domini Milleſimo Sexcentesimo Tertio.

### Doctores Salmanticenses.

Fra. *Franciscus Zumel* Decanus *Salmant.*

Mag. *Alphonſus de Curiel* Sacræ Theologiæ Primarius Profeſſor.

Fr. *Petrus de Herrera.*

Mag. Doct̃or *Franciscus Sancius.*

Fr. *Dionysius Jubernus.*

Mag. *Andreas de Leon.*

Fr. *Petrus de Ledesma.*

Fr. *Martinus de Paraza.*

Qqqq 3

Doctores

## Doctores Theologi Vallisofelani.

D. *Franciscus Sobrino Decanus.*  
 D. *Alfonfus Vacca de Santiago.*  
 D. *Johannes Garcia de Coronel.*  
 Mag. Fr. *Johannes Nigron.*  
 D. *Torre.*  
 Fr. *Josephus de Luxan.*

*Vallisofleti, Octavo Martii,*  
*Anno Millefimo sex-*  
*centesimo tertio.*

Hist. Cathol.  
 Ibern. Com.  
 pend. Tom. 3.  
 lib. 8. cap. 7.  
 fol. 204.

*Philip O'sullivan* thinks this *Declaration* enough to convert all good *Romanists* to Rebellion, and is not a little proud of its Authority; and thus cockered up in his usual vanity, he accuseth all of folly and ignorance, who sided with the Queen and her Loyallists; and to think otherwise, he saith is a *mad and poisonous Doctrine.*

*Tir Oen* (as aforesaid) having submitted himself, the Lord Deputy carried him the next day to *Dublin*, intending to convey him into *England*; and thither he carried him, King *James* being proclaimed and received as the undoubted King, who also pardoned *Tir-Oen*, received him honourably at Court, and by Proclamation forbidding any to shew him the least disrespect.

\* Three Con-  
 vers. of Eng.  
 part 1. an Ad-  
 dition to the  
 Epist. Dedicat

*Fynes Moryson*  
 Itinerary, p.  
 285, 286, &c.

But the *Romanists* in *Ireland* shew themselves of another temper: for hearing of Queen *Elizabeth's* death (a great comfort to \* *Parsons*) and that *James* was King of *England*, they rejoyce at the one, and despise the other. The Citizens of *Lymrick*, with their Priests, seized upon all the Churches in the City, erecting their *Altars*, resolving to re-settle their Religion again. At *Wexford* they gave out, that King *James* was a *Romanist*, the better to embolden their Associates. Those of *Waterford* secured the Cathedral Church to themselves, defaced the *Session-House* at *Black-Fryers*, by breaking the Doors, pulling down the Benches and Seats of Justice, ordering *Masses* to be celebrated publicly.

But those of *Cork* went farther, refusing to proclaim the King, ran to their Arms, forbad the Commissioners to proclaim him; upon which the Loyallists and the said Commissioners were forced to proclaim him upon an Hill near the Town. They entertained one amongst them, who call'd himself a *Legat* from the Pope, went with them in Solemn Procession, new hallowed their Churches, kept strong Guards, took the Sacrament to spend their Lives and Goods in the defence of the *Roman* Religion; fell upon the Kings Forces, encouraged a Priest to hearten the people on, by preaching to them, That *James* could not be a lawful King, because he was not appointed by the Pope, and sworn to maintain the *Roman* Religion. They write also to all Towns and Cities, to assist them in defence of the Catholick Faith; and the better to carry on their Designs, seized upon the King's Munition.

And as for *Tir-Oen*, having staid a little time in *England*, with leave and Reward he return'd for *Ireland*; where after so many Promises and

and Obligations, it was expected he would have lived civilly and obedient. But here, according to his old wont, he falleth a plotting and contriving mischief again, but with a great deal of secrecie. In the mean time *Montgomery* Lord Bishop of *Derry* (and afterwards of *Meath*) enters into suit against *Tir Oen*, for wrongfully keeping some of his Episcopal Lands (a great sin, but too much in fashion to cheat the Church); upon this *Tir Oen* is summon'd to appear at an appointed time, to expect the issue of the Tryal. The Earl, conscious of his late designs against the State, and fearing that his Plots had been discovered, prompted by his guilty Conscience, he and his Family slipt privately into \* *Nor-*  
*mandy*, thence to *Flanders* (where he was entertain'd by Father \* *Mus-*  
*ket* with a Panegyrick Oration): upon which King *James* puts forth a Proclamation against him, not a little to the disgust of zealous \* *de*  
*Sponde*. From *Flanders* he goeth to *Rome*, where he lived upon the Pope's Allowance, became blind for some years, and so \* dyed. And \*  
 his Son ended his days miserably in *Bruxels*, being found strangled in his own Chamber; but whether by himself or others, as it is not certainly known, so is it nothing to my purpose.

Bp. Carlton's  
Thankful  
Remem-  
brance, cap.  
14. p. 168.

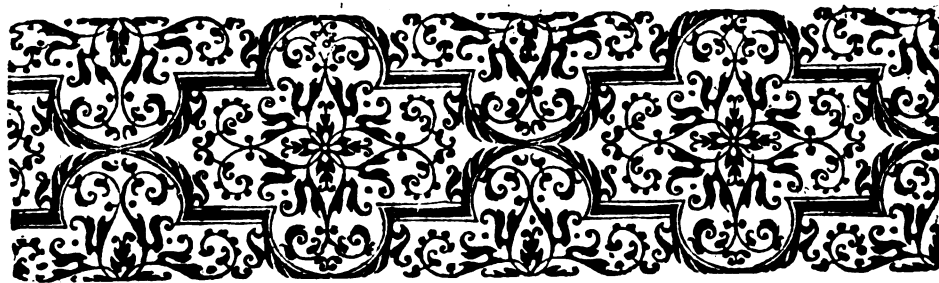
\* 1607.  
\* Jo. Gee's  
Foot out of the  
Snare, p. 103.  
\* An. 1608  
\* 1616.

And thus much concerning these Troubles in *Ireland*, whose effects were so lamentable, that besides the Miseries and Depopulations by Warr, the extremity of *Famine* grew so great, that the very \* *Women*  
 in some places, by the way-side, would surprise the men riding by, to feed themselves with the flesh of their Horses. And sooner might these Troubles have had an end, if it had not been by the instigation of their zealous Priests and *Jesuits*, though born Subjects; such as were Father *Archer*, *White*, *Raſtor*, *Mulrony*, *Leinagh*, &c. *Mahonne O Dullany* a Priest, *Edward Raghter* a Dominican.

\* Arch-bishop  
Usher's Speech  
at Dublin, A-  
pril 30. 1627.  
Vid. his life by  
Dr. Bernard, p.  
67.

A CON-





A Continuation  
OF THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Romish Treasons  
AND  
USURPATIONS.

BOOK X.

CHAP. I.

*Divers Plots against Queen Elizabeth and King James.  
Rawleigh's Designs against King James. The Life  
of Father Parsons.*

**T**HIS Century might afford us several dismal Contrivances against the Crown and Prosperity of *Great Britain*; but of some I shall but slightly touch, as being commonly known; and in others I must not be too critical and open, lest I should offend against Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* Prudential Rule, *Not to follow Truth too near the heels, lest she should kick back, and strike out my Teeth.*

Rrrr

And



1599. And here I might speak at large of the several Designs as well of *Puritan* as *Papist*, to hinder King *James* from his true succession to the Crown of *England*; as sometimes endeavouring to make him odious to Queen *Elizabeth*, to prevent her declaring for him; as by telling her of the King's intimacy with *Clement VIII.* which they endeavoured to make out to her by a Letter of his to the said Bishop; a thing, had it been true, might not have deserved such a Censure as Deprivation, seeing the Pope may be as civilly treated with, as other Potentates; a thing not to be denied by any but an Impertinent *Puritan*, or an Irrational *Enthusiastick*: But they hoped, that her Jealousie of Religion, augmented by her Age, and some Expressions in the Letter, might persuade her to make Mountains of Mole-hills, and in such a pet to declare some other to the Crown; which, as some hoped, might have brought such troubles upon the Kingdom, that in the hurry a *Romanist* might have slipped himself into the Throne, to which so many pretended.

\* Propende-  
ret animo ad  
Religionem  
Romanam  
Rob. Johnston  
Hist. Rerum  
Brit. p. 448.

But she was too wise to be cheated by such Toys; presently she perceiving the drift, she suspected the cheat. And a meer forgery it was in respect of King *James*; though his knavish Secretary, *Balmerinock*, \* one warping towards Popery, had given some ground for such a story: For he, by the Instigation of his Kinsman, Sir *Edward Drummond*, a *Romanist*, had penn'd a Letter to the said *Clement VIII.* in favour of the Bishop of *Vaison*, a *Scotch*-man, for his preferment to a Cardinalship, which by shuffling in among other Letters to be signed, the King had hastily (a dangerous oversight, where are knavish Secretaries) set his hand to; the other sealing it with the Royal Signet, entrusted to him by his Office.

\* Mas. Tort.  
pag. 47.  
1608,  
1609.

Queen *Elizabeth* by the by challenged King *James* with this. But he protested his Innocency, by denying any such thing; so did *James Elphinston* Lord *Balmerinock*, who also got *Drummond* to forswear it. *Raleigh*, and other Enemies to the *Scotch* Title, could then proceed no farther, though they had used such Interest at *Rome*, as to get a Copy of it, which they shew'd to the Queen as the Original, and she to Mr. *David Foulis* the King's Agent; who satisfied her Majesty, by proving to her, by the Testimony of her Stationers, that the Date of the Letter was older than the stamp or mark of the Paper; whereby it could not be the Original, and so might be a Cheat as well as a Copy. But afterwards \* *Bellarmino* retorting this Letter to the King, *Balmerinock* was farther examined and tried, who confessed all, was condemned of Treason, and as a Traytor to be beheaded; but by Queen *Ann's* Intercession was pardoned. A man he was of good Parts; but especially knew how to filch, pilfer, and embezel Church-Lands; and if it should be possible for a covetous man (as he was) to be honest, yet 'tis certain, that he who robs God and the Church, can never be a Friend to the King, but for his own Interest.

Queen *Elizabeth* is now old and weak, cannot live long; so 'tis needless to attempt any more against her Person, whose death they daily expected, and it might anticipate their quickest Designs. No man's right and succession to the Crown is so much fear'd as that of King *James*; and therefore to prevent Him, must be the main Care and Contrivance.

1601. There was one *Francis Mowbray*, Son to the Laird of *Barnewcastle*, who had lived some while in the *Infanta's* Court at *Bruxels*; he, they say, undertook to take this rub out of the way, by killing the King;

to which purpose he intends for *Scotland*; but taketh *England* in his way. At *London* one *Daniel* an *Italian* Fencing-Master, discovers the Plot to the Queen; she for a further trial hath them both seiz'd on and sent into *Scotland*: *Mawbry*, supposed guilty, is cast into *Edenburgh* Castle, whence thinking one night to escape out of a Window, by his Bed-sheets, which proving too short, he fell upon the Rocks, and so dyed; his Body was hang'd for some time, then quartered, and fixt upon the Gates, and several places of the City.

This failing, another Design is in hand: In *Italy*, *Ferdinando I.* the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, by the intercepting of some Letters, discovereth a Plot to take away King *James* his Life by Poyson. The Duke, who had formerly been a Cardinal, moved with the Fame of the King's Learning and Virtue, and it may be had some hopes of his Conversion, upon the former false Letters, resolved to discover and prevent it. At this time Mr. *Henry Wotton* sojourned in *Florence*, and was well acquainted with Signior *Vietta*, the Duke's Secretary; upon whose Commendations *Wotton* is pitched on to be the Messenger. The Letters and excellent Antidotes against Poyson (such as were not then known in *Scotland*) were delivered to him, who disguised under an *Italian* Garb and Name of *Ottavio Baldi*, hasteth to *Scotland*, cometh to the King, discovereth himself and the Conspiracy, and after some stay returneth to *Florence*. He was afterwards Knighted by King *James*, and famous for his Learning, Languages, and Embassies.

1602.

In these Designs against the King's right to the Throne, Pope *Clement VIII.* was not wanting, who intended the Crown for some of his Friends. And perceiving that some in *England* were tampering to promote the Interest of the Lady *Arabella*, in this case he thought it best to deal warily: He had a mind that the Duke of *Parma* should enjoy the Crown; but this upon better thoughts he supposed would not be feasible, by reason that *Arabella's* Interest might be too strong. And therefore *Parma* being married, he casts another way about, and thinks upon Cardinal *Farnese*, younger Brother to *Parma*; who being unmarried, might be wedded to *Arabella*, and so did not question by their joint Forces and Interests to carry the Crown. To carry on this business, nothing was thought more convenient, than to unite all the *Romanists* in *England*, that their Cause might not suffer by any dissensions amongst themselves about this Succession. And seeing Experience had told them, That their Clergy had a great awe and authority over the Laity, so it was best then to have all their Clergy to be of the same mind, and to prosecute the same Ends, and they hoped that their Laity would not then be divided. To which purpose they conclude of an *Arch-Priest*, who should have a Jurisdiction over the rest, who were to act according to his Rules and Instructions. And in these Designs, Father *Parsons* was a main Stickler and Contriver; the Pope also had drawn up some *Bulls*, and sent to his *Nuncio* in the *Netherlands* to divulge and spread them abroad at convenient time; wherein he declared, That not any, though never so near in blood, should after Q. *Elizabeth's* death be admitted to the Crown, but such an one as wou'd not only tolerate the *Roman* Religion, but would swear to promote and resettle it; and, that in the mean time Cardinal *Farnese* might in this *Island* have the greater Vogue, the Pope made him *Protector* of *England*, as he was of other Countreys: Nay, rather than fail, the same Pope had \* formerly exhorted the *French* and *Spaniard* to unite, invade *England*, and divide

Card. D'Offat  
Let. 191.  
268. 272.

\* --Quantum  
cunq; propin-  
quitate san-  
guinis nite-  
rentur, nisi  
ejusmodi ef-  
sent qui fidem  
Catholicam  
non modo to-  
lerarent, sed  
omni ope ac  
studio promo-  
verent, & mo-  
re Majorum  
jurejurando  
se id præstitu-  
ros suscipe-  
rent, &c. Bull.  
Clement VIII.  
\* 1597. D'Of-  
fat Let. 87.

Rrrr \*

it

it between them: Nor did they neglect to instigate the Family of the *Pools* to have a right.

Yet for all these Attempts, and other Endeavours of the *Jesuits*, *Winter*, *Desmond*, and such like, who plotted His Exclusion; upon the death of the Virgin Queen *Elizabeth*, he was proclaimed and received as the undoubted King *James I.* of *England*, but of *Scotland VI.* However, no sooner is he set in the Throne, but an odd medley-Plot is agitated against him, composed of such variety of Religions and Interests, that it seemed to puzzel the World that such a wise man as *Raleigh* should be in it; but that they knew, Discontent would thrust a daring Spirit upon any thing to satisfy it self.

The main Ingredients of this Conspiracy were,

*Henry Brook* Lord *Cobham* }  
*George Brook* his Brother } seem'd to be *Protestants*.

*Thomas* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, a Rank *Puritan*.

*William Watson*, the Author of the }  
*Quodlibets*, where he rants dapperly against the *Jesuits* for their } *Romish* Priests.  
 Treasons and Plots. }  
*William Clark*, who had writ against }  
 Father *Parsons* for the same Crimes. }

*Sir Griffin Markham*, a Zealous *Romanist*.

*Sir Walter Raleigh*, a States-man and Soldier, and troubled with no more Religion than would serve his Interest and turn.

*Count Aremberg*, Ambassador from the Arch-Duke of *Austria*. }  
*Matthew de Lawrence*, a Merchant, } Zealous *Romanist*.  
 but an Instrument employed by }  
*Aremberg*. }

And some other such like. Their Designs were,

To set the Crown on the Lady *Arabella*, or to seize on the King, and make him grant their desires, and a Pardon.

To have a Toleration of Religion.

To procure Aid and Assistance from *Forreign* Princes.

To turn out of the Court such as they disliked, and place themselves in Offices.

*Watson* to be Lord Chancellor.

*George Brook*, Lord Treasurer.

*Sir Griffin Markham*, Secretary of State.

*Lord Gray*, Master of the Horse, and Earl-Marshal of *England*.

For more security, *Watson* draweth up an Oath of Secrecy. But all is discovered; they are seiz'd on, examined and tryed. The two Priests plead

plead *James* is not King, because not then Crown'd. But that excuse is declared idle: most of them are found guilty, and condemned. *Watson*, *Clark*, and *George Brook*, were executed; the rest reprieved. *Gray* dyed in the Tower the last of his Line. *Raleigh* was beheaded 1618. the rest discharged of Imprisonment, but dyed miserably poor. *Markham* and some others abroad; but *Cobham* (as we are \* told) in a Room ascended by a Ladder at a poor Womans House in the *Minories* (formerly his Landrefs) dyed rather of Hunger, than a natural Dis-  
 ease.

\* Osborn's  
Traditional  
Memoires of  
R. James, p. 28

I need not here speak how their \* Priests endeavoured to amuse the people with what Troubles there would be at the death of *Elizabeth*, nor how, to alienate the Crown, they published (to stir up many Titles and Pretenders) divers Pamphlets, as *Lesley*, *Heghington*, *Creswell*, *Crag* (a *Scotch* Jesuit, but his Book was burnt, and never printed). And we are told, That the Jesuits were entreated to \* assist in this Plot; but they desired to be excused, as having another Design in their thoughts, which some think was meant of the Gun-powder-Treason. And to all these Contrivances Father *Parsons* was no bad wither.

\* Respons. ad  
Edmum Reg.  
6. Card.  
Allen's Answer  
to the Execut.  
of Justice, p.  
185.

\* If. Casaubon  
Epist. ad Franc.  
Ducum.

OF this *Parsons*, seeing he then made such a noise in the world (and is by those of his Order commended as one of the most holy men of his time, whilst others, though *Romanists*, will look upon him no otherwise than the greatest Villain then living in the world), I shall say something here, the better to inform Posterity.

~ II. ~

'Tis true, the Industrious Dr. *Thomas James*, almost LX. years ago, undertook to write his Life, and therein to set down nothing but what the Priests and *Romanists* themselves writ of him; which accordingly he did; but it containing more of Satyre than History, I shall make little or no use of that Collection, now so rarely to be met with, for they were all bought up by the *Jesuits* themselves; it is call'd, *THE JESUITS DOWNFALL*.

Some *Romanists* have boldly asserted *Parsons* to have been a Bastard, begotten by the Parson of the Town *Stocknurs* in *Somersetshire*, and therefore call'd *Parsons*, though they say his right name was \* *Cowback*; and this hath been in a manner generally believed. But to do him what right I can, I shall not be unwilling to allow here some mistakes as to the place; and though, upon enquiry, I am informed, that those Parish-Records are now lost, whereby I cannot satisfy my self as well as I would; yet I shall in part be guided herein by himself, and other Enquiries.

\* Or Callbeck  
A. P. A Re-  
ply to a Libel  
call'd A brief  
Apol. p. 324.

Manifestation  
of folly, &c.

He was born at *Nether-Stowey* in *Somersetshire*, a Vicarage, in the year 1546. His Father (a Blacksmith) was once an Enemy to *Rome*; but was (as they say) reconciled to that Church by *Alexander Briant*, who was executed; and his Mother dyed at *London* in the same perswasion. They had XI. Children, this Father *Parsons* being the middlemost. He was instructed in the *Latin* Tongue by *John Hayward*, or *Haywood*, once a Monk or *Canon-Regular* of the Abbey of *Torr*, who came out of *Devonshire* to be Vicar of *Stowey*; he was held a notable Twinger, and suspected as kind enough with *Parsons* Mother, lying at her House.

Dr. Satchell's  
Blessing on  
Monks & Virg-  
ins, p. 220;  
280.

Thus fitted for the University, thither was he sent, and entred into *Balio Colledg* in *Oxford*; but in what year, I cannot tell. In 1564, I meet \* with three *Parsons* in that Colledg, two of them *Bachelors* of

\* Libb. Martie  
Antiq. Oxon.

Rrrr 3

Arts,

*Arts*, and one an *Undergraduat*, who (comparing the time with the Customs of that Colledg) must be this same *Parsons*. In the year 1568, he was admitted *Socius Sacerdos*, commonly call'd *Chaplain-Fellow*; and so went into *Holy Orders*, though but *Batchelor of Arts*. In the year 1573, he took his Degree of *Master of Arts*; and in the next year, viz. the 13 of *February*, 1574, he resigned or quitted the Colledg.

\* A brief Apology, fol. 193, 194, &c.  
\* Answer to the brief Apol. p. 32, 33, &c.

But the manner how he left that place, hath not hitherto been agreed to on all hands; \* himself, to keep up his credit, will tell a fair Tale, and endeavour to lay some blots upon Dr. *Bagshaw*: on the other side the \* Doctor, though a great *Romanist*, undertakes to clear himself, to confute *Parsons* his story, and to render him faulty enough. Seeing these were both then Fellows of that Colledg, and both afterwards turn'd zealous *Romanists*, yet Enemies, and could understand this story best; yet finding them in different Tales, and so not willing more to believe than to dis-believe either; I shall take the story from a third hand, who was also Fellow of this Colledg, and afterwards Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*; but when he wrote this following Letter (which I transcrib'd from the Original) was *Master* or Head of *University Colledg*.

To my worshipful loving Friend, Mr. Dr. *Huffye*,  
at Mr. *Haiden's* House, who dwelleth at  
the Sign of the *Tunn* in *Watling-Street*; Give these.

YOU write unto me to know what is in record any way against Mr. *Parsons*; and I return you here inclosed word for word so much as is in the Register of *Baliol Colledg*. In the Resignation, as you may see, he had written *Sponte & coactus*; but now it is *Sponte non coactus*, [&] being blotted out, and [non] being set \* over. Which I am deceived if it be not alter'd by some body else of late, in as much as I am verily persuaded, that since my coming to the Colledg I have seen it *Sponte & coactus*; which although it carry a contradiction, yet intimateth that he resigned against his will. The particular reasons whereof, no man can tell better than Dr. *Turner*, now dwelling in *Fetter-lane*; or Dr. \* *Hide* of *Sarum*; for as I take it, they were both present at his Removing.

[non] Thus et  
\* In the Pro-  
Ser's Book I  
find one Tho.  
Hyde proceeded  
Master of  
Arts the same  
year with Rob.  
Parsons, viz.  
1573.

\* Christopher  
Bagshaw ad-  
mitted Fel-  
low 1572, left  
the Colledg  
1582, was  
made Priest  
in France, li-  
ved a while  
in the English  
Colledg at  
Rome; pro-  
ceeded Do-  
ctor, some  
say, at *Padua* [A. P. Reply, p. 156.]; others at *Paris*; and was one of the Faculty at *Sorbonne*. He was active against the Arch-Priest in the stirr at *Witch*: He lived to be very old.

The causes and manner of his giving over, as far as I could ever comprehend, were these: \* *Bagshaw*, being a smart young man, and one who thought his penny good Silver, after that he had his Grace to be *Batchelor of Arts*; was with some despight swindged by *Parsons*, being *Dean* of the *Colledg*; Hoc manet alta mente repostum: And *Bagshaw* afterward coming to be Fellow, was most hot in prosecution against *Parsons*. It was the more forwarded by Dr. *Squire's* displeasure, who was then *Master* of *Baliol Colledg*, and thought himself to have been much bitten by vile Libels, the Author whereof he conceived *Parsons* to be; who in truth was a man at that time wonderfully given to scoffing, and that with bitterness, which also was the cause that none of the Company loved him.

Now

Now Dr. Squire and Bagshaw being desirous of some occasion to trim him, this fell out: In the year 1572. Parsons had been Bourlier; and being joyn'd in Office with one Stanclit, a very simple Fellow, he took the advantage of the weakness of his Colleague, and falsified the Reckonings much to the damage of the Colledg; as also deeply polling the Commoners Names, whereof there was store in the Colledg; and withall, not sparing his own Scholars: By all which means it was thought, that he had purloin'd One hundred Marks.

His Office expiring at St. Luke's Tide, there were some that between that and February 1573. scanned over the Books, being moved thereto by the secret Complaints of some of the Commoners their Scholars; and finding it apparent, as also being now certified, that he was a Bastard; whereas it is the first quality there required by Statute, That every Fellow should be Legitimo Thoro natus; they proceeded to have his Expulsion solemnly. Where by the way you may add, that Parsons was not of the best fame concerning \* Incontinency, as I have heard some say who lived in Oxon at that time: but whether that were then objected against him, I have not heard.

\* Dr. Sutch's  
Blessington  
Mount Gerizim, pag. 288.

Parsons being put to this push in the Colledg Chappel, and ways sufficient concurring to expel him, and in truth no man standing for him, maketh humble request, That he might be suffered to resign; which with some a-do was yeilded to him; and then he wrote as you have here inclosed.

Afterwards, before the Assembly broke up, he entreated that his giving over might be conceald, by reason that it would be disgraceful unto him with all men, but especially with his Scholars and their Friends; and for these causes humbly prayed, That he might keep his Scholars, Chamber, &c. and be reputed as a Fellow in the House, the matter being concealed from all the Boys and the younger sort in the House; which then in words was yeilded unto, and that other Decree which now you see razed, was enacted for the time, but afterward was soon crossed, as you may behold.

And soon after their coming out of the Chappel, by Bagshaw's means a Peal of Bells was rung at Magdalen Parish-Church, being the Parish wherein Balliol Colledg standeth; the reason of which ringing, as it was imparted to some few, to be to ring out Mr. Parsons, so generally it was not known to the world, or in the Colledg, which gave occasion to this farther jest:

When Parsons was expell'd, he was one of the Deans of the Colledg, and so by his Place was to keep Corrections in the Hall on the Saturdays. The next time therefore of Corrections, which was the day of Parsons his Expulsion, or soon after, Dr. Squire causeth Parsons to go into the Hall as Dean, and to call the Book and Roll, &c. and then cometh Dr. Squire himself in, and as if it had been in kindness to countenance him (but in truth more profoundly to deride him) he calleth him at every word Mr. Dean, and desireth him often to have a strict care to the good government of the Youth; and not only for a fit, but all the time of his year that he was to continue in Office.

Some of the Commoners knew all this Pageant, and laught the more sweetly; and Parsons in the end spying how he was scorned, and nothing concealed; nay, understanding all his Knell which was rung out for him, for very shame got him away to London; and there not knowing what course at first to take, at length resolved to try his fortune beyond Sea, purposing, as it should seem at his departure, to study Physick; but afterward when he came into Italy, resolving rather to study the Civil Law; which he did for a time at Bononia, as himself in that place told Mr. Da-

vers;

vers, Brother to the late Sir John Davers, by the said Mr. Davers hath himself told me; but afterwards be-like wanting means of Continuance, he turn'd to be a Jesuit.

Presently upon his departure out of England, he sent a Letter, or rather a notable Libel to Dr. Squire; and he had so order'd the matter, that many Copies of the Letter were taken and abroad in the hands of others, before the Letter came to the Doctor; which was the true cause that many very lewd things were falsely reported of Dr. Squire, although in truth he was such a man as wanted no faults, &c.

February 1. 1601,  
At University-  
Colledg.

Your very loving Friend,  
GEORGE ABBOT.

The inclosed Resignation mentioned in the Letter, runs thus :

Ego Robertus Parsons Socius Collegii de Balliolo, Resigno omne munus & clameum, quem habeo vel habere potero Societatis meae in dicto Collegio, quod quidem facio sponte <sup>\* non</sup> <sup>et</sup> coactus, die decimo tertio mensis Februarii Anno Dom. 1573.

\* Here & is dash'd out, and non written over it.

Per me Rob. Parsons.

The inclosed Decree mentioned in the Letter, take thus :

Eodem tempore Decretum est unanimi consensu M<sup>ri</sup> & Reliquorum Sociorum, ut Magister Robertus Parsons nuperrime Socius retineat sibi sua Cubicula & Scholares quosq; voluerit, & Communia sua de Collegio habeat usq; ad Festum Paschatis immediate sequentis.

But this last Decree was presently after cancell'd or cross'd, and so remains in their Register-Book.

Being in Italy, he went to Rome, and there turned Jesuit; thence came again into England with Campian, but made what haste he could out again: sometimes living in Spain, instigating that King to invade England; other times living at Rome, where he was Rector of the English Colledg; was, as they say, in some probability of a Cardinal's Cap.

We have formerly told you of his pernicious Principles, taken out of his own Writings; maintaining, That the \* Pope hath power and authority to depose Kings: That \* Subjects of themselves may depose their Kings: Nor will he deny, but that Kings may lawfully be \* kill'd by their people, and such like. And now the better to understand the man, take a few Instances of his behaviour towards his Queen and Countrey; as they are delivered to us by the Romanists themselves: and here I shall only set down that which carrieth the greatest probability. William Clark the Priest saith thus of him:

\* See backward, l. 2. c. 1. p. 76, 77.

\* L. 2. c. 3. p. 93

\* L. 2. c. 4. p. 101.

"As

“As touching the Colledges and Pensions that are maintain'd and given by the *Spaniards* (which he so often inculcateth) we do whit thank him for them, as things are handled, and occasions thereby ministred, of our greater persecution at home, by reason of Fa. *Parsons* treacherous practises, thereby to promote the *Spanish Title* to our Countrey, and his hateful Stratagems with such Scholars as are there brought up, enforcing them to subscribe to *Blanks*, and by publick Orations to fortifie the said wrested Title of the *Infanta*, meaning *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, Daughter to *Philip II.* of *Spain*, whose Right to the *English Crown* was maintain'd in a Book by this *Parsons* made, but published by him under the false Name of *Dolman*: 'Twas call'd, *A Conference about the next Succession of the Crown of England*. Of this Book thus saith the former Priest.

—“Concerning his proposing the *Book of Titles* to be read in *Id.* fol. 69. the *Refectory* in *Rome*, instead of a Spiritual Lecture used to be read at such times: There be divers yet that will depose the same against him; and Mr. *Lawbery*, now a Reverend Priest, was the man should have read the same; but he rejected it.

Another tells us thus of Father *Parsons*:

—“It is well known, that Fa. *Parsons* in *Spain* caused many, as well others as Priests, to subscribe (as Priests) to the Title of the *Infanta*, now Duchesse of *Burgundy*. Fa. *Fancard* also hath made many to set their hands to three *Blanks*, although some refused to do it, as they have themselves reported at their coming into *England*. A. P. Reply to a Libel. pag. 81, 82.

“I have moreover understood, that Fa. *Parsons* was a chief dealer in sending of those *Armado's* which the *Spaniards* have set out for the Invasion of our Countrey; and them of *England* with whom he dealt most earnestly to go into the Navy which was set out in the year 1596, who refusing to be employed in any action against their Countrey, were for that cause sent away from the Colledg, and told that it was not convenient that they should stay in the Colledg, where they had given example of such repugnance.

“There is moreover sufficient proof, that after the evil success of the *Spanish* attempts, Fa. *Parsons* carried a Youth to the King of *Spain*, who pronounced a certain Speech for the purpose; which being ended, Fa. *Parsons* began to urge the King to give one attempt more; affirming, that he would write his Letters into *England*; and nothing doubted to effect what should be the great furtherance of such a journey, &c.

“Certain other Letters also have been seen of Fa. *Parsons* to his fellow-Jesuits in *England*, wherein he hath wished that the Catholics would unite themselves together, and set up a King of *England*. And in his Letters of the xxiv. of *January* 1600, to the Earl of *Angusse*, he confesseth that he dealt in such matters for eight or ten years.

*Watson* the Priest tells us thus: —“Did he not earnestly move our young Students in *Spain* to set their hands to a Schedule, That they would accept the Lady *Infanta* for Queen of *England*, after the decease of her Majesty that now is; yea, and finding them altogether unwilling to intermeddle with these State-Affairs, belonging nothing unto them, and most hurtful to both their Cause and Persons: used

§ f f f

he



“he not this cunning shift to draw on the innocent and simple youths, to pretend (forsooth) to them of *Valladolid*, that the Students in *Sevil* had done it already; no remedy then but they must follow. And having thus craftily gotten their Names, he shew'd them to the Students in *Sevil* for an example of their fact and forwardness, which he required them to imitate; that it would be well taken that they all did thus shew themselves desirous of the *Lady Infanta* for their Queen.

'Tis known well enough, that there hath been an old Saying or Prophecy (the *English* People doting most on such whimsies) running thus:

There shall be seen upon a day  
Between the *Bangh*, and the *May*,  
The black Fleet of *Norway*.

When that is come and gone,  
*England* build Houses of Lime and Stone;  
For after, Warrs shall you have none.

\* *Essays*, Ess.  
35. of Pro-  
phesies.  
\* *Challenge*,  
chap. 6. pag.  
177, 178.

And this, as the Lord \* *Bacon* saith, was commonly understood of the *Spanish* Invasion in 1588, the King of *Spain*'s Sirname being (as they say) *Norway*. But Dr. \* *Sutcliff*, the Dean of *Exeter*, tells us, That *Parsons* made another Interpretation of it, to wit, some after-Invasion, yet by the *Spaniards*; though the words of the Prophecies do somewhat differ, yet of these Toys are we told that *Parsons* made use of, to instigate the King of *Spain* to another Invasion, in which his Majesty need not doubt of Success, and a Conquest, as he said, seeing his Majesty's Name was *Philip Norway*, of whom the *English* had an old Prophecy:

Between *Boston* Bay  
And the Pile of *Foudray*,  
Shall be seen the black Navy of *Norway*.

\* *Quodlibets*  
pag. 150. 189.  
51. 126. 132.

And that nothing might be left undone to advantage the *Spanish* Cause and Title, the chiefest about the Queen were solicited to assist that Interest; *Watson* the Priest telling us ——— \* That Father *Parsons* sent a Jesuit-Priest to the Earl of *Essex*, to have had him to take a Pension of the King of *Spain* privately, for the advancement of his designments. and with others also they were not wanting.

\* *Eliz. An.*  
8598.

And of this the Learned \* *Camden* will give us some farther light, telling us, That the Earl of *Essex* affirmed, that *Anthony Rolston* an *English* Fugitive, was by the *Spanish* Agitators sent into *England*, *Creswell* the Jesuit assisting in it, as if the business were only to get a peace betwixt the two Crowns, but in truth (as *Rolston* himself confessed) to discover what preparations the *English* had for warr; to animate and confirm the *Romanists*, and by bribes and large promises to corrupt some great Lords about the Queen; in particular, the Earl of *Essex*.

Neither was *Parsons* less active and zealous (when he saw that ill success had render'd the *Spaniard* more cold in the business) for the Pope's Designs upon *England*, whether it were for the Duke of *Parma*, or his younger Brother Cardinal *Fernese*, as the wise Cardinal *D'Osset* doth in several places discover, and for which *Pasquin* at *Rome* gave him

him a rub; for proof of this, we need go no further than his own Countrey-man *John Colleton*, born in *Somersetshire*, of *Lincoln Colledg* in *Oxford*, and (as *Pitt* thinks) once Fellow of it; a great *Romanist*, for which for some years he under-went imprisonment, was one of the greatest esteem amongst them, having been not only an Assistant to two of their Arch-Priests, but in the vacancy supplied the place itself, and by them called Arch-Deacon of *London*: This man, of such credit and repute, tells us thus of *Father Parsons*.

\* *The Magistrates have in their hands, and de facto have shewed to* <sup>some Prisoners at the time of their Examinations (for proof, and to exaggerate</sup> <sup>the Disloyalties and Treasons objected), one or more Letters, which they affirm</sup> <sup>to be Father Parsons, wherein his concurrence and furtherance to an Inva-</sup> <sup>sion were expressed. Then the man's restless tampering in State-matters, be-</sup> <sup>ing reported to have proffered and re-proffered the Crown of our Countrey</sup> <sup>to several Princes, now to one, now to another, as the meeting of matters</sup> <sup>and opportunities could most recommend and credit his words, and enter-</sup> <sup>tain the Personage with hopes thereof, &c.</sup>

Neither is *Father Parsons* holden only of our Magistrates for a Statist or Merchandizer of the Crown and Diadem (though this were enough to estrange and divorce us from having any connexion or partaking in ought with him); but his Travels and Negotiations this way, are become so notoriously known, that even *Pasquine* in *Rome* (as Intelligence is sent us) speaketh in this manner of him:

If there be any man that will buy the Kingdom of *England*, let him repair to a Merchant in a black square Cap in the City, and he shall have a very good Penniworth thereof.

That this is the true Copy word for word, I cannot say; but rather the substance of it, or else only a Translation, the Original of it being either in *Italian* or *Latin*, because hung upon *Pasquin's* Buttock in the night time, by a *Roman Gentleman*, as \* one telleth us, who giveth us another rendring of it, thus:

\* A.C. a Letter to his dis- Jesuited King- man, pag. 43.

If there be any Citizen here in *Rome*, that is minded to purchase the Realm of *England*, let him repair to the Rector of the *English Colledg* here within the City, and he in *Jesus* Name will afford him a good Penniworth.

STT 2

Which

Quodlibet, p.  
120, 121.  
The Discove-  
ry, pag. 61.  
A Copy of  
certain Dis-  
courses, p. 127

Which of these two is the truest Translation, I cannot tell; 'tis cer-  
tain the sense is the same: and it cannot be denied but that he was the  
most active man in carrying on the designs against *England*, for which  
he was in great repute and authority both with Pope and *Spaniard*;  
whereupon there were some thoughts of a *Cardinal's* Cap for him:  
To which purpose they tell us, that his Friends, *Holt* the Jesuit, and  
Dr. *Thomas Worthington* (who also became a Jesuit), drew up a formal  
Letter supplicative in the Name of the people of *England*, to the King  
of *Spain*, humbly beseeching his Majesty, that for the good of *Eng-*  
*land* he would earnestly deal with the Pope that Father *Parsons* might  
be a *Cardinal*; affirming that to be the only means to unite the *English*  
hearts to his Majesties Service and Interest. A little after, 1597, *Par-*  
*sons* gets from *Spain* to *Rome*; where he is no sooner arrived, but *Car-*  
*dinal Baronius*, and another *Spanish* Cardinal, visit him; and it is talk-  
ed about, that *Parsons* is to be a Cardinal too. Of which they tell one  
story: how he being advised by his Physicians to keep his stomach warm,  
sent his Brother *George* for some Scarlet, intending to make it a Sto-  
macher; his Brother's head being posselt with *Robert's* advancement,  
went to the Merchants, and had carried into the Colledg a great deal  
of divers pieces of Scarlet, for the making of his Brothers *Cardinals*  
Robes; for so he gave out to all his acquaintants he met. Father *Par-*  
*sons* wondring at the reason of so much Scarlet, but understanding the  
mistake, was not a little vext and troubled, knowing what sport would  
be made with it; so the better to conceal it, he dismiss the Merchants  
secretly out at a Back-door.

Dr. James his  
Jesuits down-  
fall.

Many more Stories might be told of Father *Parsons*, some accusing  
him of Forgery, Cheating, Cozenage, Corrupting of Registers and  
Records, Robbing of Libraries, and many other such like Crimes, which  
may be found in the Writings of the *Romish* Priests themselves.

Besides those Books mentioned by *Pits*, *Ribadeneira*, or *Alegambe*,  
he hath writ several others; as,

*Leicester's Commonwealth*, which was then by some jeeringly call'd  
*Green-Coat*, because it was then commonly spread abroad in *Green Co-*  
*vers*. It was a Book full of railing: yet the Earl was bad enough.

Manifestati-  
on of folly,  
cap. 5.

*A Memorial for Reformation*; or a *Memorial or Remembrance* for  
them that shall live when *Catholique Religion* shall be restored into *Eng-*  
*land*. And this is its true Title, though some do commonly call it *The*  
*High Council of Reformation* for *England*, &c. It is a Book that *Par-*  
*sons* saith he was almost twenty years in compiling. It was never print-  
ed, *Parsons* being very cautious of having of it seen; the design of it  
was, to find fault with former Laws and Governments, all which he un-  
dertook to alter and mend. Some *Romanists* have found fault with  
him, as if in it he designed to run down all other Orders, and to ad-  
vance the *Jesuits*. But *Parsons* undertakes to vindicate himself. In short,  
somewhat to understand the Design, take the Division of the Book  
thus:

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Bridgm  
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formerly  
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but whet

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ons his o  
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no such th  
nuscrit at  
He scarc  
infignicant

This Book had  
Three Parts:

1. The whole Body of the Realm jointly, which  
consisteth of Ten Chapters.

2. The Clergy: containing

The Clergy in gene-  
ral. Then Bishops,  
Priests, Religious  
men, Churches,  
Schools, and Uni-  
versities particular-  
ly: having Seven  
Chapters.

3. The Temporality, or  
Laity, containing

Prince, with his  
Council.  
Nobility and Gen-  
try.  
Commons, all of in-  
ferior rank, as  
Husbandmen, Ser-  
vants, &c.  
Inns of Court, Law:  
containing Five  
Chapters.

He wrote it in the \* *English* Tongue, as one saith; and if any where  
to be seen, probably in the *English* Colledg at *Rome*. And I suppose it  
is the same which \* himself once quoteth with his *Latin* Title---*De Re-*  
*formatione Ecclesie Anglicanæ per aliquot Capita*. He \* several times men-  
tions his Writings in *Certamen Ecclesie Anglicanæ*; by which Book is  
meant *Concertatio Ecclesie Catholice in Anglia*: in which he concludes  
the First Part: The Second Part was for the most part writ by *Gib-*  
*bons* and *Fenn*, which was gathered together and published by *John*  
*Bridgman* a Jesuit.

\* *Lex. di. Bon-*  
*co Bizzarrie*  
*Politiche,*  
*pag. 27, 28.*  
\* *Parson's*  
*Three Con-*  
*versions of*  
*Engl. Part 3*  
*Vol. 2. pag.*  
*396.*  
\* *Id. Part. 3.*  
*Vol. 1. pag.*  
*321, 351, 369*

There is in *Baliol* Colledg-Library a thick Quarto Manuscript, call'd,

*Controversia nostri Temporis in Epitomen reducia.*

It was given to that Colledg by *John Bayly*, Doctor in Divinity,  
formerly Fellow of *Exeter* Colledg. There was also one *John Bayly* who  
succeeded *Christopher Bagshaw*, in his Fellowship of *Baliol* Colledg, 1582:  
but whether related to the former *Bayly*, I know not.

This Dr. *Bayly* was eldest Son to *Lewis Bayly*, Lord Bishop of *Bangor*;  
the Book, as much as I can gather by comparing, is all writ with *Par-*  
*sons* his own hand; and the Learned \* Dr. *John Reynolds* saith *Parsons*  
was the Author of it.

\* *Censura*  
*lib. Apocryp.*  
*Prælect. 2.*  
*Coll. 22.*

I have heard it also said, that he wrote a little Book *De Sacra Scrip-*  
*tura*; and that it was in the foresaid Library; but upon search I find  
no such thing there, and may suppose it a mistake; the former Ma-  
nuscript at the beginning treating of that Subject.

He scarce put his Name to any of his Books, but for the most part  
insignificant and impertinent Letters; sometimes false Names, as

SSSS 3

*John*

\* W.C. Reply fol. 73. a. \* Rob. Abbot Antilog. fol. 14. a.

He was born ————— 1546 or 1547  
 Admitted Fellow of *Baliol* Colledg ————— 1568  
 Was Master of Arts ————— 1573  
 Left the Colledg ————— 157½  
 Studied Law and Physick in *Italy* ————— 1574  
 Admitted Jesuit at *Rome* ————— 1575  
 Return'd into *England* with *Campion* }  
     but made haste out again } ————— 1580  
 Made Rector of the *English* Colledg at *Rome* ————— 1587  
 Return'd from *Spain* to *Rome*, some say }  
     in hopes of a Cardinal's Cap } ————— 1597  
 Dyed at *Rome*, and is honour'd in the }  
     Cell with a long and noble Epitaph } ————— 1610

## CHAP.



## CHAP. II.

I. *The Gunpowder-Treason.*II. *The Life of Father Garnet; with the story of his Straw.*

**T**HE Narrative of this Conspiracy, commonly call'd the *Gunpowder-Treason*, being generally known, and related at large, as well by Forreigners, as Natives; I shall be the shorter in it. 1605.  
The sum of it take thus:

A Club of *Romanists*, vext that a Toleration was not granted, resolv'd to resettle their Religion by the ruin of the King and Kingdom. To this end many Plots had been contriv'd against Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*. But they failing, a more desperate is pitch'd on, and this was, With one Blow to destroy King, Queen, Princes, Bishops, Nobles, and Commons, who were not of their Perswasion.

This is concluded feasible, by blowing up the *Parliament-House*, where they or their Representatives meet. To this purpose *Piercy* hireth an House adjoining, intending by that means to undermine it; which Mine being stuff'd with Gunpowder and other Materials, would not fail of Execution. But first, they take an Oath of Secrecy in an House behind *St. Clements Church* without *Temple-Barr*.

## The OATH.

*You shall swear by the Blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, Never to disclose directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret, nor assist from the Execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave.*

This done, they went into a more private Chamber, heard *Mass*, and received the Sacrament from one *William Gerard*.

In short, To work they fall, and in some time had wrought under a little Entry to the Wall of the *Parliament-House*, under-propping it with Wood as they proceeded. But at last, occasion offering it self, they hired a *Convenient Cellar* just under the House, into which they conveyed Thirty six Barrels of Powder, over which they laid a Thousand Billets, and Five hundred Fagots, with some Stones and Iron Barrs.

Things thus fitted, they expect the day of the *Parliaments* sitting, which from time to time had been put off till the Fifth of *November*. In the meantime they consult how to seise on the Prince (*Henry*) if he should not be at the House. As for *Charles Duke of York* (after King *Charles* the Martyr) *Piercy* undertook to surprise him, whom with his Brother *Henry* they resolve to dispatch out of the World; yet the better to bring their Ends about, they thought good to center their hopes

hopes in one of the Royal Blood; and this must be the Lady *Elizabeth* (afterwards married to the *Palgrave*), whom they would bring up, and marry according to their Interests; thinking thereby also to oblige many of the Nobility to their Cause, upon hopes of having her to Wife, and with her the Crown. She was now at *Comb*, the Lord *Harrington's* House in *Warwickshire*; where to secure her, they contrived a great Hunting-Match to be the Sixth of November on *Dunsmore-Heath*, under which pretence many *Romanists* would meet well Appointed, and surprise her by force.

As for a present supply of Moneys, Sir *Everard Digby* promised Fifteen hundred pounds, Mr. *Francis Tresham* Two thousand pounds, and *Piercy* all that he could get of the Earl of *Northumberland* (his Kinsman) his Rents, which was about Four thousand pounds. They also contrived how to keep the Slander of such a Villany from themselves and Religion; so determined to throw the Crime upon the *Puritans* (a sort of people bad enough of themselves, that we need not load them with other mens Faults) by declaring them to be the Traytors who blew up the Parliament.

To carry on which false report, they had framed a *Proclamation*, which they had got printed, and ready for publishing upon the Sign given, which they suppressed, and burnt upon the discovery, though some of them by chance came to view, and were seen and read by Dr. *Parker* Dean of *Lincoln*, Sir *W. Ellis* Recorder of the said City, and other persons. And the better also to get the same Credit with the people, *Keys* (Brother-in-law to Mr. *Pickering*) had a few days before either borrowed or bought the swift Horse (well known in *London*, and thereabouts) of Mr. *Pickering* of *Tichmarch-grove* in *Northamptonshire* (a noted *Puritan*, whom they also designed to kill), upon which *Faux* (having fired the Match and Touchwood leading to the Train) was to escape, as they bore him in hand; but their design was to kill him at his taking Horse, for *Pickering's* Man; which the people would easily believe, seeing the Horse, so well known to them; and the multitude once persuaded of this, would be more facill to joyn with them, under notion of doing Justice upon such supposed Traytors and Wretches.

They also consult how to keep the *Romish* Lords from going that day to Parliament, the better to strengthen their Cause by their preservation. But in the height of all their hopes and expectations, a discovery is made thus:

\* Anf. to Sir  
Ans. Willoughby  
Court of K.  
James, pag. 73  
M.S.

Some of them (supposed by *Monteagle* to be *Piercy*, but Bishop \* *Goodman* saith it was *Tresham* who wrote the Letter) having a great affection to the said Lord *Monteagle* (Son and Heir to the Lord *Morley*) had a mind to preserve him also from the intended slaughter. So one Evening a Letter sealed is delivered in the Street (the *Strand*) by an unknown Fellow, to one of the Lord's Foot-men, charging him to deliver it with care to his Lord. *Monteagle* opens it, finds it without Date or Subscription, writ with a very bad hand, and in a stile he knew not what to make of, thus:

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My Lord;

**O**UT of the love I bear to some of your Friends, I have a care of your Preservation; therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance this Parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time.

And think not slightly of this Advertisement, but retire yourself into your Countrey, where you may expect the Event in safety: For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a Terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them.

This Counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the Danger is past, as soon as you have burn'd this Letter; and I hope God will give you the Grace to make good use of it: To whose holy Protection I commend you.

Monteagle wondred at the Letter and its delivery; and thinking it might relate to some mischief, thought it his duty to make it known: so away he goeth to *White-Hall*, shews it to the Earl of *Salisbury*, then Secretary of State, who tells some other of the Privy-Council of it; and the King being returned from his Hunting at *Royston*, they deliver it to Him.

His Majesty, having seriously considered it, and all other circumstances; concluded, that it might relate to some Design to blow up the Parliament; and in this jealousy ordered the Rooms and Vaults about the House to be searched; which was done the night before the Sessions; when in the foresaid Cellar under the *Lords-House*, were found the Barrels of Powder, and at the door standing *Guido Faux* booted and spurr'd, with a large *Dark-Lanthorn* (now to be seen in *Oxford Library*) with Matches, Tinder-Box, and other Materials for his Design.

*Faux* was presently carried to Court and examined, where he appeared sturdy and scornful, maintaining the Design to be lawful; That *James* was not his King, because an Heretick; was sorry that the Plot fail'd, and that he had not blown up the House, with himself, and those who were sent to search; affirming, That God would have had the Plot conceal'd, but it was the Devil who reveal'd it. At last, *Faux* himself confess'd all that he knew of the Treason. Thus far discovered, the King suspecting some Commotions or Risings, sent with all speed to prevent them by timely notice by *Lepton* and others. This was that Mr. *John Lepton* of *York-shire*, who rid so often betwixt *London* and *York* in one Week, viz. in *May* 1606; who though he won his Wager, yet was a Loser, never getting his winnings.

*Piercy, Wright, &c.* who now lurked about *London* to expect the fatal Blow, informed of the discovery, take Horse, making what haste they can to their Companions, appointed to be at the Rendezvous on *Dunsmore*. In brief, according to their abilities they run into open Rebellion, but to their own Destruction. The High-Sheriffs, with other Magistrates and Loyal Subjects, so hunting them, that they were either all dispersed, slain, or taken, and the chief of them afterwards condemned and executed.

Mr. *Osborn* (whose Observations and Principles are not always ap-  
provable) tells us, that his *Catholique Majesty* sent an Agent on purpose

*Memoires of  
L. James, pag.  
30.*

T t t



to congratulate King James his great preservation: A flattery so palpable, as the Pope could not refrain laughing in the face of Cardinal D'Ossat, when he first told it him. Thus he.

This Agent was *Don Juan de Mendoza*, who brought very rich Presents with him. Whether it was *Flattery*, or *Hypocrisie*, or no, is no great matter; it being the custom of Princes, though Enemies, to use such Ceremonies. And I can tell him farther, That a little after the Plot, a sudden report being spread that King James was kill'd; and Sir *Lewis Lewkenor*, then *Master of the Ceremonies*, being sent by the Council to certify the Forreign Minister, of the King's safety and health, *Don Pedro de Cunigo*, the *Spanish* Ambassador at London, seemed almost mad for joy; and for the good News, presented Sir *Lewis* with a great Gold Chain.

\* Les Ambassadeurs & Negotiations, par Cesar Ligier, l. 3. p. 450

The *Legendaries* will tell us of several men speaking after their heads were cut off; and *Turrianus* the Jesuit will make *Clemens*, several years after he knew that St James was dead, yet to write an Epistle of Instructions to the said St. James: And *Osborn* here doth much follow the same wonders, by telling us that this story is testified by Cardinal D'Ossat, whereas that Cardinal was dead above a year before the Powder-Plot hapned. Another mistake he hath, saying, That the Pope laugh'd at the *Flattery*; whereas Cardinal \* *Perron* (who was the man that told the Pope of the *Spanish* Ambassy for England) saith, his Holiness was displeased at the *Hypocrisie*.

But to return: What was the extent of this Treason, and how many were assistants to it, is difficult to discover. Certain it is, that some of the Nobility were suspected, imprisoned, or fined, or call'd in question for not coming up at that time to Parliament.

About this time they sent over Sir *Edmond Baynham* to Pope *Pius V.* And Father *Parsons* Rector of the *English* Colledg there, orders the Students to pray---For the Intention of their Father Rector; which made some of them wonder what could be the meaning of such an unusual Prayer, not knowing what his Intention was. But being afterwards informed of the discovery of the Plot, Sixteen of them (abhorring such jugling and bloody Designs) forsook the Colledg, slipt into France, some of them turning to the Church of England, whither they came.

Vid. Bp. Andrews Respons. ad Apol. Bellarmini, c. 5. pag. 113.

*Guido Faux* himself had been also with the Pope, and consulted with the aforesaid *Parsons*; and it is affirmed by the voluntary Confession of a Jesuit, That at this time there were three Bulls procured from the Pope, and ready upon this occasion; and should have been published, had the Powder done the intended Execution; but that failing, they were suppress'd.

In the Netherlands, *Hugh Owen* (an *English* Traitor) was made acquainted with it, highly commending the Contrivance; and so did *William Baldwin*, the Legier Jesuit in Flanders, who some years afterwards was apprehended at *Basil*, in *Switzerland*, as he was in disguise stealing into Italy. He was sent into England, where he laid some years in the Tower, and at last was delivered at the desire of *Gondemar* the *Spanish* Ambassador, whose Cunning did sometimes out-master the Court-Policy. As for *Baldwin*, he dyed at *Omers* in September, 1632.

About this time in Spain, lived as Legier for their Cause, *Arthur Creswell*; who after his turning Jesuit, call'd himself *Joseph Creswell*, the only man, as Sir *Edward Coke* said, he ever heard of to change his Christian

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Christian Name : he was informed of the Powder-Plot , and liked it so well, that he came into \* *England* at this time to act ( as 'tis said ) his part in this glorious Action ; but he was so wise as to haste back again for his own safety ; and dyed afterwards in grief and discontent, at *Gant*, 1623 ; having for many years endeavoured the disturbance of the Kingdom.

As for *Portugal*, *Thomas Robinson* ( who belonged to the *English* Convent at *Lisbon* ) affords us this Observation. ——— *Henry Flood*, a Jesuit, who afterwards lurked in *England* as chief Agent for the transporting of *Nunns* to *Bruxels*, *Graveling*, *Lisbon*, or any other place--- *This Flood caused the Jesuits at Lisbon to spend a great deal of Money on Powder on a Festival-day, a little before the Powder-Treason in England should have been effected, thereby to make experience of the force thereof; and also perswaded one John Haw ( a Merchant, whom he had perverted ) and divers other Catholics, to go over into England, and to expect their Redemption there ( as he calls it ) a while.*

\* *Tho. Spru-  
er's Hist. of  
the Gun-  
powder Treason, p. 72, 73.*  
  
*Anatomy of  
the Eng. Nun.  
at Lisb. p. 3.  
Margin.*

How long this Conspiracy had been on the Anvil , is hard to say. *Mr. Cambden* layeth the foundation of it on the *Popes Breves* ( 1600 ) that were sent over to exclude *King James*, or any other that should not maintain the *Roman* Religion. And *Catesby* himself laid the greatest force and confirmation upon them. For when in conference *Father Garnet* seem'd to desire that the *Pope's* consent might be obtain'd; *Catesby* answered, That he took that as granted by the *Pope* in his *Bulls* or *Breves* before : for ( said he ) if it were not lawful to receive or repell him, the said *Bulls* or *Breves* do import ; then is it lawful also to expel or cast him out.

And it appears by the Confessions of *Faux* and *Thomas Winter*, that in the first year of *King James*, 1603, the Plot was more fully agreed on, and the blowing up of the Parliament-House by Powder, concluded ; from which time, till its discovery, they continually had their Agitators and Councils to promote the Cause, and carry on the Work, with all vigour and secrecie.

What number of them were engaged in it in *England*, I know not; nor did there appear above an hundred in a Body: but that others had some hints or notice of it, is more than probable. And it was observed, that that very morning ( viz. *November V.* ) the *Romanists* at *Rowington* went to *Warwick* and rang the Bells. And the same Night *Grant*, with some others, went to the Stable of *Warwick-Castle*, took away the Horses thence, rid two miles off to *Norbrook* ( *Grant's* House ) where *Rockwood's* Wife, *Morgan's* Wife, with some others of the same stamp met, to rejoyce with them for the downfall of *Heresie* ; encouraging their Husbands to go on, encrease their Forces, and fight it out to the last.

Nor need we suppose, that their Priests and Jesuits in *England* were idle in this grand Affair, which had been so long in hammering amongst them. We meet with *Hammond* the Jesuit very active, not only encouraging them to Cruelty, but also after it was discovered to confess and absolve at one time about Twenty of the Rebels at *Robert Winter's* House.

*Greenwell* ( alias *Tesmond* ) another Jesuit, was so zealous in this holy Cause, that when he knew the Plot was known, he call'd *Father Hall* a *Flegmatick Fellow*, because he thought him not active enough to advance the Rebellion ; and in this fury hurried himself down into

T t t t 2

Lancashire,

*Lancashire*, to see what troubles he would raise there, by falsely declaring as he went along, That there was a design to cut all the throats of the *Romanists*.

Rich. Carpenter's Sermon, Novemb. 5. 1662, pag. 11

Yet was the said Father *Hall* (alias *Oldcorne*) a Jesuit eager enough for the Plot, encouraging Mr. *Littleton* with the justness of the Design, however the Event was: Instancing, how the *Turks* sometimes beat the *Christians*; and that the Eleven Tribes of *Israel* were twice overcome, though God himself had commanded them to go and fight against *Benniamin*. What need we trouble our selves with Father *Thomson* the Jesuit, who used to vapour to his Scholars at *Rome*, how oft his shirt had been wet with digging under the Parliament-House; and other such like stories, which might be endless?

However, there are some *Romanists* would gladly have the world believe all this to be but a meer cheat, only to be a Trick of *Salisbury* the then Secretary; and for proof, I have had the patience and pleasure to hear a story very gravely told, How one lurking under the Council-Table, (and upon what jealousy came he there?) conceal'd by the long Carpet, heard much of the Contrivance. A Tale so ridiculous, that to endeavour its confutation, would argue one more impertinent than the Tale-teller.

But, though this story might be false, yet will they have *Cecyl* to be the Plotter, and to draw these *Romanists* into it; as if (supposing this were true) they were not guilty, and Traytors. Can you deny but that they themselves thought the Plot lawful and just? That accordingly they really intended it? And would have done it, if not prevented? If *Cecyl* occasioned it, he must use some Means and Instruments; and who and what they were, is a wonder that they were not discovered and known before now: Those who were Executed, accused no body, and as the Poet saith well,

Hudibras, part 2. Cant. 1.

—He that hangs, or beats out's Brains,  
The Devil's in him if he feigns.

If this were a Cheat, and known so to be, would not Father *Parsons* and others have vapoured with it all the World over? Would they have been silent in the matter? Or would they have concealed any thing that would have vindicated themselves, and exposed and shamed the Church of *England*? Were they such Friends to us, and such Enemies to their own Credit, Cause, and Reputation?

\* Judgment of a Cath. concerning the Oath of Alleg. Parag. 1. §. 10.  
\* A Moderate Defence, p. 7.

But on the contrary, Why doth \* *Parsons*, as if ashamed at it, seem troubled at the very naming of it, as it were, desiring to hear no more of it? Why doth *Will. Warmington*, an honest Priest, confess, That \* *none therein were culpable, but only Jesuits and Catholics*.

\* An. 1609, §. 8. Divinitas evasit.  
a Patefactis mirabiliter eorum Consiliis. Briet. An.

If the Plot was laid and known before, Why doth *Spondanus* say, That the King's Preservation was \* *miraculous*? And why doth a great Jesuit now confess, That the discovery of the Plot was very \* *wonderful*.

1605.  
c Examen. Prefat. p. 43.  
d If. Casaubon Epist. 619.

But lastly, Why do several of them justify the Powder-Plot? *be* *Ca* *quens* is so favourable to the Plotters, that he alloweth them a good place in Heaven; and yet we must not question but that King *James* is tormented in Hell? Hath there not been publicly printed Apologies for the Fact, and those who suffered in it, declared \* *Martyrs*? Did not

not \* *John* he thought it to be mer offence

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not \**John Grant*, one of the Traytors, declare at his Execution, That he thought the Fact was so far from being sinful, that he rather judged it to be meritorious, and enough to blot out or satisfy for all his former offences?

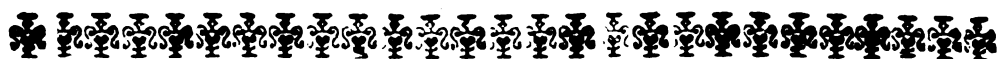
But enough of this; only by the by we are told, That the Heads of *Catesby* and *Piercy* were set over the *House of Lords*, but were afterward (as 'tis said) removed, and others set in their places. And a Learned and Honest Pen tells us thus ——— \**I cannot leave unobserved, That in the height of the late Tyranny, two Heads of the Gunpowder-Traytors that were set up upon the House of Lords, were taken down, not by the high Winds, but by the same Zeal which plotted that Treason, and with the leave of Traytors of another Feather. We may bear in time, that those holy Reliques are shrined up in Gold, and are working Miracles.* To this may be added, That the \**Romanists* confess themselves, that *Catesby*, *Tresham*, *T. Winter*, the two *Wrights*, and *Grant*, were in *Essex* his Rebellion. That *Piercy* gave the Pistol to his Master the old Earl of *Northumberland* in the *Tower*; as also, that when they drew up a *Petition* to the *Parliament* for Favour, or a Toleration, Who should be the \**Presenters* of it, but *Sir Francis Hastings*, and *Sir Richard Knightly*, two noted *Puritans*? Whereby it seems, that these two Enemies can joyn together against the Church of *England*. But now it is not amiss to say something concerning *Father Garnet*, who made the greatest noise in this Plot.

\* *Id. Epist.*  
624. *Front.*  
*Ducas.*

*Osborn's Mem.*  
of *K. James*,  
p. 31.  
\* *Peter du*  
*Monlin*, *Vin-*  
*dication of*  
the sincerity  
of the Prote-  
stant Rellig.  
pag. 64.

\* Their Pro-  
testants Plea  
and Petition  
for Priests  
and Papists,  
p. 58.

\* *Id. pag. 70.*



## S E C T. II.

*The Life of Father Garnet; with the story of his Straw.*

**H**ENRY GARNET was born in Nottinghamshire, 1555, of Gentile Parents; was sent to Winchester School, where he was under the Tuition of the Learned Thomas Bilson, then School-Master there, and afterwards Bishop of Winchester.

Vid. Rob. Ab-  
bot (Bishop of  
Salisbury)  
Antilog. in  
Epist. ad Le-  
ctorem.

In his Youth he was as bad as his Neighbours, yet not behind in Learning; was one of the chief *Prepositors* of the School; in which place he began to be a young Conspirator, having framed a cruel Plot to fall upon the School-Master, and cut off his right hand. To which might be added his filthy *Sodomy*, with which he basely abused five or six of the handsomest Scholars. And perceiving that these his Crimes would hinder his promotion to *New-Colledg* in *Oxford* (from which School that Noble Foundation is supplied) he went to *London*, and obtained to be Corrector of the *Common-Law* Press, under Mr. Tottle the Printer.

Here he staid not long, going to *Rome*, where he turn'd Jesuit 1575. In this having employed himself some years, he return'd to *England* 1586, where he was very active against his Queen and Countrey, as in the *Spanish* Invasion, and other such like Conspiracies; and the better to secure himself, alter'd his Name as opportunity served, sometimes lurking under these several Names:

*Walley. Darcy. Roberts. Farmer. Philips.*

Very zealous he was in hindring the coming of King *James* to the *English* Crown; and his Example was a great encouragement to the *Romanists*, he being the Provincial or Head of the Jesuits in *England*. The better to prevent King *James* his Succession, he had two *Bulls* or *Breves* lying by him from the Pope, to publish as occasion served. And for a farther assistance, he sent *Thomas Winter* into *Spain*, 1601; with whom went also *Greenwell*, alias *Tesmond* the Jesuit. These, according to their Instructions, resort to Father *Creswell*, the Legier Jesuit there, who conducted them to *Don Pedro Franceje*, Secretary of State; and also to the Duke of *Lerma*, the chief Favourite; where they desire, that a *Spanish* Army might presently be sent into *England*, and they should not want aid from the *Romanists* in that Island. The Request is consented to, the King promising to employ in it 100000 Crowns; wishing them in the mean time to give him notice of the Queen's death when it should happen.

Whilst these Designs are carrying on, Queen *Elizabeth* dyed, and King *James* succeeded in the Throne, who granted a general and full pardon for all former Treasons, to all who would take them out under the

the Great Seal; and amongst the rest *Garnet* also took out one under the Name of

### Henry Garnet of London, Gentleman.

He, *Catesby*, and *Tresham*, had a little before employed *Christopher Wright* into *Spain*, to give advertisement of the Queen's death, and to continue their former Negotiation with *Winter*. But now perceiving the *Spanish* King cold in the business [ he well considering the peaceable entrance of King *James*, how firmly he was settled in the Throne, how often he had undertaken against *England*, but without success; and now how his Treasures were much exhausted ] *Catesby* therefore thinks nothing like some lusty Plot at home; and at last this Gunpowder-Treason is concluded on, which if it took effect, might raise such Troubles and Garboils in *England*, that amongst the several Interests, the *Romanists* ( who would stick together ) might play their own Games well, and by assistance from beyond Seas, secure their Cause, if not command the Crown.

In this, one scruple seem'd to stick by *Catesby*; for considering that at this general blowing up, some *Romanists* could not be kept from that slaughter; it being impossible to keep all they wish'd well to, from going to the Parliament-House, without probability of a discovery. Upon this doubt, *Catesby* repaireth to *Garnet*, propounds unto him the case, asking, Whether for the good and promotion of the Catholique Cause against Hereticks (the necessity of time, and occasion so requiring it) it be lawful or no amongst many *Nocents* to destroy and take away some *Innocents* also?

To this *Garnet* answers affirmatively; declaring, That if the advantage were greater to the Catholick part, by taking away some *Innocents* together with many *Nocents*, then doubtless it should be lawful to kill and destroy them all; as we must not forbear the storming of a Town, though some Friends be in it, who with the Enemy might be slain.

Now they are of opinion, That the Design is so secret, that there is no probability of its discovery; yet *Garnet* seem'd to wish, that the Pope's Consent were had; but *Catesby* is of opinion, that the will of the Pope is sufficiently manifest by his former *Bulls* positively against King *James* his Government or Rule.

In *May* 1605, fell out certain Broils in *Wales* by the *Romanists*.

In *June* doth *Greenwell* the Jesuit consult at large with *Garnet* about the Treason; but this, as he pleaded, was under the disguise of *Confession*. Now also was held a great Consultation or Conference between *Garnet*, *Catesby*, and *Tresham*, concerning the strength of the *Romanists* in *England*, that they might inform the Pope of it.

In *August*, *Garnet* sent Sir *Edmund Baynam* to the Pope (whom he \*acquainted with the Powder-Plot) under the vizard of desiring his Holiness to command all *English Romanists* (as they say) to cease from any farther Commotions (as they \*gave out in *Babington's* Treason), knowing that such little troubles or endeavours would but hinder their Design, now wholly trusting to the Powder-Blow, which would be past before *Baynam* could end his business at *Rome*, and return the Pope's Answer; and if discovered, this might bespeak *Garnet* of a peaceable humour.

\* *Abbot Anti-log.* fol. 176.b

\* *Camden E. liz.* An. 1586.

IN

In *September*, Pilgrimages and Devotions are appointed to be at Saint *Winifrides Well* in *Flintshire* in *Wales*; under which pretence their Prayers, Meetings, and Consultations, might advance the Cause.

In *October* doth *Garnet* meet the rest of the Plotters in *Warwickshire* at *Coughton*, bordering upon *Worcestershire*; to which place they resorted from all Counties.

In *November* the first, *Garnet* prayed openly for good success; and, amongst other Expressions, used this part of an Hymn:

*Gentem auferte perfidam  
Credientium de sinibus;  
Ut Christo laudes debitas  
Perfolvamus alacriter.*

From us, this Faithless people, Lord, destroy;  
That we due praise may give to Thee with joy.

\* L. 10. 6. 55.  
\* Pag. 13.

*Speed*\*, and from him \* *Spencer*, tell us, That these Verses were made by *Garnet*; but by a great mistake; for they are part of an old Hymn formerly used sometimes in the Church on *All-Saints* day; but then especially aiming at the \* *Turks* and *Saracens*; but here we need not question, strongly designed against the Church of *England*; which it may be was the occasion that *Garnet* did afterwards upon more serious thoughts fear, that this Hymn would be objected against him. But of this I make no great matter, seeing he prayed but according to his Church, and may carry a good, as well as a bad sense; yet besides this, he exhorted them to, and pray'd for a good success.

\* Jud. Clich-  
ton, *Elucida-  
sorium, Ecclef.  
l. 1. fol. 72, 73.*

Others of them were taught thus to pray for the downfall of *Heresie*, and the prosperity of their Designs, alluding to the working in the *Myne*, and the blowing up of the House:

*Prosper, Lord, their pains that labour in thy Cause day and  
night; Let Heresie vanish like smook: Let the memory of it perish  
with a Crack, like the ruin and fall of a broken House.*

On the sixth of *November*, early in the morning, *Catesby* and his Confederates being met together, and perceiving all discovered, resolved to make the best of a bad Market, sent a Letter to *Garnet*, (then ready at *Coulton* near unto them) earnestly entreating his help and assistance for the rising of *Wales*, and the perswading as many as he could into Arms. *Greenwell* the Jesuit was with him; and so valiant for the Cause, that he posted down into *Lancashire*, to stir up as many as he could. But *Garnet* seeing all discovered, his heart now fail'd him, and so consults his own security.

But a little after, *Garnet*, and *Oldcorn* the Jesuit, were apprehended in Mr. *Abington's* House at *Henlip* in *Worcestershire*, being immured and closed up in a stack of Chimneys: the way or passage into the Cave or Vault where they lay, was an upper Room, by taking up the half-pace before the Hearth, whose wooden border was made like a Trap-door, to pluck up and down, and then the Bricks were laid in their Courses and Order again.

\* 28. March,  
1606.  
\* 3. of May

*Garnet* was \* Tryed, Condemned at *Guild-Hall* in *London*, and executed \* at the west end of *St. Paul's Church-yard*; where he appeared in

in a Troubled and an Amazed Condition, still prying and peeping about for a Pardon; though *Henry Mountague*, Recorder of the City, pitying his perplexedness, assured him there would be none granted. And thus dyed *Henry Garnet*, Provincial of the Jesuits; for whose Life \* one tells us, that the *Spanish* Embassador offered Thirty thousand *Florences*.

\* *Gualt. Chronicon. Vol. 4. pag. 1190.*

The Jesuits have taken a great deal of pains and confidence in behalf of this their Brother *Garnet*, whom they will have to dye a Saint and Martyr, what ever come of it; for they will not allow of one bad man to have been of their Order: I think *Alegambe* commendeth all his Bead-Roll (but Interest hath made it a duty for such Catalogue-Makers to flatter and applaud the most wicked); but be as bad as they will, they tell us, that it is impossible for a \* Jesuit to be an Heretic.

\* ---Jungantur in unum, dies cum nocte, tenebræ

cum Luce, calidum cum frigido, sanitas cum morbo, vita cum morte & erit tum spes aliqua, posse in caput Jesuitæ Hæresin cadere. Vid. Epist. Is. Casaubon, viz. Epist. 624. ad Front. Duc.

Amongst the rest of the Learned Pen-men who undertook to testify to the world the Treasons of *Garnet* and his Accomplices, was the famed *French-man*, *Isaac Casaubon*, more especially in an \* *Epistle*, or rather Book, to *Fronton Le Duc*, a Jesuit, and his old Friend; for the better accomplishing his Design, he had delivered to him all the \* Original Writing, Tryals, and Letters of *Garnet*. This action of *Casaubon* so nettled that Order, that they drew their whole force of Invention and Malice against him; endeavouring by their lyes and slanders not only to render him odious to the whole world, but his Father and whole Family (we may except his Son *John*, because he turn'd a *Capuchin*): nay, so zealously indiscreet were some against him, that they \* declared him to be no Scholar, a Fellow of no Judgment; that he could not write *Latin*, or scarce understand it; which was enough to testify the truth of all the rest: yet with such Indignities *Isaac* would sometimes be forced to a passion.

\* Epist. 624.

\* Epist. 620.

\* Epist. 645, 679.

Those who have undertaken the justification of this *Garnet*, have thought to arm themselves, and secure him with the power and virtue of these following Arguments:

1. His Denials.
2. The Honesty of Æquivocation.
3. The Bond of Auricular Confession.
4. His Sanctity, or Saintship, which is confirm'd by
5. His Miracle of the *straw*.

As for his *Denials*, they are so far from quitting him from the crime, that they rather render him the greater Malefactor, if profest Lyes and Perjury can advance a man's guilt. 'Tis true, he was bold to a wonder, in protesting and calling Heaven and Earth to witness his Innocency; but at last when he saw such exact Proof and Testimony against him, he confest his *Disimulation*; pleading, That he thought they could not have produced such clear proofs against him.

The Jesuits being not a little offended that he should any way confess himself guilty, which with some might be a blot both to himself, and their Order; *Garnet*, to vindicate himself to them, and to shew the folly of denying any longer, thus writes to them

V v v v

---What



—What should I do? First, all the rest of the Confederates have accused me. Secondly, Catesby always made use of my Authority amongst them, whereby most of them were persuaded to have a good opinion of the Intertprise; so that all knew I was in it. Thirdly, Two (set on purpose) heard me discourse the whole business with Oldcorn, and to tell him how I thought to answer to all Objections. Fourthly, My Letters writ with the Fuyce of \* Anne Vaux. Oranges to \* Mrs. Ann, are (I know not how) fallen into their hands, whereby I plainly enough discovered my knowledg of it.

Tort. Torti,  
pag. 286.

For all his strong denials at first, this is enough to prove him guilty: And besides, if he were not so, Why did he himself confess---That he had often vowed, both by words and writing, to the Lay-Conspirators, That he would never discover or betray any of them? To this might be added, how he did acknowledg his offence, wishing it were in his power to undo that which was done; and that if the whole world were his, he would willingly give it to quit himself from the guilt of Treason, which now troubled his Conscience. He also writ to his Favourite, Mrs. Vaux, his sorrow that he could not dye for Religion, but for Treason. And many more Instances might be collected out of his Tryal; but this is enough to satisfie an honest man.

Yet he was very willing and earnest to vindicate and clear himself from this Treason; in which he made a great deal of work with the Trick of *Equivocation*, of which he was a cunning and exquisite Master, and as confident as ever man was: for this, one instance or two may serve.

Epist. 15. Casaub. ad Front. Duci

Being asked, Whether he had any discourse with the Jesuit *Oldcorn* since his Imprisonment? *Garnet* swearing upon his *Salvation*, with many other horrid Imprecations, denied again and again that he had any discourse. Which being presently proved against him, he confessed it, begg'd pardon, affirming that his former Denial was by virtue of *Equivocation*.

Another time being asked, Whether he did well to swear upon the *Holy Evangelist*, That he had neither writ or sent to the Jesuit *Tesmond*, which he knew to be false? He replied, That he swore so lawfully enough, because then he did not think that his Letters were intercepted, and so they could not have disproved him.

A little before the Queen's death, when they were busie in their Plots to keep out King *James*; in vindication of this Jugling Faculty, there was composed a little Book entituled,

#### A TREATISE of EQUIVOCATION.

MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

But this Title it seems not pleasing Father *Garnet*, he with his own hand had dash'd it out, and bestowed upon it this Name, writ also with his own hand:

#### A Treatise against Lying, and Fraudulent Dissimulation.

Yet for all this goodly and specious shew of honesty, it alloweth all manner of Dissimulation, and to swear positive untruths, by their Law of *Directing the Intention*. As for example; In time of Plague a man cometh to *Coventry*; at the Gates, by the Officers is examined upon his Oath, Whether he came from *London*, or no? The Traveller, though he did directly come from *London*, yet may swear positively, That he did not

Cap. 8. pag. 43. 44.

not come from *London*. His reason is, Because he knoweth himself not infected to endanger *Coventry* by his entrance, which he supposed answer'd to the final intent of the Demand; although their immediate Intention were to know from him upon his *Oath*, only whether he came from *London* or no. And this man (saith the Book) the very Light of Nature would clear from Perjury. And he tells us of one Mr. *Southwell* who taught a young Gentlewoman, that if she were examin'd, *If the said Southwell were at her Father's House?* She might swear, No; with this intention to her self, That he was not there, so that she was bound to tell them. At the end of this Book I find *Blackwell* their Arch-Priest of *England*, thus commend and allow it under his own hand:

Pag. 39.

*Tractatus iste valde Doctus & vere Pius & Catholicus est. Certe Sa Scripturarum, Patrum, Doctorum, Scholasticorum, Canonistarum & Optimarum Rationum praesidiis plenissime firmat aequitatem Equivocationis. Ideoque dignissimus est qui typis propagetur ad Consolationem afflictorum Catholicorum, & omnium piorum Instructionem.*

Ita Censeo

GEORGIUS BLACKWELLUS  
Archipresbyter Angliae, &  
Protonotarius Apostolicus.

By this it seemeth it was intended for the Press; but, it may be, prevented by its seizure; which was thus, as appears by the Testimony of Sir *Edward Coke*, under his own hand.

*This Book, containing Sixty one Pages, I found in a Chamber in the Inner-Temple, wherein Sir Thomas Tresham used to lye, and which he obtain'd for his two younger Sons.*

This 5th of December

EDW. COKE:

I have been the more punctual in transcribing these Testimonies from the Original Manuscript, because it hath been said that there was never any such Book. The Author of it is supposed to be Mr. *Francis Tresham* of *Northamptonshire*, one very active in this Powder-Treason; but he \* died \* *Novemb. 26.* of the Strangury in the *Tower of London*, before his Tryal; yet his Head cut off, was set with the rest on *London-Bridg*. This *Tresham* also composed another Book (not yet printed) which was also seiz'd on; it was call'd,

*De Officio Principis Christiani.*

In which he maintains the lawfulness of \* deposing Kings, an obstinate Heretick having no right to Dominion.

\* Si Princeps  
Hæreticus sit,  
& obstinate ac  
pertinaciter

intolerabilis, summi Pastoris divina potestate deponatur & aliud caput constituatur, cui subditi se jungant, & legitimo Ordine & Autoritate Tyrannidem amoveant. Princeps indulgendo Hæreticis non solum Deum offendit, sed perdit & Regnum & gentem. *De Officio Principis, Cap. 5.*

V V V V 2

As

As for this knack of *Equivocation*, and how boldly they will allow themselves to swear positive Untruths and Falshoods, I shall refer you to Dr. \* *Abbot*, afterwards Bishop of *Salisbury*.

\* *Antilog.*  
fol. 12.

But the Jesuits, in *Garnet's* Vindication, go a little farther, and will grant that he knew of the Treason; yet it being only told him in *Confession*, he could not with a safe Conscience discover it.

As for the Antiquity and Convenience of *Confession*, I am no way concerned in at this time. And though I have a reverend esteem both for it and its secrecy; yet I may think it had been more prudence for some rather to have spared than divulged some of their lofty and tow'ring Expressions, which might occasion as much ill as good; as those who are so positive to affirm, That it is not to be \* discovered or reveal'd, though it were for the preservation of the whole Kingdom or Countrey; though it were concerning the killing of the King. Nay, that it were better to have all the Kings murdered, than the *Confession* reveal'd; which should not be done, though it were to preserve *Jesus Christ* himself.

\* *Vid. Rot. Abbot, Antilog.*, cap. 3. *ss. Casemb. E. pist. ad Front. Ducum, Borib. Fam. summa aurea, v. Confessor. §. 5. Tho. Lant, Consult. Germ. p. 375.*

*Disquisit. Magic. Tom. 3. l. 6. c. 1. §. 3. p. 131.*

*Delrio* the Jesuit hath a passage so pat to the business, that I could almost be perswaded that he was acquainted with the Treason, and so make the Plot a year or two older than some will grant; for he hath put the Case and Story so exactly, as if he published it before to give them the greater encouragement under the virtue and protection of *Confession*. For, saith he, Suppose one in *Confession* to a Priest, should declare, That he or some other had so laid Gunpowder under such a place, that (if not prevented) the House would be blown up, the King destroyed, and the rest in like danger; yet, saith *Delrio*, the Priest is not obliged to discover this.

His Trial.

\* *Mat. Tert. pag. 65.*

\* *Id. pag. 94.*

*Garnet* himself declared, That if one *confest* to him, That the next day he intended to stab the King, yet he should conceal it: And upon this ground it is, that \* *Bellarmino* complaineth that *Garnet* was executed because he would not reveal that, which with a safe Conscience he could not do; which he saith a little \* after, is never to be revealed upon what account soever.

And *Emanuel Sa* hath a Trick to clear the Priest, if the Magistrates or any other should press him hard to reveal what he knew, and that is this: *The \* Confessor* (saith he) may swear that he knew nothing of it, nor heard any such thing in the *Confession*---Understanding, That he did not so hear it, as to tell it---And upon the same mental Reservation may the Penitent also swear, That he mentioned no such thing in his *Confession*.

\* *Potest Confessor jurare se nihil scire, imo nihil se audisse tale in Confessione, subintelligendo sic, Ut dicere teneatur: eodem modo potest Penitens jurare, se nihil aut nihil tale dixisse in Confessione Em. Sa. Aphorism. V. Confessor §. 23.*

As for *Garnet*, what hath formerly been said, doth sufficiently testify, That he knew of it, not by Auricular *Confession*, but that he was also a stirring and active Agent in it; and *Garnet* did afterwards declare, That he was sorry that he did not \* reveal it.

\* *Abbot. Antilog. fol. 110, 111.*

But if we should grant (though an untruth), that *Garnet* knew nothing of it, but what was discovered to him by way of *Confession*; yet will he not preserve his Credit, nor save himself from being a Traytor.

\* *Decret. Greg. de Penit. c. Omnis, nrisq;*

Their \* *Canon-Law* saith, that if any reveal a *Confession*, he shall be degraded from his Priesthood, and to live all his life after close up in a Monastery. Now whether is better, for one man to undergo this punish-

CAP. 1  
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punishment, or a Kingdom to be ruined, and the King, Princes, Bishops, Nobles, and Commons, to be destroyed?

But again, the *Romanists* themselves declare, That sometimes a *Confession* may be \* revealed. And their great Cardinal \* *Perron*, though he will not have the *Confessor* to name the Party or Penitent, yet upon such eminent dangers he would have him, by some means or other, to give notice of the intended Villany, thereby to prevent the mischief; and if *Garnet* had done this, he might have shewed himself a good Subject, which is a great part of a good Christian.

And lastly, That *Confessions* have been revealed upon such great dangers, History will afford us some Examples: \* *Thuanus* tells us, That *Charles*, Son to *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, confessing to a Priest, that he had a mind to kill a certain man; the Priest reveal'd it to the King; and *Philip* supposing himself to be the man, secur'd his Son. The *Sieur de Haulte Ville*, in his \* Confession told a Priest, That he once intended to kill King *Henry II.* of *France*. Which the Priest discovering, *Haulte-Ville* was beheaded. *Pierre Barriere* confest to *Seraphino Banchi*, his intent to kill *Henry IV.* of *France*, which the *Dominican* discovered, whereby the Fellow was taken and executed. A Gentleman of *Normandy* in \* Confession told a *Franciscan*, That he formerly had a design to kill *Francois I.* of *France*, for which he was now sorry; yet did the Confessor divulge this, and the *Norman* was executed. And one *Radulphus* having designed to murder Pope *Innocent IV.* he in \* Confession told it to a Priest, who inform'd the Pope of it; and we need not doubt but that the Pope liked it well enough. Nor do we hear that any of these Priests were punish'd or check'd for their Revealing; and \* *Matthew Paris* doth rather commend the latter, intimating as if he were bound to do it, or did the part of an honest man in discovering it.

But we need trouble our selves no more about this matter, seeing 'tis impossible that all the cunning or wit of the whole Order of the Jesuits, can quit Father *Garnet* from having been a Traytor against his Sovereign or Countrey.

*Having of old been a great stickler to procure Troubles in this Kingdom.*

*Having been very active in the Invasion of Eighty-Eight.*

*Receiving Bulls from Rome (to dispose of the Crown) against the Laws of the Land.*

*Very earnest to hinder King James (right Heir to the Crown) to obtain it.*

*One of the Grand Agitators in this Powder-Treason, to destroy the King and Kingdom, he himself at last confessing it.*

*That Catesby had told him of the Plot, not by way of Confession.*

*That Greenwell had told him of this, not as a Fault (for how could they do so, that approved of it as Meritorious?) but as a thing which he had Intelligence of, and told it him by way of Consultation.*

*That Catesby and Greenwell came together to him to be resolved.*

*That Tesmond and he had Conference of the particulars of the Powder-Treason in Essex.*

*That Greenwell asked him, Who should be Protector? Garnet said, That was to be referred till the Blow was past.*

V v v v 3

That

\* Vid. Rob. Abbot, Antilog. fol. 186, 187.  
\* Republique 653.

\* Lib. 43:

\* Hist. de la paix entre les Roys de France & D'Espagne, pag. 307.

\* Jean Bodin de la Republique, l. 2. c. 5. p. 387.

\* Mas. Paris, An. 1247. p. 724.

\* ...-Papa seducit in intimavit.

*That he confest, That he ought to have revealed it to the King.  
That nothing deterred him from the discovery, so much, as his unwillingness to betray Catesby.  
That he had greatly sinn'd against God, the King, and the Kingdom, in not revealing it; of whom he heartily begg'd pardon and forgiveness.  
And that the Sentence of Judgment and Death was justly past on him.*

*Vid. Bishop  
Abbot's Anti-  
log. cap. 9.  
fol. 135.*

Yet will they tell great things of his Holiness and Saintship, which may sufficiently be confuted without any great trouble, if we do but consider the Bloodiness and Sodomy of his youth, the Seditions and Treasons of his after-years, with his proneness to Perjury and Lying, all which are no signs of Holiness. To which might be added, his noted familiarity (even in his later days) with Mrs. *Ann Vaux*, who seldom parted from his side, which occasioned some (who knew not that he was in Orders) to think that he was married to her. Certain it is, that sometimes she went under the Name of *Anne Garnet*; and in her Letters writ to him, even when in Prison for this last Treason, she still subscribed her self,

—Tours, and not mine own, A. G.

And we have it from good Authority, that *Robert Winter* of *Hoodington* in *Warwickshire* (one of the Traytors) did freely and openly testify, That the said *Garnet* did lye with her in Mr. *Abington's* House at *Henlip* in *Worcestershire*.

And yet, rather than fail in his Sanctity, they can invent a pretty Miracle to witness it: As, how one *John Wilkinson* earnestly desiring to be a Spectator of *Garnet's* Martyrdom, not doubting but that God would shew some Miracle or other to demonstrate the Father's Innocency: Accordingly he went to the place of Execution (*Saint Paul's Church-yard*) settled himself as conveniently as he could, staid till all was done, got nothing but an ear of *Corn* (tainted with a little of *Garnet's* blood) belonging to the Straw of the Hurdle or Scaffold: This he carrieth with him as an holy Relique; and after some time *Garnet's* Face miraculously appeareth as painted on it, a Crown on his Head, and a Starr and a Cross on the Forehead, with a Cherubim hanging over his Chin, and Beams about all.

In short, the truth of the story was thus: *Wilkinson*, a zealous *Romanist*, and affected to the Jesuits, might get a piece of a Straw tainted with *Garnet's* Blood; a Straw, or Ear of Corn, with some Blood on it, he carrieth to the Wife of *Hugh Griffith*, a Traytor, and *Romanist* by Profession. This she puts into a Crytal Case, and we need not doubt but that it was look'd upon with a great deal of Devotion, but as yet nothing of a Face could be seen by any eye.

At last, about the Eighteenth day of *September*, 1606, (*viz.* above six Months after *Garnet* was executed) some of the zealous *Romanists* looking upon it, saw that which they call'd the Face of a man. Thus is a Miracle found out, and *Wilkinson* hastes beyond Seas to the Jesuits at *St. Omers*, telling them what a pretty wonder he had discovered for the honour of their Society, into which he was presently enter'd.

But

But here  
the said St.  
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But here we may observe, that they confels; that *Wilkinson* came from the said *St. Omers* into *England*, a little before *Garnet's* Execution; and it may be sent upon the cheat. Again, how cometh the Wonder to be above Four Months, or about Nineteen Weeks in doing? Or, Might it not be done by Art, since *Francis Bowen* (to whom it was shewn by *Garnet's* Friend, *Mrs. Ann Vaux*) who had some skill in Painting, confest, an Artist might make one neater; and presently upon the place, for a trial, one of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury's* Gentlemen (whose Profession was not Painting) drew one, which *Bowen* confest was like that of the *Straw*, but a little better proportion'd; and *Prædise* daily teacheth us, that Faces may be done in a less Compass.

As for the thing it self, 'twas only a few Lines drawn like a Face upon the outward Husk of a *Grain of Wheat*; but without any such Beams or Glories about it, as the Jesuits would make simple people believe; nor any more like *Garnet* (as *Hugh Griffith* the Taylor himself confest) than any other man that had a Beard.

They tell us, that *St. Luke* was an excellent Painter, and drew \* several Pictures of the *B. Virgin Mary*; one of which, 'tis said, *Pope Gregory the Great* \* carried in his hand in the Procession he made about *Rome*, to stop the Plague then raging there; which very Picture he sent to *St. Leander* Bishop of *Sevil* in *Spain*; which is yet kept to work wonders in the Monastery of *Santa Maria*, or *Nuestra Sennora* at *Guadalupa* in *Estremadura*: Yet every Boy at *Rome* will tell us, that this Picture is in a little Chappel built on purpose for it on late days by *Pope Paul V.* within the great Church *St. Maria Maggiore*; and the *Guadalupians* will assure us, That there is a great wooden Statue, with a \* black Face, Hands, &c. with white Raiment.

\* *Pet. de Natalibus*, l. 9. c. 79  
\* *Nonius* c. 61  
*Jo. Euf. Nieremb. de Mirac*  
l. 1. c. 39.

Thus here is Miracle upon Miracle, the very same thing at the same time, both at *Rome*, and *Guadalupa*, and a curious painted Picture turned to a Wooden Statue, dawb'd over with black and white, which requireth no great skill. And something like this, is the *Straw-Miracle* of *Father Garnet*, which at first was but a common *Ear of Wheat*, with a few Lines drawn upon one of the *Grains*; but is since wonderfully encreased by the Industry of the Jesuits, for the honour of their Society, and Trayterous Martyr.

\* *Mart. Zeile-  
rm*, *Itiner.*  
*Hispan.* p. 198

And to this might be added another Miracle: for though at first there was but one *Straw* and Face, yet it seemeth that they had afterwards an ambition to multiply them; and, for ought that I know, would make every *Straw* at his Execution, bear his Picture; for \* one tells us, that he hath had several of them in his hands, but could observe no great matter in them, unless ruled by his Fancy; and these they sold about for holy Reliques. Thus they encrease and multiply, as *Falstaff* did at *Gads-hill* in *Shakespeare*; and Miracles which are made a Trade and Gain, may well be suspected, if not held palpable Cheats.

\* *Osborn's*  
*Mem. of K.*  
*James*, pag. 35

Thus this *Straw* amongst that Society, got such a Fame, that *Homer's* Frogs, *Passeratus* his Ass, *Virgil's* Flye, *Ovid's* Flea, *Hiensius* his Lowse, were not able to stand in competition with it; that methinks it was a great oversight in an Ingenious *Romish* Knight, not to remember it in his late Song in the Commendation of *Straw*.

Of this *Straw-Miracle*, *Gualterus Paulus*, a German Jesuit, would perswade the world to allow of this Anagram:

P A-

## PATER HENRICUS GARNETUS.

Anagram :

*Pingere cruentus arista.*

Which for all his pains will not hold, unless he will make an *I* stand for an *H*; a liberty that must not be allowed of: yet, as if it were Authentick, thus doth he gloss upon it.

*Quid petit hic vultus sicca redivivus Arista ?  
Quid frons ? Quid sacris ora locuta notis ?  
Nominis augurio PINGERE CRUENTUS ARISTA,  
Garnete ; agnosco vultum, Opus, Artificem.  
Spica, Tabella ; Deus, Pictor ; Color, unda Cruoris ;  
Spica Crucem ; vultum dat Deus ; astra cruor.*

Com. in Apo-  
calyps. cap. 7.  
ver. 3.

But enough of this Straw, which \* *Cornelius à Lapide* thinks worthy to illustrate and explain the *Revelations*. But possibly he thought *Garnet* happy, because he dyed on the *Gallows*; such a great esteem did a *Lapide* seem to have for violent Deaths; still pueling and lamenting that he could not dye a Martyr, still sighing and wishing that he might burn at the Stake; still grieved and troubled that he should dye in his Bed; now begging of the *Prophets*, then beseeching the Virgin *Mary*, and anon desiring *Christ*, that he might dye a Martyr, and not in his Bed, after the common way of Mankind: But for all these fond and idle thoughts, the little Jesuit would secure himself, leaving it to the Hereticks or Pagans to fetch, take, and kill him; as for his part, he would neither go to them nor their Countreys; whereby (for all his seeming desire of Martyrdom) he would make sure of one.

\* *Cassanb. E-  
pist. ad Front.  
Duc.*

\* *Opus Chro-  
nolog. Tom.  
2. An. 1606.*

\* *ACatalogue  
of Good  
Works.*

As for Father *Garnet*, I should scorn to have been so unworthy or uncivil, to have objected some of the former Crimes to him, or upbraided him with them; but that I perceive they will yet tax the King and Kingdom with Cruelty and Murther, by enrolling *Garnet* in their Catalogue of Martyrs, and proclaiming him the most Virtuous, Holy, and Innocent of men. A *Lapide* (as aforesaid) must magnifie his miraculous *Straw*; \* *Martinus Delrio* must compare him with *Dionysius* the *Areopagit*; his Pictures must be hung up in Churches; and at *Lovain* it was once publickly pray'd—*Sancte Henrice, intercede pro nobis*—O Holy Henry intercede for us. And \* *Gordon* the Jesuit having placed *Garnet* in Heaven, desires him to intercede there for the Conversion of *England*. But if such people may obtain a *Beatitude*, we may have some cause to suspect many of their Old Saints.

\* *Dr. Andrew Willet* tells us thus—To *Baliol Colledg* *William Hammond* gave Fifteen thousand pounds, though the greatest part thereof, the Colledg was defrauded, by one *Anthony Garnet* a *Popish Priest*, sometime Steward to the old Lord *Montague*; which *Garnet* notwithstanding had been sometime Master of the Colledg, and so stood by Oath perpetually bound unto it.

What this *Anthony Garnet* was related to our *Henry*, I know not; but by the by this *Anthony* was Fellow of *Baliol Colledg*, 1550. was  
Master

*Master* of it, 1560. October 27, and 1563, *Richard Hooper* succeeded him in the Headship. There was also of the same Colledg one *Richard Garnet*, Fellow 1567; who was turn'd out by their Visitor, 1570, October 8. But this only by the way.

### C H A P. III.

*The Romanists threaten the Earl of Salisbury. King James, seeing them thus high, thought it best to bind them strictly to him by the Oath of Allegiance. The Pope sends forth two Breves. Constitutes Mr. Birket to be Arch-Priest, and orders the Oath shall not be taken. Birket accordingly sending forth his Letters. Newton's Miracle to prove the Oath of Allegiance not to be taken. Pope Urban the Eighth, his Breve against the Oath of Allegiance.*

**T**HE abominable Treachery and Villany of this Gun-powder Plot, undertaken under the pretence of maintaining and restoring the *Roman* Religion; engaged the Governours to consult the preservation of themselves and the Kingdom. And considering the furious Zeal and wicked Principles of some men, in affirming the lawfulness of deposing and killing Heretical Kings; That the Pope had power to deprive Temporal Princes, absolve Subjects from their obedience, and such like Villanous Positions, with the many wicked Practises yet fresh in memory, against the Crown and Life of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*.

Upon these and such like Considerations, after several serious Consultations to prevent the like mischiefs; They thought fit to draw up a solemn Oath, whereby every one should abjure such Treasonable Doctrines, and swear for the future to behave themselves as became good Subjects.

The *Romanists* fancied *Robert Cecyl* (Earl of *Salisbury*, and Secretary of State) to be their greatest Enemy, and the chief promoter of this Oath against them: Whereupon some of them thought, if they could any way deterr him from prosecuting them (as they call'd it) the King and others would trouble their thoughts the less with them; and so these Parliamentary Proposals would fall of themselves. Upon this fancy, this Threatning Letter was sent to the said Earl of *Salisbury*.



My Lord,

**W**Hereas the late unapprovable and most wicked Design, for  
 “destroying of his Majesty, the Prince, and Nobility, with  
 “many other of Worth and Quality ( attempted through  
 “the Undertaking spirits of some more fiery and turbulent, than zea-  
 “lous and dis-passionate Catholicks ) hath made the general state of  
 “our Catholique Cause so scandalous in the eye of such, whose corrup-  
 “ted Judgments are not able to fan away and sever the fault of the  
 “Professor, from the Profession it self; as that who now is found to  
 “be of that Religion, is perswaded, at least in mind, to allow (though  
 “God knoweth, as much abhorring as any *Puritan* whatsoever ) the  
 “said former most inhuman and barbarous Project.

“And whereas some of his Majesties Council ( but especially your  
 “Lordship, as being known to be, as the *Philosopher* termeth it, a *Pri-  
 “mus Motor* in such uncharitable proceedings ) are determined ( as it  
 “is feared ) by taking advantage of so foul a scandal, to root out all  
 “the Memory of Catholique Religion, either by sudden Banishment,  
 “Massacre, Imprisonment, or some such unsupportable Vexations and  
 “Pressures; and perhaps by decreeing, in this next Parliament, some  
 “more cruel and horrible Laws against Catholiques, than already are  
 “made.

Good men  
and Roman  
Catholiques,

“In regard of these Premises, there are *some good men*, who through  
 “their earnest desire for the continuing the Catholique Religion, and  
 “for saving many souls both of this present, and of all future poste-  
 “rity, are resolved to prevent so great a mischief, though with a full  
 “assurance aforehand of the loss of their dearest lives.

may murder  
Privy-Coun-  
cellors,

“You are therefore hereby to be admonished, that at this present  
 “there are *Five* which have severally undertaken your *Death*, and have  
 “vowed the performance thereof, by taking already the *Blessed Sacra-  
 “ment*, if you continue your daily plotting of so Tragical Strata-  
 “gems against Recusants.

“It is so ordered, that none of these *Five* knoweth who the other  
 “*Four* be, for the better preventing the discovery of the rest, if so any  
 “one by attempting and not performing, should be apprehended.

“It is also already agreed who shall first attempt it by shot, and so  
 “who in order shall follow.

“In accomplishing of it, there is expected no other than assurance  
 “of death; yet it will willingly be embraced, for the preventing of  
 “those general Calamities which by this your transcendant Authority  
 “and grace with his Majesty, are threatned unto us.

“And indeed the Difficulties herein are more easily to be digested,  
 “since *two* of the intended Attempters are in that *weak* state of body,  
 “that they cannot live above three or four Months.

“The other *Three* are so distressed in themselves and their Friends,  
 “as that their present Grievs ( for being only Recusants ) do much dull  
 “all apprehension of Death.

Nor are they  
to be blamed  
for it.

“None is to be blamed ( in the true censuring of Matters ) for the  
 “undertaking hereof: For we protest before God, We know no other  
 “means left us in the World, since it is manifest, that you serve but as a  
 “Match to give fire unto his Majesty ( to whom the worst that we  
 “wish, is, That he may be as great a Saint in Heaven, as he is  
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“King on Earth) for intending all Mischiefs against the poor distressed Catholicks.

“Thus giving your Lordship this *Charitable Admonition*, the which may perhaps be necessary hereafter for some others your Inferiors (at least in Grace and Favour) if so they run on in their former Inhuman and Unchristian Rage against us; I cease: putting you in mind, That where once *True and Spiritual Resolution* is, there (notwithstanding all dangers whatsoever) the Weak may take sufficient Revenge of the Great.

For 'tis a  
True and  
Spiritual  
Resolution.

*Your Lordship's well-admonishing  
Friends, &c.*

A. B. C. &c.

“It may be your Lordship will take this but as some forged Letter of some *Puritans*, thereby to incense you more against Recufants.

“But we *protest upon our Salvation*, It is not so: Neither can any thing in human likelihood prevent the effecting thereof, but the change of your course towards Recufants.

This Letter at the beginning offers fair, seeming to detest the Gunpowder-Plot: but little of truth and sincerity may be expected from it, when we consider, that the design of it is to Apologize for Murder; to which it appears there is a Club or number of them consenting and attempting: and they are not ashamed to assert, *That though they murder Privy-Councillors, yet the Murderers may be good men; nor are they to be blamed for it, for 'tis a True and Spiritual Resolution*. But enough of this Letter, to which the Earl himself was pleased to give an Answer.

The *Oath of Allegiance* was prudently drawn up, and confirmed by *Aſſ* of Parliament; which Oath being the Foundation and Sum of this Treatise, take as followeth word for word; and, for distinction sake, divided into several Branches or Articles.

## The Oath of Allegiance.

Anno Tertio  
Jacobi.

**I** A. B. do truly and sincerely Acknowledge, Profess, Testifie, and Declare in my Conscience before God and the World, That our Sovereign Lord King — is Lawful and Rightful King of this Realm, and of all other his Majesty's Dominions and Countreys.

And that the Pope, neither of himself, nor by any Authority of the Church or See of Rome, or by any other means, with any other, hath any Power or Authority to Depose the King:

Or to dispose any of his Majesties Kingdoms or Dominions:

Or to Authorize any Forreign Prince to Invade or Annoy him or his Countreys.

Or to Discharge any of his Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to his Majesty.

X x x x 2

Or

*Or to give License or Leave to any of them to bear Arms, raise Tumults, &c.*

*Or to offer any violence or hurt to his Majesties Royal Person, State, or Government; or to any of his Majesties Subjects within his Majesties Dominions.*

*Also I do swear from my heart, That notwithstanding any Declaration, or Sentence of Excommunication or Deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted by the Pope, or his Successors; or by any Authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his See, against the said King, his Heirs or Successors; or any Absolution of the said Subjects from their Obedience: I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors.*

*And him and them will defend to the uttermost of my Power, against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their Persons, their Crown and Dignity, by reason or colour of any such Sentence or Declaration, or otherwise:*

*And will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known unto his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, all Treasons and Trayterous Conspiracies which I shall know or hear of to be against him, or any of them.*

*And I do further swear, That I do from my heart Abhor, Detest, and Abjure, as Impious and Heretical, this Damnable Doctrine and Position, That Princes which be Excommunicated or Deprived by the Pope, may be Deposed or Murthered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever.*

*And I do believe, and in Conscience am resolved, That neither the Pope, nor any Person whatsoever, hath power to absolve me of this Oath, or any part thereof,*

*Which I acknowledg by good and full Authority to be lawfully ministered unto me.*

*And do renounce all Pardons and Dispensations to the contrary.*

*And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledg and swear according by these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever.*

*And I do make this Recognition and Acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true Faith of a Christian. So help me God.*

A. B.

Unto which Oath so taken, the said person shall subscribe his or her Name or Mark.

*King James* doubted not but that all honest and good Subjects would submit to this Oath, Because, as he said, that he that shall refuse to take this Oath, must of necessity hold all, or some of these Propositions following:

- I. *That I, King James, am not the lawful King of this Kingdom, and of all other my Dominions.*
- II. *That the Pope by his own Authority may depose me; if not by his own Authority, yet by some other Authority of the Church, or of the See of Rome. If not by some other Authority of the Church and See of Rome, yet by other means, with others help, he may Depose me.*

III. *That*

Apol. for the  
Oath of Al-  
legiance, pag.  
49, 50, 51.

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- III. *That the Pope may dispose of my Kingdoms and Dominions.*
- IV. *That the Pope may give Authority to some Foreign Prince to invade my Dominions.*
- V. *That the Pope may discharge my Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to me.*
- VI. *That the Pope may give license to one or more of my Subjects, to bear Arms against me.*
- VII. *That the Pope may give leave to my Subjects to offer violence to my Person, or to my Government, or to some of my Subjects.*
- VIII. *That if the Pope shall by Sentence excommunicate or depose me, my Subjects are not to bear Faith and Allegiance to me.*
- IX. *If the Pope shall by Sentence Excommunicate or Depose me, my Subjects are not bound to defend with all their power my Person and Crown.*
- X. *If the Pope shall give out any Sentence of Excommunication or Deprivation against me, my Subjects by reason of that Sentence are not bound to reveal all Conspiracies and Treasons against me, which shall come to their hearing and knowledge.*
- XI. *That it is not Heretical and Diabolical, to hold, That Princes being Excommunicated by the Pope, may be either Deposed or Killed by their Subjects, or any other.*
- XII. *That the Pope hath Power to absolve my Subjects from this Oath, or from some part thereof.*
- XIII. *That this Oath is not administered to my Subjects by a full and lawful Authority.*
- XIV. *That this Oath is to be taken with Equivocation, Mental Evasion, or secret Reservation; and not with the Heart and good will, sincerely, in the true Faith of a Christian man.*

Now whether there was just cause for drawing up and imposing of such an Oath, King James can tell you best himself. And first, that the *Romanists* had no reason to contrive his ruin, he declares at large in these words:

*But now having sacrificed (if I may so say) to the Manes of my late Predecessor [Q. Elizabeth, whose Government and Moderation he vindicates], I may next with St. Paul justly vindicate my own Fame from those innumerable Calumnies spread against me, in testifying the truth of my Behaviour toward the Papists: Wherein I may truly affirm, That whatsoever was her just and merciful Government over the Papists in her time, my Government over them since, hath so far exceeded hers, in Mercy and Clemency, as not only the Papists themselves grew to that height of pride, in confidence of my mildness, as they did directly expect, and assuredly promise to themselves Liberty of Conscience, and equality with others of my Subjects, in all things; but even a number of the best and faithfulest of my said Subjects, were cast in great fear and amazement of my Course and Proceedings, ever prognosticating, and justly sus-*

*Apol. for the Oath of Allegiance, pag. 18, 19, 20.*

X x x x 3

*specting,*

pecting that sower fruit to come of it, which shew'd it self clearly in the Powder-Treason.

How many did I honour with Knighthood, of known and open Recusants? How indifferently did I give Audience and Access to both sides, bestowing equally all Favours and Honours on both Professions? How free and continual Access had all Ranks and Degrees of Papists in my Court and Company? And above all, How frankly and freely did I free Recusants of their ordinary Payments?

Besides, it is evident what strait Order was given out of my own mouth to the Judge, to spare the execution of all Priests ( notwithstanding their conviction ) joining thereunto a gracious Proclamation, whereby all Priests that were at liberty, and not taken, might go out of the Countrey by such a day my General Pardon having been extended to all Convicted Priests in Prison, whereupon they were set at liberty as good Subjects; and all Priests that were taken after, sent over, and set at liberty there.

But time and paper will fail me to make enumeration of all the benefits and favours that I bestowed in general and particular upon Papists; in recounting whereof, every scrape of my Pen would serve but for a blot of the Pope's Ingratitude and Injustice, in meteing me with so hard a measure for the same.

Yet for all these Favours, His Majesty in another place tells us, That,

Monitory  
Preface to all  
Christian  
Monarchs,  
p. 6, 7, 8, 9.  
\* His Majesty  
alludes to  
Parsons Let-  
ter (against  
his Book)  
call'd, The  
judgment of a  
Catholick Eng-  
lish man, p. 6.  
§. 10.

The never-enough wondred at, and abhorred POWDER-TREASON (though the Repetition thereof grieveth, I know, the gentle-hearted Jesuit \* Parsons), This Treason, I say, being not only intended against me and my Posterity, but even against the whole House of Parliament, plotted only by Papists, and they only led thereto by a preposterous zeal for the advancement of their Religion; some of them continuing so obstinate, that even at their death they would not acknowledg their Fault; but in their last words, immediately before the expiring of their breath, refused to condemn themselves, and crave Pardon for their Deed, except the Romish Church should first condemn it.

And soon after, it being discovered that a great number of my Popish Subjects of all Ranks and Sexes, both Men and Women, as well within as without the Countrey, had a confused Notion, and an obscure Knowledg, that some great thing was to be done in that Parliament for the Weal of the Church; although, for Secrecy's cause, they were not acquainted with the Particulars: certain Forms of Prayer having likewise been set down and used for the good success of that Great Errand.

Adding hereunto, That divers times, and from divers Priests, the Arch-Traytors themselves received the Sacrament for confirmation of their Heart, and observation of Secresie.

Some of the principal Jesuits likewise being found guilty of the fore-knowledg of the Treason it self, of which number, some fled from their Trial, others were apprehended (as Holy Garnet himself, and Oldcorn were) and justly executed upon their own plain Confession of Guilt.

If this Treason now clad with these Circumstances, did not minister a just occasion to that Parliament House, whom they thought to have destroyed, courageously and zealously at their next sitting down, to use all means of Trial, Whether any more of that Mind were yet left in the Countrey; I leave it to you [i. e. the Emperors, Kings, and Princes] to judge, whom

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whom God hath appointed his highest Deputy-Judges upon Earth. And amongst other things for this purpose, this Oath of Allegiance, so unjustly impugned, was then devised and enacted.

And in case any sharper Laws were then made against the Papists, that were not obedient to the former Laws of the Countrey; if ye will consider the Time, Place, and Persons, it will be thought no wonder, seeing that Occasion did so justly exasperate them to make severer Laws than otherwise they would have done.

The Time, I say, being the very next sitting of the Parliament after the Discovery of that Abominable Treason.

The Place, being the same where they should all have been blown up; and so bringing it freshly to their memory again.

The Persons, being those very Parliament-men whom they thought to have destroyed.

And yet so far hath both my Heart and Government been from any bitterness, as almost never one of those sharp Additions to the former Laws have ever yet been put in execution.

And that ye may yet know further, for the more convincing these Libellers of wilful Malice, who impudently affirm, That this Oath of Allegiance was devised for deciving and intrapping of Papists in points of Conscience.

The truth is, That the Lower-House of Parliament at the first framing of this Oath, made it contain, That the Pope had no power to excommunicate Me; which I caused them to reform, only making it to conclude, That no Excommunication of the Pope's, can warrant my Subjects to practise against My Person or State; Denying the Deposition of Kings to be in the Pope's Lawful Power. As indeed Itake any such Temporal Violence to be far without the limits of such a Spiritual Censure as Excommunication is.

So careful was I that nothing should be contain'd in this Oath except the Profession of Natural Allegiance, and Civil and Temporal Obedience, with a Promise to resist all contrary Uncivil Violence.

This Oath now grounded upon so great and just occasion, set forth in so reasonable Terms, and ordain'd only for making of a true distinction between Papists of Quiet disposition, and in all other things good Subjects; and such other Papists as in their hearts maintained the like violent bloody Maximes that the Powder-Traytors did.

And in another place His Majesty tells us to the same purpose, viz. That this Oath

“ Was framed to be taken by my Subjects, whereby they should make  
“ clear Profession of their Resolution faithfully to persist in Obedience  
“ unto me, according to their *Natural Allegiance*.

“ To this end, that I might hereby make a separation, not only be-  
“ tween all my good Subjects in general, and unfaithful Traytors, that  
“ intended to withdraw themselves from my obedience; but especially,  
“ to make a separation between so many of my Subjects, who although  
“ they were otherwise *Papishly* affected, yet retain'd in their hearts the  
“ print of their natural Duty to their Sovereign: And those who being  
“ carried away with the like *Fanatick Zeal* that the *Powder-Traytors*  
“ were, could not contain themselves within the bounds of their *Nat-*  
“ *ral Allegiance*, but thought *diversity of Religion* a safe pretext for  
“ all

Apol. for the  
Oath of Al-  
legiance, pag-  
3. 4.

“all kind of Treasons and Rebellions against their Sovereign.

“Which godly and wise intent, God did bless with success accordingly : For many of my Subjects that were *Popishly* affected, as well “Priests as Layicks, *did freely take the same Oath*; whereby they gave “me occasion to think the better of their fidelity; and likewise freed “themselves of that heavy *slander*, that although they were fellow- “Professors of one Religion with the *Powder-Traytors*, yet were not “joined with them in Treasonable Courses against their Sovereign.

“Whereby all quietly-minded *Papists* were put out of despair; and “I gave a good proof that I intended no Persecution against them for “Conscience Cause, but only desired to be secured of them for Civil “Obedience, which for Conscience Cause they were bound to perform.

“But the Devil could not have devised a more malicious trick for interrupting this so Calm and Clement a course, than fell out by the “sending hither, and publishing a *Breve* of the *Popes*, countermanding all them of his Profession to take this *Oath*; thereby sowing “new seeds of Jealousie between me and my Popish Subjects, by “stirring them up to disobey that Lawful Commandment of their Sovereign, which was ordain’d to be taken of them as a pledg of their “fidelity.

His Majesty here alludes to Pope *Paul V.* who upon the coming out of this Oath, sends out a *Bull* or *Breve* against it, forbidding any of the *Romanists* to take the said Oath. The manner of their procuring, and how the *English-Romanists* in this juncture behaved themselves, take as followeth :

Vid. *Reg. Widdrington's Theological Disputation*, Epist. Dedicat. to Pope *Paul V.* §. 6. \* Whole Title ran thus—*George Blackwell, by the grace of God, and the Ordinance of the Sea Apostolick, Arch-Priest of England.*

No sooner was the *Oath* and *Act* of Parliament published, but there was a great and long Consultation held at *London* by the Priests, assisted by Mr. \* *George Blackwell* their *Arch-Priest*, what they and their Friends ought to do in this case. At last *Blackwell* did conclude, that this Oath (according to the plain and common understanding of the words) might with a safe Conscience be taken by the *Romanists*; and with him agreed a greater part of the Priests, who went then to *London* to assist at this Consultation.

But this Compliance was opposed by certain *Jesuits*, and some other Priests, from whence arose all the stir and controversie which afterwards made Divisions amongst them, concerning the taking of this Oath: Nor is the Dispute yet ended.

The *Jesuits* and their Faction resolving not to be baffled, would carry the business with a high hand; to which purpose they threatned to procure a *Breve* from the Pope to hinder the taking of the said Oath.

*Blackwell* and his party fearing the worst, with all haste dispatched a Letter to Mr. *Nicholas Fitzherbert*, an English Priest then flourishing in *Rome*; fully relating to him how the case stood amongst them, earnestly desiring him to deal effectually with some Cardinals, that the Pope might be perswaded not to send over any *Breves* against the taking of the said Oath, which would but encrease their Trouble, and render the Divisions wider.

But it seems the *Jesuits* were too quick and powerful for the other Priests; for their Letter came too late, and to no purpose; it being determined

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terminated at Rome, that a Breve should be drawn up and sent; the main Procurers of which, were supposed to be Cardinal Bellarmine and Father Parsons; the later of whom (as a fore-runner of the Breves) sent a Letter into England; part of which, take as followeth:

About some four or five Months ago it was consulted by seven or eight of the Learnedst Divines that could be chosen to give their judgment of it (i. e. the Oath): Their Reasons are many; but all reduced to this, That the Pope's Authority in chastising Princes upon a just Cause, is de fide, and consequently cannot be denied when it is call'd into controversie, without denying of our Faith; nor that the Pope or any other Authority can dispence in this. Id. cap. 10. Sect. 2. §. 53; 54, 55, 56.

For if the Question were de facto, and not de jure, to wit, Whether the Pope might justly in this or that occasion Excommunicate or Depose this or that Prince upon these or these causes; or whether precedent Popes have done well therein, or no? Then might some of these Reasons, which you say your Friends do alledg, be admitted into Consideration; to wit, Whether it could be in ædificationem, or destructionem, do hurt or good, be profitable or improfitable? or, Whether the Causes be sufficient or not for without cause none holdeth that the Pope may depose: Or, Whether the due form of Admonition, touched in your Letters, were observed? But forasmuch as the Question is de Potestate of the See-Apostolick Power, What it may do upon any Cause, or against any Catholick Prince whatsoever; these Considerations of temporal hurt cannot enter.

Besides these, I have conferred the matter with Cardinal Bellarmine, and sundry others of great Learning and Conscience; and all are of one opinion in this case, That the form of the Oath, as it lieth, is Heretical, and no way may be admitted by him that will not deny the Catholick Faith.

I had occasion twice to speak with his Holiness; the first, in company of Mr. \* Thomas Fitzherbert, where we proposed certain manners of Mitigation suggested by Friends, &c.

Whereto his Holiness answered, That as for any Actual using Censures against his Majesty, he meant not, but rather all Courtesie. But as for the Authority of the See-Apostolick (to wit, using of Censures) he was resolved, and would rather lose his Head, than yeeld one jot.

The second; He being informed that some Priests did seem to incline to the taking of the Oath. He answered, He could not hold them for Catholicks, &c.

Thus we see how the Plot was carried, and how zealous the Pope and his Assistants were against the taking of this Oath, as if it were enough to overthrow their whole Religion: Though King James did assure them and the World, That no decision of any one point of Religion, was intended in this Oath.

For (saith he) as for the Catholick Faith, Can there be one word found in all that Oath, tending or sounding to matter of Religion? Doth he that taketh it, promise there to believe or not to believe any Article of Religion? Or doth he so much as name a true or a false Church there? And as for St. Peter's Primacy, I know no Apostle's Name that is therein named, except the Name of JAMES, it being my Christian Name. Neither is there any mention at all made therein, either disertis verbis, or by any Apol. for the Oath, pag. 63

Y y y



other indirect means, either of the Hierarchy of the Church, of St. Peter's Succession, of the See Apostolick, or of any such matter.

But however, as if this Oath quite overthrew the *Roman Religion*, and rendred the Pope no more powerful than his Predecessors were in the first Three hundred years, out comes a *Breve* from his Holiness, right or wrong, expressly commanding the *English* not to take the said Oath upon any means whatever. Part of which, take as followeth.

*Dilecti filii, Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem.*

*Dearly beloved Sons, Greeting, and Apostolical Benediction.*

**M**agno animi mœrore Nos semper affecerunt Tribulationes & Calamitates, quas pro retinenda Catholica fide jugiter sustinistis. Sed cum intelligamus omnia hoc tempore magis exacerbari, Afflictio nostra mirum in modum aucta est, &c.

—Non potestis, absq; evidentissima gravissimaq; Divini honoris injuria, obligare vos Juramento, quod similiter maximo cum Cordis nostri dolore audivimus propositum vobis fuisse præstandum, infra scripti tenoris, viz.

Ego A. B. &c.

Here was inserted the Oath it self.

Quæ cum ita sint, vobis, ex verbis ipsis perspicuum esse debet, quod hujusmodi Juramentum, salva fide Catholica, & salute animarum vestrarum præstari non potest, cum multa contineat, quæ fidei & saluti aperte adversantur.

Propterea admonemus vos, ut ab hoc atq; similibus Juramentis præstandis omnino Caveatis. Quod quidem eo acrius exigimus a vobis, quia experti vestræ fidei Constantiam, quæ tanquam aurum in fornace, perpetuæ Tribulationis igne probata est. Pro comperto habemus, vos alacri animo subituros

**T**HE Tribulations and Calamities which you have continually sustained for the keeping of the Catholique Faith, hath always afflicted us with great grief of mind. But for as much as we understand, that at this time all things are more grievous; our Affliction hereby is wonderfully encreased, &c.

—You cannot without most evident and grievous wronging of God's Honour, bind your selves by the *Oath*, which in like manner we have heard with very great grief of Heart, is administered unto you, of the tenor following, viz.

I A. B. &c.

Which things since they are thus, it must evidently appear to you, that such an *Oath* cannot be taken without wrong to the Catholick Faith, and the salvation of your souls, seeing it contains many things plainly contrary to Faith and Salvation.

Wherefore we admonish you, That you do utterly abstain from taking this, and the like Oaths. Which thing we do the more earnestly require of you, because we have experience of the constancy of your Faith, which is tried like Gold in the fire of perpetual Tribulation. We do well know, that

esse quæcunq; atrociora Tormenta, ac mortem deniq; ipsam constanter appetituros, potius quam Dei Majestatem ulla in re lædatis, &c.

--- Præcipimus vobis ut illarum Literarum verba ad amussim servetis, & simpliciter prout sonant & jacent, accipiat & intelligatis, sublata omni facultate aliter illa interpretandi, &c.

Datum Romæ apud S. Marcum  
sub Annulo Piscatoris x. Kal.  
Octob. 1606, Pontificatus no-  
stri Anno secundo.

you will cheerfully undergo all kind of cruel Torments whatsoever, yea and constantly endure Death it self, rather than you will in any thing offend the Majesty of God, &c.

We command you, That you do exactly observe the words of those Letters, and that you take and understand them simply as they sound, and as they lye; all power to interpret them otherwise, being taken away, &c.

Dated at Rome at S. Marks un-  
der the Signet of the Fisher, the  
22d of Septemb. 1606, the  
2d year of our Popedom.

This Breve being presently sent into England, was not instantly submitted to by all the *Romanists*, some of them having taken the Oath of Allegiance, and thought they ought as good Subjects to stand to it; others of them who wish'd well to their own security, betwixt the two opposite Commands of the King and the Pope, were willing to think the former Breve to be but a Cheat, and surreptitiously procured without the Pope's knowledg [such things hapning oft at Rome, the Pope (as well as other Princes) being several times abused both by their Secretaries and the *Datarii*]: And to this opinion were some of the wisest and best of the *English Romanists* drawn, upon consideration that the Pope [who ought to be Holy, Charitable, Merciful, a lover of Peace, a promoter of Obedience, not a busie-body, nor a medler in other Princes Affairs] would not undertake to disquiet the *Romanists*, raise divisions in the Church, and thrust his Friends into the danger of violating the Laws of their King and Countrey, to whom they owed all Obedience, and not upon any account whatsoever Trayterously to oppose and violate.

But the Pope, who thought his Kingdom, his Authority, his Supremacy, his Vicarship, his Infallibility, and all his other pretty pretended Trophies struck at, was resolved to have his Humour, let what mischief so ever come of it, and so, as if to satisfy those who doubted of the Reality of the former Breve, he forthwith sent this other into England.

*Dilecti Filii, Salutem & Apostolicam  
Benedictionem.*

*Dearly beloved Sons, Greeting and  
Apostolical Benediction.*

**R**Enuntiatur est nobis, reperiiri nonnullos apud vos, qui, cum satis declaraverimus per litteras nostras Anno superiore x *Kalend. Octob.* in forma *Brevis* datas, vos tuta Conscientia præstare non posse Juramentum, quod a vobis tunc exigebatur; & præterea stricte præceperimus, ne ullo modo illud præstaretis:

Nunc dicere audent, hujusmodi Litteras de prohibitione Juramenti, non ex animi nostri sententia, nostraq; propria voluntate scriptas fuisse; sed potius aliorum intuitu atq; industria: eaq; de causa iidem persuadere nituntur, mandata nostra dictis literis non esse attendenda.

Perturbavit sane nos hic Nuncius, eoq; magis, quia experti Obedientiam vestram (filii nostri unice dilecti) qui, ut huic sanctæ Sedi obediretis, opes, facultates, dignitatem, libertatem, vitam deniq; ipsam, pie & generose nihili fecistis; nunquam suspicati essemus, potuisse vocari apud vos in dubium fidem litterarum nostrarum Apostolicarum, ut hoc prætextu, vos ex mandatis nostris eximeretis.

Verum agnoscimus versutiem atq; fraudem Adversarii humanæ salutis, eisq; potius, quam vestræ voluntati tribuimus hanc renitentiam.

Ea propter iterum ad vos scribere decrevimus, ac denuo vobis significare, Litteras nostras Apostolicas Anno præterito x *Kalend. Octob.*

It is reported unto us, That there are found certain amongst you, (who) when as we have sufficiently declared by our Letters, dated the last year, on the xxij of *September*, in the form of a *Breve*, that ye cannot with safe Conscience take the Oath which was then required of you; and when as we have further straitly commanded you, that by no means you should take it.

Yet there are some (I say) among you, who dare now affirm, that such Letters concerning the forbidding of the Oath, were not written of our own accord, or of our own proper will, but rather for the respect, and at the instigation of other men: and for that cause the same men go about to persuade you, that our Commands in the said Letters are not to be regarded.

Truly this News did trouble us; and that so much the more, because having had experience of your obedience (most dearly beloved Sons), who to the end you might obey this Holy See, have godlily and valiantly contemned your Riches, Wealth, Honour, Liberty, yea and Life it self: We should never have suspected that the truth of our *Apostolical* Letters could once be call'd into question amongst you, that by this pretence you might exempt your selves from our Commandments.

But we do perceive herein the subtilty and craft of the Enemy of man's salvation; and we do attribute this your backwardness rather to him, than to your own will.

And for this cause we have thought good to write the second time unto you, and to signifie unto you again, that our *Apostolical* datas

datas de prohibitionē juramenti, non solum motu proprio, & ex certa nostra scientia; verum etiam post longam & gravem deliberationem de omnibus quæ in illis continentur adhibitam, fuisse scriptas, & ob id teneri vos, illas omnino observare, omni interpretatione secus suadente rejecta.

Hæc autem est mera, pura, integraq; voluntas nostra, qui de vestra salute solliciti, semper cogitamus ea, quæ magis vobis expediunt.

Et ut cogitationes & consilia nostra illuminet is, a quo Christiano gregi custodiendo nostra fuit præposita Humilitas, indefinenter Oramus: Quem etiam jugiter precamur ut in vobis filiis nostris summo opere dilectis, fidem, constantiam, mutuamq; inter vos Charitatem & Pacem augeat. Quibus omnibus cum omni Charitatis affectu, peramanter benedicimus.

*Datum Romæ apud Sanct. Marcum, sub Annulo Piscatoris  
x. Kalend. Septemb. 1607. Pontificatus nostri Anno tertio.*

Petrus Stroza.

Letters, dated the last year, on the xxij of *Sept.* concerning the prohibition of the Oath, were written not only upon our proper motion, and of our certain knowledge; but also after long and weighty deliberation used concerning all those things which are contain'd in them: and that for that cause you are bound fully to observe them, rejecting all Interpretation perswading to the contrary.

And this is our meer, pure and perfect will, who being always careful of your salvation, do always mind those things which are most profitable unto you.

And we do pray without ceasing, That he who hath appointed to our *Lowliness* the keeping of the Flock of Christ, would enlighten our Thoughts and Counsels: whom we do also continually beseech, that he would encrease in you (our most beloved Sons) Faith, Constancy, with mutual Charity and Peace one to another. All whom we most lovingly Bless with all Charitable affection.

*Dated at Rome at Saint Marks, under the Signet of the Fisher, the xxiii of August, 1607, the third year of our Popedom.*

Peter Stroza.

Some Months after the publishing of the first *Breve*, Mr. *George Blackwell* [constituted the *Arch-Priest* 1598, by *Henry* Cardinal *Cajetane*, call'd *Protector* of the *English* Nation by the Appointment of *Pope Clement VIII.*] was seiz'd on, examined and imprisoned, and the Oath offer'd him, which he freely took.

Cardinal *Bellarmino* upon notice of this, writes a long Letter to *Blackwell*, telling him how joyous the news (of the Imprisonment) seem'd to him, because (forsooth) now you draw near unto the glory of Martyrdom; *thaw the which, there cannot be a gift of God more happy*; and therefore bids him for the comfort of the Church, be valiant and stout. 'Tis easie giving advice afar off; but the Cardinal did not care to put himself into the danger of Hereticks, ever since he assisted the *Rebellious League* against the *French King*.

But there is one thing that clouds all this Rejoycing, viz. that *Blackwell* should take the Oath: This troubles the Cardinal, who tells the

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Arch-

*Arch-Priest*, That the Oath is so craftily composed, that no man can de-  
test Treason against the King, and make profession of his Civil subjection,  
but he must be constrained perfidiously to deny the Primacy of the Apo-  
stolick See. But the Servants of Christ, and especially the Chief Priests  
of the Lord, ought to be so far from taking an unlawful Oath, where they  
may endamage the Faith, that they ought to beware that they give not the  
least suspicion of Dissimulation that they have taken it——For if you  
will diligently weigh the whole matter with your self, truly you shall see  
it is no small matter that is called in question by this Oath, but one of the  
principal Heads of our Faith, and Foundations of Catholique Religion.  
And for proof of this, he produceth little scraps out of Gregory the  
Great, Pope Leo, and such like Instances, nothing at all God wot to the  
Business in hand, as Blackwell himself in his Answer to Bellarmine's Let-  
ter, may testify.

The Pope considering Father Blackwell's Humour, and it may be his  
Confinement, appointed (1608) Mr. George Birket to be *Arch Priest*,  
and sent him a Breve to forbid the taking of the Oath, and to deprive  
all Priests of their Faculties that should take it. Part of which, take as  
followeth.

——Tibi; injungimus &  
Mandamus, ac specialem faculta-  
tem ad hoc tribuimus, ut Authori-  
tate nostra omnes & singulos Sa-  
cerdotes *Anglos*, qui quoddam Ju-  
ramentum (in quo multa continen-  
tur, quæ fidei atq; salutis animarum  
aperte adversantur) præstiterunt:  
vel ad loca ad quæ *Heretici* ad eo-  
rum superstitiosa Ministeria pera-  
genda convenire solent, consulto  
acceserunt, aut qui talia licite fieri  
posse docuerunt, & docent, ad-  
monere cures, ut ab hujusmodi er-  
roribus resipiscant & abstineant.

Quod si intra tempus (extra-  
judicialiter tamen) arbitrio tuo  
illis præfigendum hoc facere distu-  
lerint, seu aliquis illorum distu-  
lerit, illos seu illum facultatibus  
& Privilegiis omnibus ab Apo-  
stolica sede seu illius Authoritate  
a quocunq; alio, illis vel cuivis  
illorum concessis, eadem Authori-  
tate privas ac privatos, esse declares  
&c.

*Datum Roma apud S. Petrum sub  
Annulo Piscator. die 1 Feb. 1608  
Pontificatus Nostri Anno 3.*

——And we enjoyn and com-  
mand you, and for this we give you  
special Faculty, that by our Au-  
thority you take care to admonish  
all and every *English Priest*, who  
have taken a certain Oath (where-  
in many things are contained  
which are manifestly against Faith  
and the salvation of souls) or do  
willingly repair to such places  
where the *Hereticks* use to meet  
to celebrate their superstitious Ser-  
vices or Worship; or have taught  
and do teach that such things may  
lawfully be done; that they may  
repent and abstain from such Er-  
rors.

And if within the time [extra-  
judicialiter notwithstanding] by you  
as you think fit to be appointed un-  
to them, they or any one of them  
shall defer to obey this; That then  
you by the same Authority do de-  
prive and declare them or him to  
be deprived of all Faculties and  
Priviledges granted them or any of  
them from the See-Apostolick, or  
by her Authority from any other  
whatsoever, &c.

*Dated at Rome at St. Peters, &c.  
1 Feb. 1608.*

*Birket*

*Birket* upon the receipt of this *Breve*, draws up and sends abroad this Admonishing-Letter.

## To all the Reverend Secular Priests of England.

Most dearly beloved Brethren,

**W**Hereas I have always desired to live without Molesting or Offending others, it cannot be but a wonderful Corsive, Sorrow and Grief unto me, that against mine own inclination I am forced (as you have seen by the *Breve* it self) to prescribe a certain time for such as do find themselves to have been contrary to the points which are touched in the said *Breve*, concerning the Oath, and going to Church, that they may thereby return and conform themselves to the Doctrine declared by his Holiness, both in this and the other former *Breves*.

And therefore now by this Present do give notice unto you all, That the time which I prefix and prescribe for that purpose, is the space of two Months next ensuing after the knowledge of this my Admonition. Within which time, such as shall forbear to take or allow any more the Oath, or going to Church, I shall most willingly accept their doing therein.

Yet signifying unto you withall, That such as do not within the time prescribed, give this satisfaction, I must (though much against my will) for fulfilling his Holiness commandment, Deprive them, and Denounce them to be Deprived of all their Faculties and Priviledges granted by the See-Apostolique, or by any other by Authority thereof unto them, or to any of them; and so by this present do Denounce, hoping that there is no man will be so wilful or disobedient to his Holiness Order, but will conform himself as becometh an Obedient Child of the Catholique Church.

And so most heartily wishing this Conformity in us all, and that we may live and labour together Unanimous in Domo Domini, I pray God give us the Grace to effect that in our Actions, whereunto we are by our Order and Profession obliged.

This 2d of May,  
1608.

Your Servant in Christ,

GEORGE BIRKET,

Arch-Priest of England, and  
Protonotary Apostolical.

Now were Pens employed on both sides, the *Romanists* cuffing one another bravely about the Oath; Voluminous *Coqueus* comes railing from France against it; *Getser* opposeth it in Germany; *Andreas Eudemonioannes* of Greece, declares it Abominable; In Italy, Cardinal *Bellarmino* is very busie against it; sometimes under his own, other times masked under false Names, as *Tortus*, and some think *Schulckenius* was one and the same person with the Cardinal.

In Spain now flourish'd *Franciscus Suarez*; he also, by order from  
the

Vid. Bishop of  
Chichester (Dr.  
King) his Let-  
ter to Is. Wal-  
ton, before  
Hooker's Ec-  
cles. Poliy,  
Edit. 1666.  
\* The Judg-  
ment of a Ca-  
tholick Eng-  
lish-man, §.  
14. pag. 9.  
\* Id. pag. 14.  
§. 22.

\* Pag. 38.  
§. 20.

\* Id. pag. 51.  
§. 37.

Id. pag. 23.  
§. 36.

the Pope and *Conclave*, is commanded to undertake it; which he doth: But the good old man thought he was hardly dealt withall by the Inqui- sitors, to whom having sent his Book for Approbation, they alter'd and added according to their own humours, as was \* confest by Mr. *John Saltkill*, then *Suarez* his *Amanuensis*, but afterwards reconciled to the Church of England.

But above all the opposers of this Oath, none like Father *Parsons*; who to have the better pretence of Reviling, will father King *James* his Apology upon *Thomas Montague*, and (through that supposed Name) bespatter his Majesty. He tells us, that all the \* Learned men beyond Seas cry it down as unlawful, as opposing matters of Faith; and he himself assures us, That none can take it \* *without peril of everlasting Damnation*.

At last, *Parsons* coming to argue against it, is driven to the Fanatical Argument; *Liberty of Conscience*; and thus boldly asserts it. For (saith he) \* *neither Breathing, nor the use of common Air, is more due unto them [i. e. good Subjects] or common to all, than ought to be Liberty of Conscience to Christian men, whereby each one liveth to God and to him- self, and without which he struggleth with the torment of a continual ling- ring death*. And then a little after, thus boasts---\* *Let them shew but one only Authority, Sentence, Example, or Testimony out of any of these three kind of Witnesses, Scriptures, Fathers, or Councils, that we must obey Prin- ces against our Conscience or Religion, and I will grant he saith somewhat to the purpose*.

Thus will they have all their Religion or Faith to hang upon the ta- king or not taking of this Oath. But in this zeal for liberty he meets with a Rub, and that is this: Why then do the *Romanists* force *Prote- stants* by their *Inquisitions* to abjure their Opinions; and if they re- fuse, punish them with Death, or as the Crime requireth?

To this Objection, *Parsons* thinks he saith enough, by telling you, that the case is not the same; because (forsooth) the *Roman Church* hath *jus acquisitum*, ancient right over Hereticks; but the *Protestant Church of England* hath no such thing upon Catholicks. As Treasona- ble an Assertion as could be imagined, seeing according to his Conse- quence, and the thing in hand, A *Protestant King* can have no right over *Romanists*; and so *Protestanism* mult *ipso facto* deprive Kings, and render them incapable of Dominion, where the people are of the *Ro- man Religion*; so that *Henry IV.* was not, nor could be King of *France* till he was reconciled to *Rome*.

The truth is, all of them who write against the Oath, ground all their Exceptions upon this, That they think it takes away the Pope's power of depriving Kings, and absolving Subjects from their Allegi- ance; so that we may see what it is that pincheth them, and how much they look upon Loyalty and true Obedience to be an Enemy to their Interest and Church.

But to render this Oath more odious and terrible, they amaze the simple people with strange stories of God's Judgments against the ta- kers of it; and this, with the Vulgar, they make one of their best Ar- guments.

Vid. Reg.  
Widdrington's  
Theolog. Dis-  
put. cap. 10.  
Sect. 4.

They alledg, That the Captain of them, viz. Father *Blackwell*, dy- ed suddenly: To which the other Party reply, That 'tis granted, that *Blackwell* on Saturday in the afternoon [viz. 25 of *January*, 1612] fell into a swoon (being well before), upon which he was had to

to bed, whither some Priests came to him; to whom he affirmed, he had done nothing contrary to his Conscience in taking the said Oath, and that it was a lawful Oath; and so dyed a little after; but his death was five years after he had taken the Oath.

That if sudden-deaths be Arguments, they could retort, and tell them of some Priests, Enemies of the Oath, who dyed by the same Judgments; as of one in the North, who (otherwise very healthy) was so suddenly stricken with a deadly Disease, that he dyed within sixteen hours. Of another that fell down a pair of Stairs, whereby he was so bruised, that he lived not long after. Of a third, who leaping hastily over an Hedge, fell into a pit on the other side of the Hedge, and so was cast away. To all these might be added; that one of the greatest Champions the Oath had, was Mr. *Thomas* (or *Rowland*) *Preston*, a learned *Benedictian Monk*, who lived many a fair year after his taking and defending the said Oath; though the Pope and his Party might have wish'd that he had dyed sooner, or writ less. Yet he disguised his Writings under the Name of *Roger Widdrington* [who indeed was another *Romanist*, living in the North]; under which Name he oppos'd *Sharez*, baffled *Bellarmino*, confuted *Gretzer*, *Becanus*, and the rest of their Party; whereupon some began to call it *Widdrington's Doctrine*, i.e. to defend the lawfulness of the Oath of Allegiance. The Jesuits had several designs against him; once they plotted to seize upon him in a Boat upon the River *Thames*, and so to hurry him beyond Seas, where they would have claw'd him for his defending *Loyalty* and *Allegiance*: but he suspected that the beyond-sea Air would hasten his death; therefore for some years he secured himself in the *Clink*, where he lived with freedom, followed his Studies, and had an excellent Library of his own.

Again the other Party object, That Mr. *Jackson* who took the Oath, dyed of the Plague. But this is nothing to the unwarrantableness of the Oath, unless we will argue, that it was unlawful to regain the *Holy-land* from the *Saracens*, because *S. Lewis ix*, King of *France*, and one that is Canonized, is said to dye of the Plague in that Expedition; or that we must not read *Sanders* his Book *de Schismate*, because *Edward Rishon*, a rebellious ungrateful Priest, published it, and made Continuations to it, and dyed of the Plague in *Lorrain*.

Nay, the *Anti-Loyalists* flye so low, that rather than have nothing to say, they would object as a fault the living or breathing at a Bishop's House; and all this a-do, because Mr. *William Warmington* lived in the Bishop of *Winchester's* House; whereas the Objection was occasioned by their own uncharitableness: For *Warmington* having taken and engaged himself as a Champion of the Oath, his own *Roman* Friends and Kindred became his Enemies, withdrawing from him all the Benevolence they used to allow him.

*Warmington* put to this stress of Livelihood only for his Loyalty and Obedience, petitions the King for some Allowance. The King graciously accepts it, commends him to Dr. *Bilson* the Bishop of *Winchester*, with order to take him to himself to his own House, there to provide for him. The Bishop obeys, *Warmington* lives with him, wants nothing, hath liberty at pleasure, and freedom of his Religion. And is not this a notable Argument to prove the Oath of *Allegiance* unlawful.

But if these should fail, they can flye to their old trick of Miracles, and bring Heaven it self to confute the Oath; and this they doubt not but will work much with the honest *Romanist*. One of their Stories take as followeth.

Zzzz

Mr.



Mr. Thomas Newton of Pickworth in Lincolnshire, a Roman Catholick, meeting at Standford with one Mr. Edward Sutton of Kellam in Nottinghamshire, a disorderly pretended Protestant, were there apprehended, and committed to the Town-Hall; at last were carried to Thomas Cecyl Earl of Exeter, who proffer'd them the Oath of Allegiance; Sutton after some excuses took it, but Newton desired time to consider of it. Upon which, for want of Bail, and at the Constables desire, they were return'd to the Town-Hall.

September 4.  
1612.

Here these two discoursed about the Oath; Newton assuring to his Companion its unlawfulness. To bed they go together. About midnight Sutton cryeth out, That he was damned only for taking the Oath, and declareth Newton happy for refusing it. Newton bids him make the sign of the Cross; Sutton doth so; then creeps down into the bed, saying, he durst not look up to behold the Vision.

Newton looks up, sees the Room full of light and brightness, the Mystery of the Trinity represented to him; then there appears the Virgin Mary in a shining white Robe, with an infinite company of Angels about her, holding a Crown over her head, singing in honour of the Trinity, *Alleluia, Gloria in Excelsis Deo, &c.* Then Newton thought that the Virgin thus spake to him—*Behold, see and believe my Assumption in Body. Take not the Oath, but rather endure all Torments; for I will be with thee, and assist thee in all; and will strengthen and preserve thee from all pains and torments, with such Consolations as thou now feelest.*

This Vision continued about half an hour; and a little before they vanished, there appeared also a multitude of Saints and Martyrs, offering up (as it were) Incense unto Almighty God, and saying to him—*Double thy Devotion unto Saints; for nothing is more acceptable unto Almighty God.* Thus was Newton confirmed in two points, which before (as he said) he somewhat doubted of, viz. the Virgins Assumption, and Prayers to Saints.

The Vision ended, Newton and Sutton roar out as loud as they could, *Alleluia, Gloria, &c.* and thus they continued balling for three or four hours, Sutton saying, that now he had learned how to pray.

\* Theolog.  
Disput. cap.  
10. Sect. 5.  
23.

In short, Sutton turns stark mad, and becomes distracted. The Bishop of Peterborough administers the Oath of Allegiance to Newton, who for all the contrary Commands in the Vision, took it, and so was set at liberty. And this is the sum of the pretty Tale which Father Preston, an honest Romanist, thinks ought to be ascribed either \* to the vehement Imaginations of a troubled Brain, or else to be accounted a meer Illusion of the Devil. And so I leave it to the discretion of the Reader, with liberty to approve or disprove these doughty Arguments against the Oath of Allegiance.

But lest these Illusions, Inventions, and idle Stories, should not do the good or mischief intended, the Pope must ever now and anon hurry over his Bulls into England, to rowse up the Romanists, and put them in a posture of Defence against the said Oath.

In King James his time, there were several such Papers; nor were they discontinued in King Charles 1. his days. In the beginning of whose Reign Pope Urban viii. one said to have some affection to the English Nation, sent over a Bull of Comfort to the Romanists; part of which, relating to the Oath, take as followeth.

Urbanus

URBANUS P P VIII.

Pope URBAN VIII.

Dilectis Filiis Catholicis Angliæ.

To his beloved Sons the Catholics of England.

*Dilecti Filii, Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem.**Beloved Sons, Greeting and Apostolical Benediction.*

**N**ON semper terræna fœlicitas est beneficium Cœli & Patrimonium Pietatis; pacem enim peccatorum videns Ecclesia non raro experta est potentiam mortalium esse stipendium sceleris. Quare, Catenas Martyrum anteferimus exuviis Triumphantium, & Rex sempiternus Principatus Cœlestes pollicetur, non iis qui superbo pede jura proterunt, sed qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, &c.

Quod si eousq; vis progrediatur, ut vos ad *noxium illud, & illicitum Anglicanæ fidelitatis jura mentum* adigat, mementote Orationem vestram ab universo Angelorum spectantium consensu audiri. Et adhæreat lingua vestra faucibus vestris, priusquam Authoritatem B. Petri ea jurisjurandi formula imminutam detis. Non enim ibi id solum agitur, ut fides Regi servetur, sed at sacrum Universæ Ecclesiæ sceptrum eripiatur Vicariis Dei Omnipotentis.

Quod fœliciis Recordationis Paulus V. Prædecessor noster in tam gravi deliberatione decrevit, id omnino tanquam Decretum Veritatis servare debeatis. Dilecti Filii, Tributum hoc Principi Apostolorum debitum nulli hominum minæ aut blanditiæ a vobis unquam extorqueant; qui secus suadent, ijs visionem mendacem & divinationem fraudulentam prophetant vobis: Citius enim viro Christiano

**T**Errene fœlicity is not always the benefit of Heaven, and the Patrimony of Piety: For the Church, seeing the prosperity of sinners, hath often found by experience, that the greatness of Mortals is the stipend of Impiety. Wherefore we prefer the Chains of Martyrs before the spoils of the Triumphant; and the Eternal King promiseth Heavenly Principalities, not to them who proudly trample the Laws under their feet, but to those who suffer Persecution for Righteousness sake, &c.

And if Violence proceed so far, as to compel you to that *pernicious and unlawful Oath of Allegiance of England*; Remember, that your Prayers are heard in the whole Assembly of the Angels beholding you: And let your Tongue cleave to the roof of your mouth, rather than you permit the Authority of St. Peter to be diminished with that form of Oath: For that is not all, that Fidelity be kept unto the King; but that the Sacred Scepter of the Catholique Church be wrung from the Vicar of God Almighty.

That which our Predecessor Paul V. of blessed memory, with so great deliberation decreed, that ought ye altogether to observe as a Decree of Truth. Beloved Sons, this Tribute due to the Prince of the Apostles, no threats or flatteries of men ought at any time to extort from you; and they who perswade you otherwise, prophesie unto you a lying Vision, and a fraudulent divination: for sooner  
debet

debet potentium gladius vitam eripere quam fidem. Quod si Angelus etiam e Cœlo descendens vos aliter, quam veritas Apostolica, doceat, Anathema sit, &c.

ought the Sword of the Mighty take from a Christian his life, than his Faith; yea if an Angel from Heaven teach you otherwise than the Apostolique Truth, let him be Accursed, &c.

*Datum Romæ, s. Petri, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die xxx May, 1626. Pontificatus nostri Anno tertio.*

*Dated at Rome, at St. Peters, under the Signet of the Fishers, xxx of May, 1626, the third year of our Popedom.*

FINIS.





